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1. *Foreign Office Correspondence relating to Persia and Affghanistan.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. London. 1839.

2. *Indian Papers — Correspondence relating to Affghanistan. India Board, 26th March,* 1839. Presented by Her Majesty's Command.

THE questions now pending between the British government and the sovereigns and chiefs of the countries which intervene between the Russian frontier in Georgia and the north-west frontier of British India, derive their real importance from the relative positions of England and Russia. They are therefore not merely Asiatic questions, but are likewise essentially European.

England has in India a great empire, which she holds by a tenure so peculiar that she is prudently jealous of the establishment, in its immediate vicinity, of any foreign European influence. She has therefore sought, by forming alliances with some of the neighbouring

neighbouring nations, not only to protect India from actual invasion, but also to exclude from it the rival influence of other states. Independent of the necessity for adopting these precautionary measures which arose out of the very nature of our power in India, there were circumstances in the position, the previous policy and views of Russia, and in the character of her government, which pointed her out as the nation from which danger was to be apprehended, and against the effects of whose intrigues and violence it was therefore especially necessary to adopt every prudent and practicable means of defence.

Still the distance which separated her frontier from ours was so considerable; the difficulty of marching an army sufficiently numerous to endanger our possession of India was conceived to be so great; the assurances of friendly feeling towards England which Russia renewed from time to time were so strong; the protestations of the absence of all ambitious views—of all desire for territorial aggrandizement, or even for exclusive influence in the East, were so solemn—and Lord Durham was so fully satisfied of the perfect sincerity of all her professions—that this country was lulled into a feeling of security, from which the voice of the few who did not participate in these sentiments was unable to rouse it.. Russia saw publication after publication, exposing her past and denouncing her present policy, issue from the press of England without awakening the nation; she saw every attempt which was made to direct the attention of the House of Commons to her designs fail. Indeed, she saw the British nation so exclusively occupied with domestic feuds that no question of foreign policy seemed to be at all thought of. She had heard it said that we had entered into recognizances of a thousand millions to keep the peace. She heard a party in the nation, whose weight she greatly overrated, opposing every augmentation of our army or navy, and even questioning the value of India and of our Colonies;—and having, as she imagined, tried the temper and the spirit of England by the seizure and condemnation of the Vixen, and thinking she had discovered that the one was docile and the other dormant—her government and her agents cast aside all apprehension of the only danger which would have deterred them. Yet it was not until civil war in Canada promised to direct the disposable military resources of England to the opposite extremity of her empire, that the intrigues of the Russian agents in the direction of India took such a shape, that it was impossible to doubt either the nature of their plans, or the tendency of their proceedings.

The first important step in this series of intrigues, which has occupied the Russian agents for some years, was taken in Persia.

From the death of Nadir Shah to the accession of Aga Mahommed Khan, the sovereigns of Persia had exercised no control over the province of Khorassan, which was governed by petty chiefs, who acknowledged a more or less imperfect allegiance to princes of the family of Nadir. These princes had their capital at Meshed, and affected sovereign state, though their authority was never fully established beyond the walls of the capital. Combinations amongst the hereditary chiefs of tribes more than once threatened to expel them even from that asylum; but the Affghan monarchs countenanced and supported their feeble authority, and Ahmed Shah on one occasion marched an army into Khorassan, and subduing the province as far as Neishapore, re-established for a time the descendants of his former master in possession not only of the city of Meshed, but also of a considerable portion of the province.

Aga Mahommed Khan, the first Shah of the Kajar dynasty, overturned the authority of the descendants of Nadir in Khorassan, and during the early part of the reign of the late Futteh Ally Shah, some progress was made towards the establishment of his authority in that province, of which one of his sons was invested with the government; but the authority of the Shah was not fully established, and the power of the chiefs remained unbroken until the late Abbas Meerza reduced their strongholds and removed them from their hereditary possessions in 1831-2.

It was then, for the first time since the death of Nadir, that Persia appears to have formed any fixed design to annex Herat to her empire.

The princes, governors of Khorassan, had on several occasions led armies against Herat, not for the purpose of subduing it, but of extorting money from its ruler, and they had sometimes been successful in accomplishing that which appears to have been the only object of these expeditions. On one occasion the Prince Hassan Allee Meerza, while governor of Khorassan, was received into Herat, formed an alliance by marriage with Prince Kamran, and having introduced a considerable body of his followers into the citadel, believed himself to be in a position to seize and to retain it. But in answer to the letter in which he made this disclosure to Futteh Ally Shah, he received positive orders to evacuate the place; and it was intimated to him that it was inconsistent with the views of the Shah to seek the conquest of Herat, or to disturb the descendants of Ahmed Shah in the possession of the only part of their kingdom which remained to them. When Abbas Meerza proposed to march against Herat, Futteh Ally Shah disapproved of the measure. He was of opinion that, even if success could be ensured, the advantage was questionable. He felt the difficulty of establishing his authority over a people of a hostile sect and nation. He feared that by extending his frontier in that direction, he should be placing it in contact with lawless tribes, who could neither be effectually subdued nor made to feel any responsibility for their conduct: and he was of opinion that it was more advantageous to Persia to form an alliance with the government of Herat, and to make it responsible for the conduct of the tribes subject to its sway, than to destroy the only authority by which these tribes could be restrained, and undertake the almost hopeless task of reducing them to habits of order, and of obedience to a foreign power, by the sword. He felt convinced that the preservation of Herat to Persia, even should it be captured, would be more costly than profitable, and he urged Abbas Meerza to apply himself rather to the improvement of his own territories than to the conquest of other countries.

But the prince had weight and influence enough to overrule or overcome his father's objections, and in the year 1833 he sent an army under the command of his eldest son, Mahommed Meerza, now Mahommed Shah, to attempt the reduction of Herat. The expedition was unsuccessful. The Persian army had been some weeks before Herat, but had made little progress in the siege, when the death of Abbas Meerza at Meshed obliged it to retire. It did not venture, however, to commence a retreat until an amicable arrangement had been entered into with Prince Kamran; and although these engagements were concluded by the government of Herat while it was yet ignorant of the death of Abbas Meerza, the Persian army was permitted, in consideration of the promises which had been made, to retire unmolested.

On the return of Mahommed Meerza from Herat, he was nominated by his grandfather heir to the throne of Persia, in succession to his father, Abbas Meerza. In the course of the following autumn his grandfather died, and Mahommed Shah, aided by the British officers who commanded his army, and by supplies of money from the British Government, mounted the throne of Persia.

He had been mortified by the failure of his first great military enterprise, and had scarcely established his authority in his own kingdom, when he intimated his intention to attempt again the subjugation of Herat. The British Government had never encouraged Persia to engage in hostilities with any foreign state, or to seek foreign conquests; on the contrary, Persia had never received from England any other advice than to direct her attention to the amelioration of her internal condition, to the improvement of her means of defence, and to the cultivation of peaceful

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and friendly relations with all her neighbours. When Persia engaged in hostilities with Turkey in 1822, she took that course in direct opposition to the urgent remonstrances and entreaties of Sir Henry Willock, the British Chargé d'Affaires then at her court. When she broke with Russia in 1826, the British Chargé d'Affaires used every argument and exerted all the influence he could command, to deter Persia from plunging into a war, even when she had received sufficient provocation to justify her in appealing to arms. When, in 1832, the Prince Royal of Persia proposed to march against Herat, the British Secretary of Legation, then in his royal highness' camp (Mr. M'Neill), took it upon himself to dissuade Abbas Meerza from making the attempt, and induced him to abandon it for that year. The British Government had sought in their intercourse with Persia the tranquillity and the strength of that kingdom, and they desired its independence and its integrity; but while Great Britain wished to give security to Persia against foreign enemies, and believed that by pursuing a course calculated to lead to that result, she was also giving additional security to her own empire in India, she has at all times endeavoured to prevent Persia from converting the elements of strength with which England supplied her for purposes of defence, into means of aggression against any other country.

The agents of Russia have pursued a very different course. When Persia made war upon Turkey in 1822, it was ascertained that the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, then in Persia, had instigated and encouraged the Prince Royal to commence hostilities. The Russian authorities in Georgia provoked the war with Persia in 1826; and when Abbas Meerza planned his campaign against Herat in 1832, he had been encouraged to the enterprise, and had received military advice and assistance from the Baron Ache, an officer of Russian engineers, who accompanied him into Khorassan.

It was to be expected therefore, when the present Shah proposed to march against Herat, that we should find the representative of the British government opposing, and that of the Russian Monarch encouraging, the undertaking. They were in fact persevering in that which had been the uniform policy of the two powers, from the moment when their representatives met at the court of the Shah. But independent of these general views which led England to desire the strength and tranquillity of Persia and of all the neighbouring countries that promised to serve as barriers to India, or to become outlets for our commerce, and which, on the other hand, led Russia, or at least her accredited agents, to seek every opportunity of involving Persia in hostilities with adjoining states, there were in the relative positions of England and Russia at the

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court of the Shah, and in the nature of the intercourse between Persia and the chiefs of Affghanistan, and between those chiefs and Russia, circumstances which made it demonstrable that the advance of Persian dominion towards India would lead to the advance of Russian influence in the same direction. The young Shah had mounted the throne with the countenance of Russia and the active support of England; but, although he was unable to move his army from Tabreez until he received pecuniary aid from the British Mission, and the assistance of British officers to command the troops and to give the soldiers confidence in the promises which had been held out to them; and although it was known and admitted at the time that the success of the Shah could not have been secured, without hazarding his independence, unless by the opportune and effective assistance he received from England, it unfortunately did so happen that, when he had been firmly seated on the throne, Russian influence was found to have gained an ascendancy in his counsels, which, under the circumstances, it would have appeared unreasonable, or almost absurd, to have anticipated.

When the Right Hon. Henry Ellis arrived in Persia in 1835 on an embassy of condolence and congratulation to the young Shah, he speedily found that Russian influence was dominant at court, and that the impression of the power of Russia as compared with that of England was always to the disadvantage of the latter. He found the Shah and his prime minister thirsting for military glory and dreaming of nothing but conquest, and he was not long left in doubt as to the direction in which this zeal was first to overflow. The Shah had determined to make another attempt to subdue Herat. This determination the Russian minister used every means in his power to confirm, and he even went so far as to propose to accompany the expedition, and to offer his military services to the Shah. Mr. Ellis, in obedience to his instructions, and guided by his previous acquaintance with the views of the British government, did not hesitate to oppose the projected expedition of the Shah, and to point out to the Persian government the hazard it must incur of giving umbrage to England by prosecuting schemes of conquest in Affghanistan.

He made his first formal communication on the latter head upon the 8th January, 1836, and his letters to Lord Palmerston of that date, and during some months after, detail how repeatedly and frankly he conveyed his views to the Persian ministers, and show that he exerted himself to the utmost in calling the attention both of the government here and of the East India Company to the serious interests which were in peril—*e. g.* (January 8th)—

'I yesterday ascertained, from authority on which I could rely, that the

the Russian minister at this court had expressed himself in very strong terms respecting the expediency of the Shah losing no time in undertaking the expedition against Herat, and had assigned, as a reason for the immediate urgency of his doing so, the probability of the British government discouraging the attempt, in pursuance of their known wish to see a restoration of the Affghan monarchy.'

'15th January.—I feel quite assured that the British government cannot permit the extension of the Persian monarchy in the direction of Affghanistan, with a due regard to the internal tranquillity of India; that extension will, at once, bring Russian influence to the very threshold of our empire; and, as Persia will not, or dare not, place herself in a condition of close alliance with Great Britain, our policy must be to consider her no longer an outwork for the defence of India, but as the first parallel, from whence the attack may be commenced or threatened.'

'25th February.—I am convinced that every effort will be made by the Shah to obtain possession of Herat, and to extend his dominions in the direction of Affghanistan, and that, for this purpose, no opportunity will be lost of forming connexions with the chief of Cabool and his brothers. I cannot refrain from most earnestly calling the attention of his Majesty's government, and of the East India Company, to the danger of the Shah of Persia approaching, either by direct conquest or by the admission of his right of dominion, the frontiers of India; for I can conceive no event more likely to unsettle the public mind in the north-western provinces, and to disturb the general tranquillity of our eastern empire.'

Mr. Ellis proposed to the Persian government to undertake a mediation between it and that of Herat, and even offered to send a British officer to Herat for the purpose of facilitating the adjustment of their differences. To this proposal the Persian ministers at first assented, but they evaded the performance of the promise they had made to act upon it, and ultimately rejected it altogether.

In July, 1836, Mr. Ellis recurs to this subject, and, having in a previous letter informed Lord Palmerston of the arrival of an envoy from Kandahar for the purpose of negotiating a treaty with the Shah, details his conversation with that envoy. The Kandaharee expatiated on the readiness of all Affghanistan, with the exception of Herat, to come under feudal submission to the Shah, who might, the envoy observed, with the assistance of the Affghans, *like Nadir Shah, push his conquests to Delhi.*

'The Shah of Persia (says Mr. Ellis) may, and I begin rather confidently to hope will, be prevented, by want of means, from attacking Herat this year, and annexing it to his dominions; but he will not abandon the object unless compelled to do so by the declared opposition of the British government. His Majesty has been encouraged, and, I have been recently informed, has been promised positive assistance, in this design, by the Russians, who well know that the conquest of Herat and Kandahar by the Persians is in fact an advance for them towards India, if not for the purpose of actual invasion, certainly for that of intrigue and disorganization.'

Thus it appears that as early as January, 1836, the Russian Minister had exerted his influence to induce the Shah to attempt the subjugation of Herat—and that the sentiments of the British Government in respect to that project, and the light in which it would view the prosecution by the Shah of schemes of conquest in Affghanistan, had been formally announced to the Persian government, but had failed to deter the Shah from engaging in the enterprise, or to prevent the Russian minister from urging his Persian Majesty to hasten its execution. On the contrary, Count Simonich had adduced the certainty that England would oppose the course which Persia was about to pursue, as one of the strongest arguments he could employ to accelerate the execution of the schemes he was promoting.

The Shah marched from Tehran, but the appearance of the cholera in Khorassan delayed the advance of the army; and the fear of leaving in his rear the refractory Turcomans of the south-east shores of the Caspian induced him to deviate from the direct road to Herat, for the purpose of subduing them before he proceeded on his more distant expedition. The want of supplies, and the resistance offered by the Turcomans, rendered this a more difficult and tedious operation than had been anticipated, and the disorganisation of the Persian army was so complete, and the season so far advanced, when the Shah retreated from the banks of the Goorgann, that he found it necessary, instead of undertaking the march against Herat, to retire to his capital, and to dismiss his army to their homes. The only man who appears to have opposed this resolution was the Russian minister, for on the 15th September, 1836, Colonel Stoddart, who accompanied the Shah's camp, writes to Mr. M'Neill, who had succeeded Mr. Ellis:—

'Not a word is said about going to Herat; indeed the camp sent from Meshed to Koochaun appears conclusive on that score. On the other hand, the Russian envoy has officially complained to the Shah against his not going. His advice has been most coldly received.'

On the 3rd November Mr. M'Neill writes to Lord Palmerston, giving a deplorable account of the condition of the Persian army then in the vicinity of Asterabad, and adds—

'Yet, in this state of things, the Russian minister, as late as the 23rd ultimo, still continued to urge the Shah to undertake a winter campaign against Herat, an enterprise which, even were the army in the best condition as to feeling and preparation, would be extremely hazardous.'

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The proceedings of the Russian minister in Persia led the British Minister for Foreign Affairs to make a communication on the subject to the Russian government, through Lord Durham, then the ambassador at St. Petersburg—and Lord Durham's answer, dated the 24th February, 1837, is in the following terms:—

'In conformity with your Lordship's instructions, I spoke to Count Nesselrode on the subject of the conduct of the Russian Minister in Persia. His Excellency stated that, if Count Simonich had acted in the manner stated by Mr. M'Neill, he had done that which was in direct opposition to his instructions. The Count had been distinctly ordered to dissuade the Shah from prosecuting the present war at any time and in any circumstances. His Excellency said that he was convinced that our Minister had been misinformed, and that Count Simonich had never given any such advice to the Shah as that which was attributed to him. Count Nesselrode further stated that he entirely agreed with the English Government as to the folly and impolicy of the course pursued by the Persian monarch.'

We have seen that Count Simonich had continued for an entire year to urge by every argument he could employ, and even by direct promises of support and assistance, the very course which Count Nesselrode declares to have been 'in direct opposition to his instructions.'

Strange as it may seem that the Russian government should have remained for twelve months utterly ignorant of the proceedings of its own Minister at the Persian court, it is still more unaccountable that, after this explicit declaration of Count Nesselrode that the Russian Minister 'had been distinctly ordered to dissuade the Shah from prosecuting the present war at any time or under any circumstances,' the Russian Minister should have continued, for nearly two years subsequent to this declaration, to take a more open and active part in pushing on the Shah to the prosecution of the very course of policy which is here condemned, and should have been permitted, during all that time, not only to persevere in a direct violation of his instructions, but in furthering by his active co-operation, by pecuniary aid, and by promises of support from his government, the very enterprise which he had been ordered to dissuade the Shah from prosecuting. But that such has been the course pursued by Count Simonich is proved by clear evidence, and even by the admissions of the Russian government itself.

The government of India, informed of the projects of the Shah, and of the share which the Russian Minister had taken in exciting him to attempt the subjugation of Herat, and even of other portions of Affghanistan, felt the necessity of taking some measures to counteract the evils to which the extension of com-

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bined Russian and Persian influence in Affghanistan could not fail to expose the British possessions in India and the British commerce in Central Asia. The Envoy in Persia was therefore instructed to inform the Shah that any attempt to prosecute schemes of aggrandizement in Affghanistan must diminish the cordiality which had hitherto subsisted between England and Persia.

In a letter of the 24th February, 1837, Mr. M'Neill, in commenting on the instructions he had received, expresses a belief that the Shah was justified in making war upon Herat; he states his opinion of the inadequacy of any remonstrances he might offer to prevent the Shah from prosecuting what he regarded as a just war, and his doubts of the advantage of producing the alienation which would probably result from such a remonstrance, unless the British government should be prepared to act as well as to threaten.

In the mean time an active intercourse was carried on between the chiefs of Cabool and Kandahar and the court of the Shah, in which the Russian minister, in concert with the Persian government, played an important part.

The increasing power of the Seiks; the success which had hitherto attended their able and warlike sovereign, Runjeet Sing, in all his contests with the Affghans; and especially the establishment of his authority over Peshawer, and some other places on the western bank of the Indus, which were inhabited by a Mahommedan population, had excited at once the fears and the religious enthusiasm of the chiefs of Cabool and Kandahar. At the same time the connexion which was supposed to exist between the English and the exiled sovereigns of Affghanistan, who had found an asylum in the British territories,—the opinion which prevailed, that the government had favoured the unsuccessful attempt which Shah Shoojah had made on a former occasion to recover his kingdom,—the intimate relations of friendship which were known to have subsisted for many years between the British government in India and the court of Lahore—and, more than all, the total neglect with which the British government had hitherto treated these Affghan chiefs—had led them to regard England with feelings of jealousy rather than of attachment; and had induced them to seek, in alliances with Persia and Russia, protection against the dangers with which they believed themselves to be threatened from the East.

The chief of Cabool sent accredited agents almost simultaneously to the courts of Tehran and St. Petersburg, soliciting from both assistance against the Seiks. The chiefs of Kandahar also sent agents into Persia; but, as the greatest danger which they apprehended was from the power of Kamran, Prince of Herat, their chief object was to concert with Persia a combined attack for the destruction of that Power.

But, although the chiefs of Cabool and Kandahar thus found in the nature of their external relations a reason for seeking to connect themselves more intimately with Persia, there were also circumstances in the internal condition of the countries they governed, and in their own positions in respect to the Affghan nations, which led them to desire the countenance and support of the Shah. They were usurpers—they had driven from the throne the descendant of Ahmed Shah—the representative of the Affghan monarchy and the chief of the tribe Suddozye. They knew that the Affghan people, however they might have been misled by intrigues, irritated by ill-treatment, and excited by ambition or by personal enmities, to aid in expelling princes of the royal family, still regarded with feelings of attachment or of reverence every member of that house, and they therefore distrusted the feelings of the Affghan people towards themselves. There were, both at Cabool and at Kandahar, Persian tribes which had been settled there by Nadir—in effect, colonies of hereditary soldiers, who were powerful by their union, by their military skill and reputation, and by their superior acuteness and intelligence. The chiefs of Cabool and Kandahar, dreading the influence of the Suddozyes, and doubting the attachment of the majority of the Affghans, early connected themselves with these Persian, or, as they are usually called, Kizzilbash tribes. But the Kizzilbashes had retained their language, their religion, and their attachment to their fatherland. They were still Persians and Sheeahs in the midst of an Affghan and Sooney population. By their connexion with the Barikzye chiefs they had become a dominant people both at Cabool and at Kandahar, and they shared with these chiefs the apprehension that the affection of the Affghans for the Suddozyes might one day restore that exiled family to the kingdom, and give the Affghan people, properly so called, the ascendancy in their own country which they had lost during the usurpation of the present rulers of Cabool and Kandahar. They therefore naturally turned to Persia, to their native country, for the support which was not only to defend them from foreign aggression and from internal revolution, but to confirm them in their dominant position in the country in which they were still regarded as strangers. They felt that, if the chiefs whom they served could be made to lean on Persia for support, Persian influence must from that moment be firmly established; and that they, being the actual representatives of their nation in Affghanistan, must then become more necessary to their chiefs and the favoured instruments of the Shah. They therefore exerted all their influence, which was great, in favour of the connexion with Persia; and, as there were apprehensions in the minds of their rulers that Persia alone might not be strong enough to defend them, they advocated the advantages of an alliance with Russia also—for they were told by the agents of both these governments that Persia and Russia were one.

The Shah of Persia saw in this state of things at Cabool and Kandahar a prospect of establishing his own supremacy over all Affghanistan, and the means of promoting the immediate success of the favourite object of his ambition—the subjugation of Herat. The Russian agents, on the other hand, thought they had discovered in these combinations the means of establishing Russian influence in all those countries, and of striking a blow at England. In Persia the great impediment to the success of Russia's views had hitherto been the perfect community of interests between Great Britain and Persia, which had united them, not more by formal engagements than by a sense of common danger, in an intimate alliance for their mutual defence; and, so long as the late Shah lived, this sentiment had had its full weight in the councils of Persia. But the young Shah, after mounting the throne, had removed all experienced or wise counsellors from around him, and had placed the affairs of his empire entirely in the hands of persons who shared in the love of conquest by which he was himself actuated. To enable him to prosecute these schemes, it was necessary that he should so cultivate intimate relations with Russia as to relieve him from all apprehension that, while he was engaged on distant expeditions, Russia would profit by his absence to disturb or dismember his kingdom, and he was taught to believe that, if he could ensure the support of Russia, England would not venture to oppose him. But he felt that the first and most essential step towards gaining the entire confidence of Russia was to detach himself from England. The Russian agents, therefore, perceived that to induce him to prosecute his projects of military conquest and of aggrandizement in Affghanistan was the most effectual mode of leading him to transfer his confidence from England to Russia, and that it must ultimately lead to an opposition of interests between England and Persia, and a community of objects between Persia and Russia, which could not fail to further their own schemes. Though in the early part of these transactions they professed to desire only the success of the Shah's enterprises, and the advancement of his interests, they gradually unfolded to him their own views and intentions, which exhibited a community of interests between Persia and Russia, hitherto undiscovered, and a common opposition to England which Persia had never before contemplated. In furtherance of the concerted projects of these parties, an envoy was sent by the Shah to Kandahar and Cabool, charged with presents and communications, not only from his Persian Majesty, but also from the Russian Minister at the Persian court.

Influenced by these considerations, the Shah, notwithstanding the ill success of his expedition against the Turcomans, again began to collect an army for the purpose of attacking Herat, but, before his preparations were completed, an envoy from Prince Kamran arrived at the Persian capital to negociate an amicable adjustment of the differences between the Ruler of Herat and the Shah. The Herat envoy immediately put himself in communication with Mr. M'Neill, who was also invited by the Persian government to take part in the discussions.

In a despatch dated 30th June, Mr. M'Neill details the nature and the result of these negotiations, on which he makes the following remarks:—

'It soon became sufficiently evident that the real question at issue between the parties was the sovereignty of Herat, which the Shah of Persia claimed for himself, but which Kamran was not prepared to relinquish; and this appeared to me to be precisely the question in which the British government was most interested. I regarded it as of the utmost importance to our security in India that Herat should not become dependent on Persia, in such a manner that it should follow the fate of this country, or become available to any Power which might obtain a controul over the councils of the Shah. I therefore not only could not advise the Herat Envoy to concede this point, but I considered it my duty to say that, if this concession should be made, and the relations of Kamran and the people of Herat to the Shah of Persia should thus become those of subjects to a sovereign, I could take no further part in the negotiation.

'I had been instructed by the government of India to dissuade the Shah from undertaking another expedition against Herat, and to inform his Majesty that to prosecute this war might diminish the cordiality which had so long subsisted between England and Persia. In my despatch of the 24th of February I expressed an opinion that the war which the Shah was prosecuting against Herat was a just war; and I ventured to question the advantage, under such circumstances, of endeavouring, by implied threats, to dissuade him from renewing it; but when the Herat government offered terms so very advantageous, that I felt convinced Persia could not, by the conquest of the place, have gained so much in strength and security, it appeared to me that the war had from that moment become, on the part of Persia, an unjust war; and that, having been requested by the Persian government to take a part in the negotiation, while the Herat Envoy had placed himself entirely in my hands, I could no longer with advantage maintain the reserve I had hitherto thought it advisable to maintain in regard to this question.

question. I therefore determined to take this opportunity of making a stand; and to remove every excuse for mutual distrust, I ventured to engage, on the part of the British government, that it would use its endeavours to get the terms fulfilled by both parties. While I was determined to maintain, at all hazards, the principle of the independence of Herat, I did not object to the concessions which were voluntarily made by Shah Kamran, because, so long as the Persian government was precluded from interfering in the internal affairs of Herat, and marching troops into that country, Herat would form a barrier against the further advance of Persia in that direction, and one, too, which, by an engagement to look to the faithful observance of the proposed arrangement, we should have acquired the right of assisting to guard.

'The pretensions of Persia to the sovereignty of Affghanistan appeared to me to be such as we were neither called upon by a sense of justice, nor permitted by a due regard to our own security, to sanction or allow. I thought I could show, from our treaty with Persia, that the Affghans were looked upon by the Persian government itself, at the time when that treaty was signed, as an independent nation; while the fact of our having concluded a treaty of defensive alliance with their sovereign, in 1809, precluded the possibility, so long as they preserved their actual independence, of our being called upon to acknowledge them to be subjects of Persia.

'In my letter recommending the Persian government to accept the terms offered by the Herat Envoy, I had stated my fears that, if these terms were rejected, and troops were sent against Herat, the British government might suspect that Persia had in view, in prosecuting the war, other objects than those which she had avowed. His Excellency refers to the perfect union of the nations as an answer to this statement. In my reply, I have thought it necessary to point out to him that the course pursued by the government of the present Shah has not been that which was best calculated to secure to Persia the advantages of that perfect confidence in her views and intentions which she expects the British government to feel; and I have endeavoured to make his Excellency perceive that, if Persia is deterred by fear of others from rendering justice or evincing her friendship to England, such a state of things must effectually destroy all confidence in her policy, especially as the increasing disorganization and weakness of the government must tend to increase the evil.

'I think it possible that this discussion may, for a time, produce some unpleasant feeling on the part of the Shah and his minister towards myself; for everything done by a public servant here is looked upon as emanating from his own feelings, and becomes personal; but after very anxious deliberation, and keeping in mind the instructions I had received from India, I came to the conclusion that the announcement of the sentiments and opinions I have conveyed to this Government in these letters was more important than my own personal position at this court.

'I was about to close this despatch when I received from his Excellency the prime minister the enclosure No. 6. Judging from the

Shah's

Shah's present feelings, I do not see much reason to hope that any arrangement will, for the present, be concluded; but the envoy assures me that, on his arrival at Herat, he will be able to send me a copy of the proposed arrangement, sealed by Kamran Shah, and by his minister Yar Mahommed Khan, with permission to exchange it for a similar copy, sealed by the Shah and prime minister of Persia, should they at any time be induced to accept the arrangement.'

When Persia rejected terms so advantageous, it is sufficiently obvious that reparation for the past and security for the future were not the objects she had in view; and if any doubt could have remained on this subject, it would have been removed by the memorandum commenting on the terms proposed by the Herat envoy, which the Persian prime minister transmitted to Mr. M'Neill, and which was enclosed in the despatch above quoted. In this document it is unequivocally announced that the object of the Persian government was to annex Herat to the dominions of the Shah, and that no conditions which did not imply the accomplishment of that object would satisfy his Persian majesty.

The Russian minister asserts that at this time he endeavoured to dissuade the Shah from marching against Herat; and a despatch from that functionary dated the 23rd July (p. 43 of the printed papers), which was communicated by the Russian government to the British minister at St. Petersburg, announces at once the fixed resolution of the Shah to engage in the war, and the endeavours of Count Simonich to dissuade him from prosecuting it. The Count pointedly states that if he could have induced the Shah to remain until the autumn, the differences with Kamran might have been terminated by negotiation, and adds, 'If his majesty was not able to convince me of the necessity of making war upon Kamran, he at least proved that he was immoveable in his resolution.' Here then is an admission on the part of the Russian minister himself, that if the Shah had abstained from hostilities there was reason to expect that the differences with Herat might have been amicably arranged, and a declaration that the Shah had been unable to convince him of the necessity of making war upon Herat. These circumstances will be found to have a significant bearing on the statements and the line of argument adopted by Count Nesselrode in a letter to Count Pozzo di Borgo, in which he offers explanations to the British government respecting the proceedings of Russia and her agents in the East; and this letter of the Russian minister is also important, as it is almost the only one of his despatches which appears to have been communicated to the British government—and more especially as its tone and the course which it represents

Count Simonich to have adopted, are altogether at variance with the whole of his previous and subsequent proceedings.

On the 23rd of July the Shah marched against Herat, disregarding the remonstrances of the British minister and the *dissuasions* of Count Simonich; but various impediments delayed the progress of the army, and on the 14th October it had advanced no further than to the vicinity of Nishapoor, not much above half the distance from the capital to the frontier of Persia, on the side nearest to Herat. On that day Colonel Stoddart writes to Mr. M'Neill—

> 'Captain Vicovich of the Russian service, an aide-de-camp of the general at Orenberg, arrived here from Tehran and Resht on the 10th instant. He is gone on a mission to Cabool. Horsemen have been given to pass him to Toorbut, thence a change to Khain, thence again to Lash, from thence Kandahar. He left yesterday.'

With reference to this communication, Mr. M'Neill informs Lord Palmerston that—

> 'Vicovich had everywhere announced that he was sent to intimate the arrival at Asterabad of a large Russian force, destined to co-operate with the Shah's army against Herat.'

And adds,—

> 'Count Simonich has never on any occasion mentioned to me the name of this individual, or alluded in any way to the intercourse between Russia and Cabool.'

The despatch of the Russian minister in Persia, announcing his unsuccessful endeavours to dissuade the Shah from marching against Herat, was communicated to Mr. Milbanke, at St. Petersburg, on the 8th September. That communication could have been made for no other purpose than to convey to the British government a renewed assurance that the cabinet of St. Petersburg was acting, and had forced its representative in Persia to act, in conformity with the language it had held to Lord Durham, and therefore in concert with the British government. Yet, at this very time, at the moment when it was renewing these assurances, it must have been employed in secretly despatching to Cabool an accredited agent, whose proceedings have been proved by incontestable evidence to have been but a series of intrigues unfriendly to England and hostile to her interests. Capt. Vicovich arrived in the Shah's camp about one month after this communication had been made.

We have seen that in 1835 Dost Mahommed Khan had despatched accredited agents to Russia and to Persia to ask assistance against the Seiks. In the following year he addressed a letter to Lord Auckland, who had lately arrived in India, soliciting his Lordship's advice and protection. This correspondence ultimately

ultimately led to the employment of Captain Burnes on a mission into Affghanistan, and especially to Cabool, for the purpose of making arrangements with the chiefs of those countries, such as might tend to facilitate the commercial intercourse which has at all times been carried on between India and Central Asia, and to which it was believed the arrangements then recently concluded for the navigation of the Indus, would give a considerable impulse. Captain Burnes's instructions are dated the 5th September, 1836, but the previous arrangements which he had to conclude with the chiefs on the Indus, and the impediments which were thrown in his way by the hostilities which had broken out between Dost Mahommed Khan and the Seiks, delayed his arrival at Cabool till September, 1837. In the mean time, the Persian envoy had arrived at Kandahar, and had communicated with Cabool, and the first effect of this communication was to diminish the cordiality of tone which had previously marked the letters Dost Mahommed Khan had written to Captain Burnes while on his way to Cabool. The Persian envoy at Kandahar had expatiated on the intimacy and the concert which existed between Persia and Russia, contrasting the high value of an alliance with these two powers with the comparative worthlessness of a connexion with England, and extolling the military power of Russia as superior to that of all other nations; still, Dost Mahommed Khan professed to prefer the friendship of England to that of the more distant powers to the westward.

The appearance of the Persian envoy in these parts, and the language he was holding, induced the government of India to give more of a political character than had been originally intended to the mission of Captain Burnes, and circumstances occurred shortly after his arrival at Cabool, which made him feel that even the more extended authority with which he had been furnished was not sufficient to enable him to meet the exigencies of the occasion.

Kohundil Khan, of Kandahar, influenced by the presence and the promises of the Persian envoy, and by the advice and the hopes which were held out to him by the Russian minister at the Persian court, seemed determined to prefer the alliance with Persia and Russia to that with England. Desirous to secure to himself all the advantages of being the leader of the Persian and Russian party in Affghanistan, even to the exclusion of his brother of Cabool, he detained the Persian envoy at Kandahar,—entered with him on the negotiation of a treaty, placing himself under the protection of Persia, with the guarantee of Russia,—despatched another messenger to the Shah to forward these negotiations,—and made preparations to send his son, Omar Khan, to co-operate in the attack upon Herat, and to serve as a hostage for the faithful performance of the engagements his father was contracting with Persia.

The professed object of Dost Mahommed in seeking foreign alliances, whether with Persia and Russia on the one side, or with England on the other, was to protect himself against the Seiks. When the government of India felt itself called upon by the proceedings of Persia, in concert with Russia, to deviate from the rule which it had hitherto prescribed to itself of not interfering in the political affairs of Affghanistan, it appears to have contemplated the adjustment of the differences between Dost Mahommed and the Seiks, in such a manner as would afford security to the Affghan chief, as the first step to be taken for promoting the tranquillity of Affghanistan and the prosperity of commerce, as well as with the view of defeating the intrigues of Persia and Russia in those parts. And as the only object of Dost Mahommed Khan, in seeking alliances with foreign courts, appeared to be protection against the Seiks, it was not unreasonable to presume, that any arrangement which should ensure to him that protection, would meet the difficulties which had led him to court a foreign alliance, and would therefore remove the only inducement which he appeared to have to form connexions which might ultimately prove to be injurious to our interests. The government of India, therefore, authorized Captain Burnes to tender its good offices, with a view to the adjustment, on equitable terms, of the differences between Dost Mahommed and the Seiks; but coupled with this proposal was a condition that the chief of Cabool, in consideration of the friendly intervention of the British government to effect this object, should renounce all connexion with the governments to the westward—that is, with Persia and Russia,—except with the concurrence of England. It is quite obvious that the British government had a right, under all circumstances, to annex to the proposal for mediation between the Affghan chief and the Seiks any conditions it might think proper, and that, if the proposal it made was not accepted, it still retained the right to defend its own interests from the evils with which it might be threatened by the proceedings of the chief of Cabool. He had already sought the assistance of Russia, and he had addressed the sovereign of Persia in terms which were almost equivalent to a proposal to place himself in actual dependence on that power. The Persian government had rejected the very advantageous terms which had been offered by the government of Herat, and had unequivocally announced their intention to annex Herat to the Persian dominions. They were negotiating a treaty with the chiefs of Kandahar, under the guarantee of Russia, which had for its object to place these chiefs in a state of dependence on Persia, and to secure to them the aid of Persia against England. The concert of Persia and Russia in their proceedings in Affghanistan had ceased to be doubtful, and the hostile views towards England with which the Russian agents were prosecuting this scheme of concerted action with Persia, had been exposed in the correspondence of Dost Mahommed Khan's agent at the court of Persia with his master. The nature of these hostile views will be made more intelligible by the following letter from Captain Burnes, written before his arrival at Cabool, and addressed to the Secretary of the Indian Government:—

' *Cabool*, 15*th November*, 1837.

'I do myself the honour to transmit, for the information of the Governor-General, the copy of a letter received some time since by the Ameer of Cabool from His Excellency Count Simonich, the Russian Ambassador at Tehran; likewise one from the Ameer's agent forwarding the same.

' His Lordship is already aware, by the dispatches of Her Majesty's Ambassador in Persia, that a communication was also addressed by the Russian Ambassador to the Chief of Candahar. A double opportunity is now offered of judging of the designs and intentions of Russia in this quarter.

' If anything were wanting to bear out the correctness of Mr. M'Neill's views as expressed in his dispatch of the 30th June last, to Her Majesty's Secretary for Foreign Affairs, regarding the encouragement given to Persia by Russia to extend her influence to the countries eastward, these papers now forwarded carry the clearest proof of it, for the Russian Ambassador himself commences the correspondence with the Chief of Cabool, and tells him that, if the Shah of Persia will not assist him, *his* court is ready to do so.'

' Inclosure 1.

' *The Russian Ambassador, at Tehran, to Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan of Cabool.*

' In these happy days, the respectable Hajee Ibrahim Khan, one of your people, arrived at the door of His Majesty the Shah. He has now got leave to return to you, and I embrace the opportunity to write to you, being induced to do so by the praises which I am always hearing of you, and the friendly conversation which has passed between your man and myself. Through him, therefore, I send this friendly letter, and hope that you in future will keep up a correspondence with me.

' Considering me your friend, I trust that you will strengthen the bonds of friendship by writing to me, and freely commanding my services, as I shall always be happy to do anything for you.

' Look upon me as your servant, and let me hear from you.

(Sealed.) ' COUNT IWAN SIMONICH.

' *Minister Plenipotentiary of the Russian Government.*'

' Inclosure

'Inclosure 2.

'*Letter to Ameer of Cabool, forwarding the preceding, from Hajee Ibrahim, his Agent at Tehran.*

'I reached the camp of the Shah in the month of Jumad-ool-wal. When His Majesty learned the contents of your letter he was happy and kind to me; at that time the Shah was at Chushma Ali, seven marches from Tehran, near Dam Ghan; he stated that on arriving at Khalpush he would discharge me with some messages to you. On his reaching Khalpush, he went to punish the Turkomans, and I accompanied His Majesty as desired. When we returned to Sharood the winter set in, and the Shah, by the advice of his counsellors, left his artillery there, abandoned the intention of going to Herat this year, and returned to Tehran. He ordered his nobles to get ready by Noo-Roz, for an expedition to Herat.

'The Shah directed me to inform you that he will shortly send an Elchee, who, after meeting you, will proceed to Runjeet Sing to explain to him, on the part of the Shah, that if he (Runjeet) will not restore all the Affghan countries to you, the Ameer, he must be prepared to receive the Persian army. When the Shah takes Herat he has promised to send you money and any troops you want.

'The Russian Ambassador, who is always with the Shah, has sent you a letter, which I inclose. The substance of his verbal messages to you is, that if the Shah does everything you want, so much the better; and if not, the Russian government will furnish you (the Ameer) with everything wanting.

'The object of the Russian Elchee, by his message, is to have a road to the English (India), and for this they are very anxious. He is waiting for your answer, and I am sure he will serve you. The letter you sent through Aga Mahomed Kashee pleased the Shah very much, and he (Mahomed Hossein) will soon return to you.

'The Ausef-ud-Dowlah, the Ruler of Khorassan, has written to the Shah that he saw Yar Mahomed Khan on this side of Furrah; he says that he has not power to oppose the Shah, but he will not serve him until the Shah gives him money to take Candahar and Cabool.

'I send you the letter (Firmaun) of the Shah, which will, I trust, meet approbation.'

It was surely high time to put an end to an intercourse which was secretly carried on with such intentions, and if the attempt to do so by negotiation should fail, there could be no doubt that the time was come when it was indispensable to the security and the tranquillity of India to take whatever measures might be necessary to separate Affghanistan from the league which it was proposed to form against us.

Captain Burnes, with his usual activity and energy, applied himself to the difficult task which had been assigned to him. His reception at Cabool was cordial, and Dost Mahomed Khan for some time appeared to be disposed to connect himself with England rather than with the Russo-Persian league. He had

had conceived some jealousy of the proceedings of his brothers at Kandahar, who were obviously endeavouring to negotiate not only as independent of him, but separately from him, and to put themselves more prominently forward in the negotiations with Persia and Russia than was altogether consistent with the relative positions they had previously occupied. His confidence in Captain Burnes personally,—his knowledge of the influence which the British government in India could exercise at the court of Lahore,—the importance which he derived in the eyes of his subjects and his neighbours from the presence of a British mission at his capital,—and the hopes he permitted himself to entertain, that by the support of England he might not only obtain security against the Seiks, but gain other considerable advantages in his negotiations with their ruler,—led him to support the views of Great Britain, even in opposition to his brothers at Kandahar,—induced him to decline receiving the Persian envoy at Cabool,—and predisposed him to co-operate with Captain Burnes in detaching those brothers from the connexion they seemed resolved to form with Persia. These advantages were turned to the best account by the British minister at Cabool, and there appeared to be every prospect of a successful termination to his negotiations with Dost Mahomed. Captain Leech was detached to Kandahar to communicate with Kohundil Khan and his brothers; and, deeply as they had already involved themselves in the intrigues of Persia and Russia, they seem for a time to have expressed a readiness to enter into engagements with England. But the hope of playing off England against Russia and Persia, and these powers against England—and the prospect of advantage to themselves, which they believed to be opened to them by a competition between states so powerful and wealthy for their attachment—divested their communications of all sincerity, and enough transpired to destroy every feeling of confidence in their good faith. A comparison of dates will show that they were at the same time holding out to England on the one side, and to Persia and Russia on the other, professions of the most cordial attachment, and proposals for an intimate and exclusive alliance. Their object appeared to be to put themselves up to public sale, and it would therefore have been extremely hazardous to have placed any reliance on their assurances, their promises, or their engagements. Even if we had condescended to become the purchasers of their prostituted attachment, we could have had no security that the subsequent offer of a larger price might not have been as successful as it usually is in obtaining for a new suitor the advantages, whatever they may be, of a connexion avowedly mercenary. What had become necessary to us was a permanent

nent influence in Affghanistan, and it could hardly be hoped that a permanent influence could be founded on so unstable a basis.

Meanwhile these chiefs were in continual correspondence with the Shah of Persia, and with the Russian mission at his court. And the Shah himself, his prime minister, M. Goutte, the member of the Russian mission then with the Shah, and M. Borowski, a Polish officer in the Persian service, who was in intimate connexion with the Russian mission, all addressed letters to the chiefs of Kandahar, urging them to conclude the proposed alliance with Persia, and offering them every advantage and security which extensive military and pecuniary aid, the possession of Herat when it should be taken, and the moral support of these two powers with Russia's guarantee of the treaty between them and the Shah, could afford.

It must be admitted that to men incapable from their ignorance of estimating accurately the value of the promises made to them, or the probability that these would or could be performed, and who were by the same cause unable to perceive the full extent of the danger to which they might expose themselves by accepting proposals *primâ facie* so advantageous, the temptation must have been almost irresistible. Yet the chiefs of Kandahar appear for some time to have hesitated, or at least delayed the conclusion of the proposed treaty, and showed a disposition to await the result of the Shah's operations at Herat before they should take a decided course. Unquestionably the most important consideration which they were to receive was the possession of Herat, and the territory dependent upon it, which would have more than doubled in extent, tripled in value, and infinitely increased in political weight their territorial possessions; and it was of the utmost consequence to them to be secured in this advantage before they closed the bargain. In this state of things the Russian emissary, Captain Vicovitch,—"the respectable Captain Vicovitch,"—appeared at Kandahar, armed with letters, not only from the Russian minister in Persia, but also from the Emperor himself, and from Count Nesselrode, and finding that matters there were easily put in a favourable train, he hastened on to Cabool to deliver his credentials to Dost Mahomed Khan, to promise him pecuniary assistance against *the Seiks*,—to urge him to renounce his connexion with England,—and to persuade him to place himself in intimate alliance with Russia and Persia, if not in dependence upon them, as his brothers at Kandahar were already prepared to do. We have seen what were the ultimate objects for which the Russian agents cultivated this connexion. "The object of the Russian Elchee by this message

is

is to have a road to the English (India), and for this they are very anxious."

But notwithstanding this active interference on the part of Persia and Russia, the chiefs of Cabool and Kandahar still hesitated to commit themselves openly to a connexion which involved opposition to the views and interests of England, and for some time they seem to have persevered in the intention to play off the Russian against the English agent. This appears more particularly to have been the scheme of the Kandahar chiefs and their advisers, for in a letter from Moola Reshid—the counsellor of Kohen Dil Khan, to the Ameer of Cabool, we find the following passages:—

'You have now both the English and Russian Ambassadors at your court. Please to settle matters with any of them who you may think may do some good office hereafter.

'When this Russian Elchee arrives at Cabool show him respect, and it will rouse the mind of Alexander Burnes. His appearance will also induce him (Mr. Burnes) to be sharp, and to put off delay in promoting objects.'

Captain Vicovitch arrived at Cabool, and Captain Burnes reports his proceedings in a letter of the 22nd December, 1837, in which we find this remarkable inclosure:—

'*Count Simonich, the Russian Ambassador at Tehran, to Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, of Cabool.* (*Received on the* 20*th December*, 1837.)

'The respectable P. Vicovitch will wait upon you with this letter.

'Your agent Hajee Hoosain Alee has been attacked by a severe illness, and therefore he stopped at Moscow: when the intelligence of his bad health was conveyed to the Emperor, a good physician was ordered to attend, and cure him as soon as possible. On his recovering I will not fail to facilitate him in his long journey back to Cabool.

'Knowing your anxiety to hear from this quarter I have hastened to despatch the bearer to you. He was ordered to accompany your agent to Cabool. I hope on his arrival at your court that you will treat him with consideration, and trust him with your secrets. I beg you will look upon him like myself, and take his words as if they were from me. In case of his detention at Cabool you will allow him often to be in your presence; and let my master know, through me, about your wishes, that anxiety may be removed.

'Though the great distance has been preventing the continuance of my correspondence with you, I am always very happy to respect and serve your friends, to show my friendly opinions towards you.

'The cause of our often hearing from each other merely depends upon our friendship and acquaintance.

'I have some Russian rarities to forward to you: as the bearer (P. Vickovitch) is lightly equipped, it was beyond his power to take them along with him; but I will take the first opportunity to convey them

safely

safely to you, and now have the pleasure to send you the undermentioned list of them :—

' *First kind of Samoor.*

	Piece.		Piece.
Gilt and silvered cloth	1	Do. white with gold flower	1
Cloth with do. flowered	1	Alachah with gold flower	1
Do. with gilt do.	1	Do. yellow and silver do.	1
Do. with green gilt flowers	1	Do. red with green	1
Zari Abi with gilt do.	1	Do. light blue	1
Do. firmaz of gold	1	Do. with red flower	1
Do. do. of silver	1	Do. green	1
Parcha huzir red and white	1	Do. banassh	1
Do. painted	1	Do. red and light blue '	1

On the following day Captain Burnes thus continues to Lord Auckland his report of M. Vicovitch's proceedings :—

' *Cabool*, 23*rd December*, 1837.

' In the dispatches, which I forward by this opportunity to Mr. Macnaghten, your Lordship will find a report of the extraordinary circumstances of an agent having arrived at this capital direct from St. Petersburg, with a letter from the Shah of Persia and Count Simonich, the Russian Ambassador at Tehran.

' Before I enter upon the messages delivered by the agent to the Ameer, it is proper to state the information which has reached me regarding what has passed at Candahar. In my official communication of the 9th of September last, your Lordship will remember that I reported the departure of one Hajee Mobeen on a mission to Persia, and, as it was believed, in pursuance of the advice of the Russian Ambassador. That individual accompanied Mahomed Shah to Khorassan, and was requested by his Majesty to await the arrival of Captain Vicovitch, and proceed with him to Candahar. The connexion between Russia and Persia in this part of the transaction leaves little doubt of the whole being a concerted plan between these powers. The statement made by the Emissary to the Sirdars of Candahar was to the effect that Russia had full influence in Persia; and that they should assist the Shah, and draw on him for money, and if their drafts were not paid, that the Russian Government would be responsible for their discharge; but that they should follow the wishes of Mahomed Shah if they sought the Emperor's good offices, and on no account ally themselves with the English nation. This declaration, if true, is certainly most explicit; but though it has been communicated to me by a man whose other reports entirely tally with all that is passing in Candahar, and who is the individual that made known to me five months ago the then inexplicable nature of Hajee Mobeen's Mission, I should not wish your Lordship to give to it that confidence which I seek to place on the report of events that have transpired in Cabool.

' On the evening of the 20th instant, the Ameer received the Russian messenger. On the agents producing Mahomed Shah's ruckum, the Ameer felt a degree of irritation which he could hardly control, and said, in Affghanee, " that it was an insult to him, and a proof of Mahomed Shah's being guided by advisers; for his master, the Emperor, wrote him a letter, and the subservient Shah of Persia arrogated to himself the right of sending him a ruckum, or order, with his seal in the face of the document." The agent was then dismissed, and invited to the Bala Hissar on the following day.

'The communications which passed on this second occasion have been also made known to me, and are of a startling nature. M. Vicovitch informed Dost Mahomed Khan that the Russian Government had desired him to state his sincere sympathy with the difficulties under which he laboured; and that it would afford it great pleasure to assist him in repelling the attacks of Runjeet Sing on his dominions; that it was ready to furnish him with a sum of money for the purpose, and to continue the supply annually, expecting in return the Ameer's good offices. That it was in its power to forward the pecuniary assistance as far as Bokhara, with which state it had friendly and commercial relations; but that the Ameer must arrange for its being forwarded on to Cabool. The agent stated that this was the principal object of his mission; but that there were other matters which he would state by and by; that he hoped the Ameer would give him a speedy answer to despatch to St. Petersburg; and that with reference to himself, he would go, if dismissed, along with it, though he gave the Ameer to understand (and under which impression he still continues) that it is his wish to remain, at least for a time, in Cabool. The report of this interview has been communicated to me from two sources, and they both agree in the substance of what passed.'

These facts and observations require no comment; they speak a language which is intelligible to all men; they disclose views on the part of the Russian agents which cannot be mistaken; and Lieutenant Leech's report of the language Captain Vicovitch had held at Kandahar is equally unequivocal.

The Secretary to the Government of India, on receiving intelligence of the arrival of the Russian emissary at Cabool, addressed to Captain Burnes the following letter:—

'*20th January*, 1838.

'His Lordship attaches little immediate importance to this mission of the Russian agent, although he will bring all the circumstances connected with it to the notice of the Home authorities, as it undoubtedly marks a desire, which has long been known to exist on the part of the Russian Government, to push at least the influence of their name to our Indian frontier; and the proceedings, especially of the Russian envoy at Tehran, in regard to it, are open to much observation.

'His Lordship is much gratified at the deference to our views shown by Dost Mahomed Khan, in requesting your advice as to the reception of this agent; and he entirely approves your having sanctioned his being admitted to the presence of the Ameer, and treated with becoming civility. If he be not already gone from Cabool, you will suggest to the Ameer that he be dismissed with courtesy, with a letter of compliments and thanks to the Emperor of Russia, for his proffered kindness to Cabool traders. His mission should be assumed to have been, as represented, entirely for commercial objects; and no notice need be taken of the messages with which he may profess to have been charged.

'This course will be recommended by you, in the event of the Ameer being firmly disposed to abide by our good offices. If he should, on the other hand, seek to retain the agent, and to enter into any description of political intercourse with him, you will give him distinctly to understand that your mission will retire; that our good offices with the Sikhs will wholly cease; and that, indeed, the act will be considered a direct breach of friendship with the British Government. It has been before, at different times stated to you, that the continuance of our good offices must be entirely dependent on the relinquishment by the Ameer of alliances with any power to the westward.'

It therefore became the duty of Captain Burnes to bring Dost Mahomed Khan to a speedy decision as to the course he would pursue. The alternative offered him was a connexion with England, which involved a renunciation of his intercourse with Persia and Russia—or a renunciation of his intercourse with England, and an alliance with Persia and Russia for objects unfriendly to Great Britain, and hostile to her interests.

The eyes of central Asia were at this time directed to Herat. The Shah of Persia, having collected all the disposable forces of his empire, had advanced against that city. He had proclaimed his intention to annex it and its dependencies to Persia; he had revived the ancient claims of Persia to the sovereignty of Affghanistan; he had publicly announced that both Kandahar and Cabool had offered their allegiance to Persia, and had become dependencies of that empire; he had received encouragement and promises of support, and even pecuniary assistance from the Russian minister at his Court; he had sent an accredited Persian agent to Kandahar and Cabool, who boasted the intimate connexion and concert between Persia and Russia; he had promoted and encouraged the intercourse between the Russian authorities and the chiefs of Affghanistan, and he had taken an active part in forwarding and recommending to the Affghan chiefs the Russian agent, who had secretly been sent to them; in short, both by his acts and his declarations he had put it beyond all doubt that his views of conquest in Affghanistan were favoured and promoted by the agents of Russia, and that his operations, both military and diplomatic, in that country, were carried on in concert with them. But not content with affording the most unequivocal evidence of concert with Russia, the Persian Government had also taken an opportunity to resent the existence of even a diplomatic intercourse between the British minister and the government of Herat, and in doing so had offered a grave indignity to the British mission and Government, by seizing and openly ill-treating one of its public messengers

gers who was on his way from Herat to the British mission at Tehran. The language held by the Persian ministers, from the moment on which the Shah finally advanced against Herat, had been disparaging to England and contemptuous in regard to her power in India. They even indulged in threats of a march to Delhi, and of following in the footsteps of Nadir Shah. They had set at nought the remonstrances of the British minister against the expedition, and they took every opportunity to express to the Affghans, who approached them, their contempt of the English, and their perfect confidence in the superior power of Russia. But the fact that England opposed the Shah's views in Affghanistan was as well known as was the share which the Russian agents had taken in forwarding his enterprise and in promoting his success; the conduct of the Persian authorities to the English messenger, as well as the language which they held, had become too notorious to leave any doubt in the minds of any of the chiefs who rule the countries from the Russian frontiers to those of British India, that the contest in which the Shah had engaged with the Affghans of Herat was one in which the Russians were ranged on the side of Persia, and the English on the side of the Affghans. 'All central Asia,' says Mr. M'Neill, 'will regard it as a question between the greater powers, whose views are so publicly spoken of, that I did not converse with a villager between Tehran and this place, who did not ask me whether the Russians did not favour and the English oppose the Shah's enterprise against Herat.'

On the 16th December, 1837, Mr. M'Neill communicated to Lord Palmerston the following intelligence:—

'*Tehran, December* 16, 1837.

'I have the honour to inform your Lordship, that by the latest intelligence I have received, Captain Vicovich had passed Khain, from whence he was escorted, by order of the Persian Government, to Jowein, on the road to Kandahar. I find that this person was furnished with letters of recommendation from the Persian Government to the several chiefs in Affghanistan, with whom it is in correspondence, that he was supplied with funds by the Shah, and that he was treated with great distinction in the camp, where presents of some value were bestowed upon him.

'It is reported and believed at Tehran, that the Russian Minister has announced the intention of his Government, if the Shah should succeed in taking Herat, to release Persia from the engagement to pay the balance of the debt due by her to Russia; and the reason assigned for this act of grace is, that the Emperor desires to contribute that amount towards defraying the expenses of the campaign.

'I also learn from good authority that Prince Karaman Meerza at Tabreez was publicly informed by Hoossein Khan, on his return from the royal camp, that the Russian Minister had lent the Shah 50,000 tomauns to enable him to proceed on this campaign.

'It is only a few days since Count Simonich, in conversation with a Persian, stated it as his opinion, that the capture of Herat by the Shah could not fail to cause disturbances in India amongst the Mahometans of that country; and the Persian Government has lately been in the habit of descanting largely on the facility with which its disciplined infantry and artillery, aided by the Affghan horse, could overturn the power of the Seiks, and follow the course of Nadir Shah. The insecurity of the tenure by which the British Government holds India has become a frequent subject of conversation in camp since the army set out on this campaign against Herat. Orders have just been received from camp to cast 60,000 shot.'

To the chiefs of Cabool and Kandahar the result of the siege of Herat was of greater importance than to any one else. It is obvious that until the Shah of Persia should have reduced Herat he could not with facility or security establish or maintain his authority in the other portions of Affghanistan which lay beyond it; but that as soon as he should have made himself master of that important city, he would not only have opened the way for his troops to Kandahar and Cabool, but he would, at the same time, have produced so great a moral effect by his success, and by the advantages of the position he would then have acquired, as must have decided in his favour the vacillating policy of Dost Mahommed and Kohundil Khan. He would have been enabled to carry out the scheme of uniting Herat and Kandahar into one principality tributary to Persia, and he would, therefore, have had it in his power to offer to Kohundil Khan all the advantages which he expected to derive from the treaty he was negotiating with his Persian Majesty. But the extension of Persian dominion must have involved a similar extension of Russian influence, to the exclusion of that of England; for the operations of Persia and Russia were concerted, and Russia would have acquired a right to interfere authoritatively in the relations of Persia with Affghanistan, for she was to guarantee the treaties which would have given to the Shah the sovereignty of that country.

The Shah's first operations were successful. He arrived before Ghorian without having encountered any opposition; and, after a siege of only ten days, that fortress, which many of the Persians as well as of the Affghans considered stronger than Herat itself, surrendered on terms. The Persian army immediately advanced to Herat, and the siege of that city was commenced;—a memorable siege, in which the Affghans displayed qualities more resembling the antique heroism of Greece or Rome than the military character of modern Asiatics, and the Persian troops also gave proof of the eminent fitness of the men for all the operations of war which require courage, endurance, and intelligence combined.

We have seen that during his stay at Tehran, Mr. Ellis had expressed

expressed a strong opinion of the necessity to the security and tranquillity of India that the Shah should be prevented from prosecuting his views of conquest and aggrandizement in Affghanistan. In the negotiations at Tehran, Mr. M'Neill had stated his determination to maintain, at all hazards, the principle of the independence of Herat, and his conviction that it was of the greatest importance to the security and tranquillity of India that that independence should be preserved.

On the 23rd February, Mr. M'Neill, in a letter to Lord Palmerston, gives the following account of the state of affairs at the end of the third month of the siege:—

'The defence which Herat has made is very creditable to its inhabitants; and considering the amount of the means which the Shah succeeded in collecting before it (nearly forty thousand men and eighty guns), the want of artillery in the town, the facility with which His Majesty has obtained supplies, the depressing effect upon the Heratees of the fall of Ghorian, the failure of all their allies to afford them efficient succour, and the unusual mildness of season, so favourable to the operations of a siege, I confess the value of Herat has been greatly enhanced in my estimation. Although I have always regarded it as a most important position with reference to the security and tranquillity of India, I was not prepared to look on it as so strong and defensible a place, or as one so capable of being made a barrier to the advance of any hostile Power; and I feel that, if Herat should fall into the hands of any such Power, it would be an evil even greater than I had hitherto believed it would be.

'On the other hand, the fact that the Shah has been able, for above two months, to feed 40,000 men in his camp before Herat, notwithstanding the efforts that were made by the Herat Government to carry off and destroy the supplies which the country afforded, is a proof that a hostile army might move through that country without suffering from want, and gives great additional importance, as it appears to me, to the position of Herat, and to the influence which the Power that holds it may exercise over the future security of India, with reference, not only to its internal tranquillity, but to the possibility that such a position may be occupied by a hostile Power.

'From these considerations I am led to believe, that it may be of the very highest importance to preserve the independence of Herat, or at least to prevent its being incorporated with Persia, and that if the Shah should succeed in taking Herat, we shall have reason to regret not having interfered to prevent it. It appears to me, that success at Herat must inevitably lead the Shah further into Affghanistan, where he will come into collision with our influence, if not with our actual power; and that the possession of Herat by the Shah would therefore probably hasten the time when Persia would be openly opposed to our views, under circumstances which would hold out no promise of a speedy reconciliation, and at a time when Persia, already in possession of Herat, would have acquired the means of making her opposition to us more formidable,

formidable, as her power to injure us would be immensely increased. But I am inclined to believe, that if Great Britain were to interfere to preserve Herat, the fact that all further progress in that direction was arrested, would preclude the future and constantly recurring causes of irritation and opposition which a struggle for superior influence in Affghanistan, after the fall of Herat, would certainly involve.

'I am therefore of opinion that there is a greater possibility of our being able to preserve for many years our alliance with Persia, if the Government should decide upon preserving the independence of Herat, and forcing the Shah to accept equitable terms from that Government, than if we should stand aloof, and allow him to subdue Kamran. This one act of interference would, doubtless, cause some immediate irritation, but it would cause less than would be produced by our interfering to protect Kandahar after Herat shall have fallen; and if we must ultimately arrest the progress of Persia in Affghanistan, it appears to me that it can be most advantageously done for the preservation of the whole country, including so valuable a position as Herat.

'If the Shah should effect the subjugation of any portion of Affghanistan, he will employ the influence of the chiefs, who may have submitted to him, to disturb the power of those who have not; and when he has been elated with success, and has secured a footing in that country, from which it may be difficult to drive him, I fear that apprehension of a rupture with England would no longer deter him from prosecuting his conquests; and though he might hesitate to seek foreign aid for the purpose of getting possession of Herat, he might not improbably be induced to have recourse to it for the purpose of enabling him to retain a conquest which he had already made.

'The most obvious impediment to the interference of Great Britain in the quarrel between Persia and Herat, is the stipulation contained in the ninth Article of the Treaty of Tehran; but it can hardly be argued that this Article binds us to permit the unjust and wanton destruction by Persia of the most valuable defences of India, while the Shah appears to be acting in concert with, and promoting the influence in those countries, of that very Power whose exclusion from them has become the chief object of the alliance with His Persian Majesty.'

Captain Wade, the political agent at Loodiana, thus conveys to the Government of India his opinion of the importance of preserving Herat:—

'From the foregoing extract the deputation of Futteh Khan to Tehran would not seem to imply that "Shah Kamran had tendered his homage to the Shah of Persia," but that he had been sent with a view to adjust, if possible, by amicable means the conflicting interests of the Governments of Herat and Persia; and our ambassador had offered his mediation to promote that object, "considering the preservation of the sovereignty of Herat from the Government of Persia as precisely the question in which the British Government was most interested."

'It may appear an act of supererogation in me to add my testimony to that of Mr. M'Neill, as to the basis on which the negotiation should be conducted; but as his Lordship is aware of the extreme importance which

which I have always attached to securing the independence of Herat, whilst it is a source of satisfaction to me to find my view of the subject confirmed by an officer of the enlightened judgment and long-approved experience of our present Ambassador in Persia, I cannot help agreeing in opinion with Mr. M'Neill, that it ought to be the primary object of the British Government to "maintain, at all hazards," for reasons which I have often declared, the integrity of Herat, as the only safe and sure means of opposing the efforts of Persia to annihilate the independence of Affghanistan.

'The position in which our discussions with respect to Herat are now placed is one from which no consideration of submission to the views of Persia should, I think, divert our attention.'

In these opinions of the importance of preserving the independence of Herat, Captain Burnes entirely concurred; and it appears, from a letter of Mr. M'Neill to Lord Auckland, that the success or failure of the negotiations at Cabool were at this time believed to depend on the failure or success of the Shah in his attack on Herat. The Indian Government, therefore, became desirous that Mr. M'Neill should again attempt to mediate between the Persian and Herat Governments, and to remove the Shah from Herat by treaty or otherwise. The British Minister, accordingly, set out for the Persian camp. In his letter to Lord Palmerston, announcing his intention, and dated 3rd March, 1838, we find the following passage:—

'I hope to arrive in the Shah's camp on the 5th or 6th of April, and if Herat should hold out so long, and no terms should already have been agreed upon, I shall endeavour to effect what appear to be the Governor-General's wishes; and although I do not feel confident of success, I still think there is a prospect of my being able to withdraw the Shah, sufficiently promising to justify the attempt. I should have awaited the receipt of the Governor-General's instructions, had I not feared that the delay might have caused me to arrive too late; and it is still possible that they may overtake me before I can arrive at Herat.'

Mr. M'Neill arrived at Herat on the 6th of April, as appears from his letter of the 12th of that month, to Lord Auckland,—a letter which we cannot extract, but to which we refer for a detail of the attempts of the Persian authorities to prevent him from advancing. On the same day he also writes to Lord Palmerston, and after giving an account of the progress of the siege and the privations of the Persian army, he adds—

'In the mean time, Captain Vicovich continues to remain at Cabool, and I learn from Captain Burnes's communications that the success of his negotiations there will in a great measure depend on the failure of the Shah's enterprise against Herat. At Kandahar, our position is even more precarious; and I have the honour to inclose a translation of a draft of a treaty between the Shah and the Chief of Kandahar, which it is proposed to conclude by the mediation and under the guarantee of Russia,

Russia, and which has for its object to unite Herat and Kandahar under a chief, who shall be nominally subject to Persia, but actually under the protection of Russia. I am unable to inform your lordship what progress has been made towards the conclusion of this treaty, or what view the Shah may have taken of the position in respect to these countries, in which, by this arrangement, he would be placed; but the treaty is said to have been signed by Kohundil Khan, and I am not without very serious apprehensions, that even before the fall of Herat, Kohundil Khan may be induced to co-operate with the Shah; while in the event of Herat's being reduced, I cannot doubt that the Chief of Kandahar will consider it to be for his advantage to connect himself with Persia and Russia rather than with England. I, therefore, continue to be of opinion that the fall of Herat would destroy our position in Affghanistan, and place all, or nearly all that country under the influence or authority of Russia and Persia. I need not repeat to your Lordship my opinion as to the effect which such a state of things would necessarily have on the internal tranquillity and security of British India; and I cannot conceive that any treaty can bind us to permit the prosecution of schemes which threaten the stability of the British empire in the East. The evidence of concert between Persia and Russia for purposes injurious to British interests is unequivocal, and the magnitude of the evil with which we are threatened is, in my estimation, immense, and such as no power in alliance with Great Britain can have a right to aid in producing. Our connexion with Persia has for its real and avowed original object to give additional security to India, and it has been maintained for the purpose of protecting us against designs of the only power which threatened to disturb us in that quarter; but if the proceedings of Persia, in concert with that very power, are directed to the destruction of the security and tranquillity which it was the sole object of the alliance with Persia to maintain; and if they obviously tend to promote and facilitate the designs which the alliance was intended to counteract; I confess I cannot believe that we are still bound to act up to the letter of a treaty, the spirit of which has been so flagrantly violated. I do not hesitate to repeat my conviction, that if our only object were to preserve as long as possible the alliance of Persia, that object could best be effected by preventing her from taking Herat.'

The progress and result of the negotiations at Herat is detailed in Mr. M'Neill's letter to Lord Palmerston, dated the 12th May, 1838, to which we refer our readers.

In the mean time the following instructions had been addressed to him by Lord Palmerston:—

'*Foreign Office, May* 21, 1838.

'I have received your despatches to the 8th of March, reporting the progress of events in Persia, and stating your intention of setting out to the camp of the Shah before Herat, in order to endeavour to prevail upon the Shah to abandon the attack upon that town and its territory; and I have to inform you that her Majesty's government entirely approve the step which you were going to take.

'If,

'If, when you receive this despatch, you shall have succeeded in inducing the Shah to retire from Herat, either with or without an arrangement with the Ruler of Herat, you will have accomplished an object of great importance to British interests in the east: and you will then only have to express to the Shah the lively satisfaction which her Majesty's government will derive from this proof of friendly deference on the part of the Shah to the wishes of the government of Great Britain.

'But it is possible that you may have failed in the object of your journey, and that, when this despatch reaches you, the Shah may be still engaged in besieging Herat; or may have taken it, and not have advanced beyond it; or, having taken it, may have marched further into Affghanistan.

'In either of these cases, you are instructed to proceed at once to the Shah, and to declare to him explicitly that the British government cannot view with indifference his project of conquering Affghanistan; that the British government must look upon this enterprise as unundertaken in a spirit of hostility towards British India, and as being wholly incompatible with the spirit and intention of the alliance which has been established between Persia and Great Britain;—that, consequently, if this project be persevered in, the friendly relations which, up to this time, have so happily subsisted between Great Britain and Persia, must necessarily cease, and that Great Britain must take such steps as she may think best calculated to provide for the security of the possessions of the British crown.

'You will lose no time in informing the governor-general of India of the result of the communications which you may hold with the Shah in consequence of this despatch.

'You will explain to the Shah that this question about Affghanistan is independent of, and separate from, the question of satisfaction for the outrage committed upon your messenger, for which outrage her Majesty's government demand and expect to receive full redress.'

'*Foreign Office, July* 27, 1838.

'I have to instruct you to state to the Shah of Persia, that, whereas the spirit and purport of the treaty between Persia and Great Britain is, that Persia should be a defensive barrier for the British possessions in India, and that the Persian government should co-operate with that of Great Britain in defending British India; it appears, on the contrary, that the Shah is occupied in subverting those intervening states between Persia and India which might prove additional barriers of defence for the British possessions; and that in these operations he has openly connected himself with an European power for purposes avowedly unfriendly, if not absolutely hostile, to British interests;—that under these circumstances, and as he has thought fit to enter upon a course of proceeding wholly at variance with the spirit and intent of the abovementioned treaty, Great Britain will feel herself at liberty to adopt, without reference to that treaty, such measures as a due regard for her own interests, and the security of her dominions, may suggest."

In a letter of the 25th June Mr. M'Neill announces the unsuccessful termination of his negotiations at Herat, the determination of the Persian government not to grant reparation or give satisfaction for the insults it had offered us, and the consequent suspension by the British minister of his official intercourse with the Persian government.

Captain Burnes's negotiations at Cabool had been equally unsuccessful, and there appeared to be an immediate prospect of the establishment of Persian and Russian dominion to the banks of the Indus. The only impediment which remained was the resistance which Herat continued to offer; and, as the Shah still prosecuted the siege, it was doubtful whether even the indomitable energy and brilliant talents of Yar Mahommed Khan, ably seconded by the skill of Lieut. Pottinger, and the determined spirit of the brave Affghans, would enable it to hold out much longer.

While things were in this state the British detachment arrived at the island of Karrak, and Mr. M'Neill immediately sent back Colonel Stoddart to the Shah's camp to deliver to his Persian Majesty the following message:—

'I am directed by her Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to state that he has been intrusted by her Majesty's ministers to inform your Majesty that the British government look upon this enterprise, in which your Majesty is engaged against the Affghans, as being undertaken in a spirit of hostility towards British India, and as being totally incompatible with the spirit and intention of the alliance which has been established between Great Britain and Persia. That, consequently, if this project is persevered in, the friendly relations, which up to this time have so happily subsisted between Great Britain and Persia, must necessarily cease, and that Great Britain must take such steps as she may think best calculated to provide for the security of the possessions of the British crown.

'I am further directed to inform your Majesty that, if Herat should have surrendered to your Majesty, the British government will consider your Majesty's continuing to occupy that, or any other portion of Affghanistan, as a hostile demonstration against England.

'Her Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary anxiously hopes that, by speedily withdrawing the Persian army into your Majesty's own dominions, your Majesty will avert the inevitable consequences of persevering in a course of hostility to England.

'The British government also demands reparation for the violence offered to its messenger, which is a matter quite distinct from the question of Herat. Her Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary trusts your Majesty will grant that reparation in the manner which he pointed out, and thus relieve the British government from the necessity of having recourse to other measures to exact it.

'Your Majesty is no doubt informed by the government of Fars, that a body a body of British troops, and a naval armament, consisting of five ships of war, have already arrived in the Persian Gulf, and that for the present the troops have been landed on the Island of Karrak. The measures your Majesty may adopt in consequence of this representation will decide the future movements and proceedings of that armament; but your Majesty must perceive, from the view which her Majesty's government has taken of the present state of affairs, and from the effect which must have been produced on the minds of her Majesty's ministers and the British authorities in India, by the subsequent proceedings of the Persian government, with which they were not then acquainted, that nothing but the immediate adoption of measures to comply with the demands of the British government can induce the authorities acting under the order of that government to suspend the measures which are in progress for the defence of British interests, and the vindication of British honour.

'In the mean time her Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary will pursue his journey to the Turkish frontier, and will remove all the English from the Persian territory; but he trusts that the bad counsel of the ill-disposed persons who have induced your Majesty to persevere in a course which has placed affairs in this position will no longer influence your Majesty; and that, guided by your own wisdom, and by a regard to the true interests of Persia, your Majesty will adopt such measures as will enable her Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to return to your Majesty's court, and to restore to its former footing of cordiality the alliance between the two governments.

'Your Majesty has seen that all her Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary has stated to your Majesty in regard to these matters has been dictated by sincerity and truth, and by an anxious desire to avert the evils which it was obvious must result from a perseverance in the course which the Persian government was pursuing; and he again assures your Majesty that nothing but immediate danger and injury to Persia can result from rejecting the demands of the British government.

'That God may guide your Majesty to a wise decision, and that he may forgive those whose evil counsels have led to such a state of things, is the earnest prayer of an old and faithful servant, who has ever been a sincere well-wisher of the Shah and the Persian government.'

But before this message had been delivered to the Shah the treaty with Kandahar had been concluded, and the Russian minister had formally guaranteed the performance of the engagements contracted by both parties. A treaty of nearly similar import was in progress with Cabool; and Captain Vicovich, having visited the Shah's camp at Herat, had returned to Cabool and Kandahar, provided with funds to a large amount, to complete the arrangements he had so successfully commenced for the establishment of Persian dominion and Russian supremacy in all the Affghan states. Kohundil Khan was induced to march an army against Herat, Captain Vicovich providing the funds. Dost Mahommed Khan, in furtherance of the common objects, commenced a system of hostile intrigues, even in India. Persian emissaries, or at least, persons professing to be such, and using the name of the Shah, engaged in similar practices. Letters from the Shah were addressed to the Ameers of Scinde, calling upon them to join the league against the English, and Captain Vicovich made similar communications to these chiefs. The power of Russia, her designs against India, and her intimate union with Persia for objects hostile to England, were the common subjects of discussion and the motives of action in all the states of Central Asia. The influence of these circumstances was felt in India, in the mountains of Nepaul, and in the marshes of Burmah; and the best mode to defend the British empire in the East against the hostile attacks and intrigues of foreign powers had ceased to be merely a speculative question: it had become a practical one. We were not called upon to prepare the means of counteracting distant and possible evils, but to defend ourselves against dangers which were present and urgent. All the evils which the most hostile diplomatic agency, backed by the weight and power of Russia, by the moral and religious influence of Persia, and by a liberal supply of money furnished by the Russian agents, could effect, had already been produced. The whole of the countries from the frontiers of Russia on the Araxes, to the banks of the Indus, had been successfully tampered with, and had been instigated by accredited Russian agents—some openly, and some secretly sent—to unite in one great league for the purpose not only of opposing the views and the interests of England, but of disturbing and threatening her empire in Asia. A treaty of a hostile tendency had been concluded under the guarantee of the Russian minister at the Persian court; promises of direct support from Russia herself had been freely made by agents so accredited that no one was entitled to deny the authenticity of their communications. Military enterprises against which the British government had protested, and which on good grounds it declared to be undertaken with views hostile to England, were urged on with unremitting perseverance, and were promoted and aided, not only by supplies of money, but by the active military exertions of the Russian minister himself and of the officers of the Russian army who composed his suite.

It can excite no wonder that these substantial and formal evidences of the intentions of Russia, which were furnished by her own agents, should have induced the sovereign of Persia and the chiefs of Affghanistan to take their measures under the conviction that they had every security they could reasonably have desired that

these

these agents were acting with the approbation and the entire concurrence of the Russian government; that, in placing themselves in a position hostile towards England, they were acting in concert with Russia, and that they had, therefore, established an undoubted claim to her continued support and assistance. But they were not the only parties who were entitled and bound to take this view of these proceedings. The government of India. finding that all the rulers had thus connected themselves with Russia and with one another, for purposes injurious to itself, had to decide whether it would permit that state of things to exist, and thus permit Persian and Russian supremacy to be extended to the very frontier of British India; and the intrigues which were even then beginning to be felt in India, when carried on from a greater distance, to be pushed with the increased activity and the greater advantages which success would have induced, and a nearer vicinity and a more frequent and easier intercourse would have afforded; or whether it would take a more decided course, and, by driving Russia and Persia out of Affghanistan, and re-establishing British influence in that country, keep at a distance those dangers with which India was threatened.

It is impossible to read even these papers and to doubt that there was but this alternative.

We have heard it argued that it was a hazardous policy to extend our influence in such a manner as should make us responsible in any way for the security of countries so much nearer the Russian frontier than the British possessions now are; that it is of great advantage to all parties that a certain space of independent territory should intervene between that frontier and our own; that powers so formidable, and whose collisions would shake the world, should not seek to approximate their limits—to diminish the space which divides them; and that, therefore, we ought not to have advanced into Affghanistan. We admit the premises, but we deny the conclusion. Surely the persons who argue thus forget that, if we had quietly permitted Russia to work out her scheme, we should unavoidably have been brought into much closer contact than we are now likely to arrive at; that it was a question whether Affghanistan should be Russian or English; and that, if it had become Russian, we should have had our outposts on opposite banks of the Indus. Is this a position which any man could covet as preferable even to contact in the western parts of Affghanistan?

This is no party question; it is a question of the power, the dignity, and the honour of England; and, however much we may in almost all other questions disapprove of the conduct of her Majesty's ministers,—although we may think that errors have been committed

committed even in this, and that there has been a tardiness of action and a vacillation of policy on the part of Lord Auckland, of which it would be easy to point out the evil consequences,—we are desirous to convince every foreign power that, when there is a question of the honour and the essential interests of this country, party feeling, or party contentions, will never prevent Englishmen from cordially uniting to vindicate the one and to defend the other.

We hold it to be incontrovertible that the military defence of India must be undertaken in advance of its own frontier. The mere fact that a European army had appeared on the frontier of India would produce evils incalculable in that country, and would infinitely weaken our position. When once an enemy should have got possession of Affghanistan we must be content to defend the line of the Indus, and to abide the consequences in the interior of India of the presence of an enemy, who will be regarded as equal, if not superior, in military power to the English. No large army can march to India by any other line than the great road through Affghanistan, and it must pass in the vicinity of Kandahar, between the ranges of mountains which bound the great vale of Affghanistan. This is the shortest line on which India can be defended—the gorge of the great pass. Are we to leave it undefended—to permit the enemy quietly to occupy and to march through it? The most defensible country on the whole road from the Russian frontier to the Indus is Affghanistan. Are we to allow it to be occupied by the very power which threatens to attack us in India? The best undisciplined soldiers in Asia are the Affghans. Are we to place them at the disposal of Russia, or to permit her to acquire the right to dispose of them?

But even if Russia should not invade India, is no evil to be apprehended from her proximity—from the arts of her agents? If from her present frontier these agents push their intrigues to Lahore and Scinde, are we to presume that they will suddenly and unaccountably desist from all their attempts the moment they find themselves near enough to the object they have had in view to give them a prospect of success? It must never be forgotten that the object of Russia in seeking such a position must be disorganization; while our object, in all circumstances, must be to maintain order and tranquillity. But the interests of Russia, if even she were in possession of that kind of authority in Affghanistan which she seems to have contemplated establishing, could not have been seriously affected by any attempts we might have made to retaliate by disorganizing Affghanistan, for it would not have been necessary to her purposes that it should be organized. Confusion would have been her element and her object; and to have spread

spread that confusion into India would have been the most effectual mode she could have adopted to injure us.

It is not in Asia alone that we should have felt the effects of the position of Russia in respect to India, if she had been permitted to establish herself in Affghanistan. Her power to shake our empire in India would in effect have been the power to check and often to control the whole course of our policy in Europe. The *ultima ratio* between Sovereign States is WAR; and, in every grave discussion where the important interests of Empires clash, it is obvious that the one which is most vulnerable, which on a reasonable calculation of probabilities would be the greater loser by a war, must generally give way before that which has a superior power to inflict injury. How much would the power of Russia to injure Great Britain have been increased, if she had occupied such a position as would have enabled her to carry on a system of intrigue and disorganization in India, to threaten it with invasion, and even to march an army to its frontier through countries in which her own authority was paramount!

Is it not obvious that, if we had become dependent on her forbearance for the tranquillity and even for the security of India, we must have been forced, in every discussion in which our interests might happen to be opposed, or in which our opinions might chance to be at variance, to purchase that forbearance by a certain amount of sacrifice, either of interest or of opinion; and that to have permitted her to occupy such a position must therefore have had an immediately injurious effect on the whole course of our policy all over the world, wherever we might come into contact with Russian diplomacy; and where is that country in which we do not?

But the moment it became necessary for us to interfere at all in Affghanistan, it was obvious that we could not do so advantageously except in concert with Runjeet Sing. The geographical position of the Punjab makes this so obvious, that it is quite unnecessary to enter on any detailed proof of what no one, we presume, will deny. But Runjeet Sing had already concluded a treaty with Shah Shoojah for the avowed object of replacing that Sovereign on his throne; and when the present rulers of Cabool and Kandahar had entered into engagements with Persia and Russia which placed them at the disposal of those powers, and made it necessary for the Government of India to break down, if possible, this combination against us, by a direct interference in Affghanistan—which could not have been attempted without the concurrence of the Seik ruler—there was absolutely no other course open to us but to become parties to the treaty by which he had already formally engaged to aid in re-establishing on the throne of Affghanistan

Affghanistan the representative of the exiled family. Shah Shoojah had very nearly succeeded on a former occasion, without any assistance from us, in regaining his kingdom. It was known that a large proportion of the Affghans were still favourable to his interests, and ready to join him as soon as they should see him in sufficient strength to afford a reasonable prospect of success. Experience had proved the difficulty, or rather the impossibility, of excluding foreign intrigue and foreign interference, so long as Cabool and Kandahar and Herat remained independent principalities, open to separate and opposing influences; and if there had not existed the necessity which the engagements already contracted by Runjeet, and the impossibility of dispensing with his co-operation, imposed upon us, of supporting Shah Shoojah's just claims, if we sought to raise up in Affghanistan a barrier for the defence of India—even in that case it might, we think, be proved that no better course than the re-establishment of the Suddozye family on their hereditary throne could have been adopted. The Government of India, influenced by these considerations, became parties to the treaty between Shah Shoojah and Runjeet, and the British and the Seik troops are now in Affghanistan to carry the objects of that treaty into effect.

The Shah of Persia—alarmed by the appearance of the British troops and ships of war in the Persian Gulf, and by the tone and terms of the message he had received—disheartened by the signal failure of an assault on the fortress, which had been made by his whole forces under the guidance of Major-General Count Simonich, the Russian minister at the Persian court—perceiving also that the Government of India was determined to march a force into Affghanistan, and that the Russian agents were hardly yet prepared to promise him direct assistance against England—the Shah promised compliance with all the demands of the British Government, and, raising the siege, retired with his army into his own country. The Russian agents, more persevering, continued their intrigues in Affghanistan, and still endeavoured to organize there an opposition to the operations which the British Government contemplated. But the successful resistance of Herat had disconcerted the whole scheme of operations in Affghanistan; possession of that important position was necessary to the success of the whole project of Persia and Russia; and the opposition which the Russian agents were now exciting in Affghanistan had no other object than to cause embarrassment and delay, and to postpone their successful termination of an enterprise which they knew the Government of India had pledged itself to undertake, and in which it was therefore obvious it would be obliged to persevere.

The proceedings of the Russian minister in Persia, and of the Russian

Russian agents in Affghanistan, led her Majesty's Government to demand explanations from the Court of St. Petersburgh; and Count Nesselrode, informed of the communications which had been verbally made to the Russian ambassador in England, and desirous to have the advantage of offering his explanations rather with the appearance of its being a spontaneous act than a consequence of the demands of the British Government, transmitted, as it were, by anticipation, an answer to the note which the British ambassador at St. Peterburgh had been instructed to present to him.

In this note the Russian minister distinctly disavows any intention, on the part of the Russian government, to disturb the British empire in Asia, and declares that, far from approving the expedition of the Shah to Herat, it had at all times continued to disapprove it, and to recommend to the Shah to adjust his differences with Prince Kamran by negotiation; and his Excellency adduces as incontestible corroboration of this statement, that the Emperor had demanded the surrender to Russia of the regiment of Russian deserters in the Shah's service at the moment when his Persian Majesty was setting out on that expedition. But it is a curious fact, that, although the demand for the surrender of these deserters was certainly made before the Shah entered the Herat territory, and before he had finally decided on marching against Herat at all, still this very regiment of Russian deserters accompanied the Shah during the whole campaign; and we believe, from the information we have received through private channels, that this same regiment not only remained in the trenches before Herat, after it had been formally surrendered to the Russian minister, but that it actually took part in the assault of Herat after it had ceased to be in the service of the Shah.

Count Nesselrode also admits that Count Simonich took an active part in conducting the siege of Herat for the Shah, but justifies it on the grounds that, having found the Shah in extreme difficulty, it was his duty to aid a friendly sovereign. It is, however, obvious, from the correspondence we have been examining, that Count Simonich took an active part in the operations of the siege at a time when the British minister was urging the Shah to accept the terms to which he had induced the Herat Ruler to agree,—nay, at a moment when the Persian government had actually agreed to those terms, and when there could not, therefore, have been any difficulty or danger whatsoever in the position of the Shah.

Count Nesselrode founds his whole argument on the assumption that Persia had a right to make war upon Herat, because of the previous proceedings of its government and its subjects; but he seems to have forgotten that that right ceased to exist from the moment that the Herat envoy at Tehran offered, through the British minister, the terms which we have seen he did offer, and which secured to Persia everything she had a right to demand. The Russian minister himself bears testimony to the possibility of arranging matters by negotiation, and says that the Shah failed to convince him of the necessity of making war upon Herat. If the war was unnecessary, how could it be just?

In a subsequent note Count Nesselrode is more explicit, and, abandoning in a great measure these grounds of defence, disavows the acts of the Russian agents both in Persia and in Affghanistan, and announces that they have been recalled. He admits that the Russian minister had guaranteed the treaty between the Shah of Persia and the Sirdars of Kandahar, but announces that the emperor had disavowed that guarantee. He renounces, on the part of Russia, any intention to take any part in the civil wars of the Affghan chiefs, or in their family feuds, and declares that Russia desires to have nothing to do with them,—that the wishes of the emperor have been ill expressed or ill understood, if any political tendency whatever have been attributed to them. He acknowledges that the British Government is justified in demanding reparation for the insult offered to the British mission by the arrest of its messenger; and states that, even from the reports of the Russian mission in Persia, he had, from the first, been of that opinion, and that the Russian minister at Tehran had therefore been instructed 'formally to advise the court of Tehran not to delay the satisfaction which England is entitled to demand.'

Russia has, therefore, disavowed the hostile proceedings of her agents against England, and has repudiated all their acts; but, so far as the whole influence of her name, aided by a considerable expenditure of money, by the active military assistance of her officers, by liberal promises of support, and by formal engagements, could be employed to excite all the nations and tribes which occupy the country intervening between her frontier and ours to combine in opposing the views and the interests of England, and ultimately to contemplate an attack on the British empire in India—that influence and those means have been as effectually wielded by her agents as if she had been prepared to adopt their acts as her own, and to avow instead of repudiating them. These agents not only had the boldness to enter upon a course of action diametrically opposed to the professed views and intentions of the Government which employed them, but they had the address to preserve not only their heads but their places, and the hardihood to persevere in the same course for two entire years after the Russian Government

ment had been warned of their proceedings. With a fearlessness of consequences worthy of a better cause, they actually became more open and unreserved in the pursuit of the objects they had in view *after* the Russian Government had declared its disapproval of their conduct. Yet these men were serving, not a popular government, where they might hope to find one party in the state to approve their proceedings while another condemned them—not a weak prince whose power was inadequate to the assertion of his authority—but an arbitrary monarch, one of the ablest and one of the most acute who ever exercised unlimited sway over a vast empire.

How are we to account for these things? Are we to accuse Russia of bad faith? She declares that she has recalled her agents, and that she has repudiated their acts; and Lord Palmerston declares he is satisfied that she is sincere in disavowing any intention to disturb the British empire in India.

But, if she has been acting with good faith, what a picture of insubordination, of the total absence of all discipline and control, and of the weakness and inefficiency of the internal government of Russia, even in its highest and most important departments, does this state of things expose to our view! What should we think of a British Minister for Foreign Affairs who should be forced, on the demand of a foreign government for explanation, to admit that he had allowed a British representative at a foreign court to brave the Government for two entire years, and to continue the whole of that time, in direct opposition to positive instructions, to use the influence of England, her money, and the services of her officers, for the purpose of promoting objects hostile to a nation for which we were professing the most entire friendship, and to which we had given the most unequivocal assurances that, in respect to the very matters on which our agent was engaged, we were acting in perfect concurrence with her views? But in the case of the Russian agents it is not a question of the power or authority of a minister moveable at the sovereign's pleasure—it is a question of the authority of the Autocrat himself. And this is a most important consideration to every state which has relations with Russia. If the authority of the Emperor over his own diplomatic agents is so imperfect—if we can never feel secure that their language or even their acts are sanctioned by their government or controlled by its will—if they can persevere with impunity for an almost indefinite length of time in a course hostile and highly injurious to us, in direct opposition to the wishes and orders of their government—it is evident that the friendly professions of that government, even when they are sincere, can afford us no security, and that our relations with Russia, and those of every other state with which she is connected, must continue to depend, not on the will of the Emperor, or on the reciprocal interests of the nations, but on the caprice of his Imperial Majesty's representatives. But is it conceivable that a Russian agent should venture to disregard the orders of his government, and that he should even act in direct opposition to his instructions, unless he had some prospect of support, some assurance of impunity? Are we then to suppose that there is in Russia a party opposed to the will of the Emperor, which is powerful enough to control it, and to protect those who brave his displeasure and counteract his views? If so, then the sentiments of the Emperor afford no security for the acts of the nation; and, while the Russian Ministry may be sincerely professing the most friendly feelings towards England, this secret and superior power may be prosecuting, through the Emperor's own diplomatic servants, schemes the most injurious and hostile to us. We find it impossible to escape from between the horns of this dilemma. If we assert the good faith of the Emperor and his Cabinet, we must deny his authority and even his influence in his own empire, and regard his opinions and the professions of his Cabinet as inconsequential; and, if we attribute to him authority, we must question his good faith. But, whichever of these embarrassing alternatives we may choose to adopt, one inference is equally inevitable—from the professions of the Russian government we can derive no security for the future.

LORD AUCKLAND

AND

LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

BY A BENGAL CIVILIAN.

LONDON:
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"A sceptre, snatch'd with an unruly hand,
Must be as boisterously maintained, as gained."
King John.

LORD AUCKLAND

AND

LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

The time has arrived for taking a deliberate view of Lord Ellenborough's Indian administration. Partizan writers, for and against, have said their say: all who are likely to read the Parliamentary papers have done so; and it might be supposed that nothing remained but to sum up, and record a verdict. This is not quite the case. Most writers on the subject have in fact only put forth one half of the evidence—a half which it is utterly impossible to appreciate, till placed in juxtaposition with the remainder. One-sided in their information as in their feelings, they have offered us their lame and impotent conclusions on Lord Ellenborough's measures in Sind, without a reference to that *preceding* policy, by a knowledge of which, our relations with the Ameers on his Lordship's arrival can alone be understood; or a clue be found to the opposition he had from the first to struggle with, and eventually to quell. Our readers are therefore invited to bestow some attention on Lord Auckland's administration before they pass judgment on his successor's; and perhaps it may be found that events in '42 and '43 wear a different aspect, when viewed through the medium of '38 and '39.

We may further mention *in limine*, that, while other brochures on these topics have fairly enlisted themselves under one or other of the leading parties in the State, our's holds singly in view that not insignificant portion of British subjects who have the largest stake in the point at issue—we mean those, to whom the question of moment presented by the arrival of a new Governor-General, is not "What ministry has sent him?" but "Are we likely, in his hands, to become the agents of a large and enlightened policy, or the instruments of ignorance and oppression?" A body of public servants, whose ranks have sent forth such men as Malcolm, Munro, Metcalfe, and Elphinstone, may fairly claim that a subject like that we are entering upon should be considered with a regard to their interests.

It was in 1836 that the interests of Sind first became implicated in our Eastern policy. Certain outrages committed by the Mazarees, "a predatory tribe, nominally subject to Sind,"[*] against a few Sikh merchants and travellers, had given Runjeet Sing a delectable grievance whereon to found an invasion of that territory. Both parties were our allies;[†] and the Government very properly offered to mediate between them. There were, too, circumstances, in appearance trivial, with which our adroit negotiators meant to back the proposal. The old Lion of Lahore was sick; he had even asked the loan of an assistant-surgeon. Let him have one by all means, writes the Secretary, and "express to his Highness, at the same time, the great gratification derived by his Lordship in Council, from being able to meet his wishes in this instance, as the preservation of the health of so old and sincere a friend as the Maharajah must always be an object of earnest solicitude to the British Government."[‡] But what is there in all this, exclaims the English reader, but an exchange of civilities nothing to the purpose? Tush! Let him open his eyes wider, and remember he is in the East. The next paragraph runs: Should the Maharajah prove obstinate in his intentions against Sind, you must withdraw—what does the reader think ?—our mediatory offices ?—our friendship ?—our Resident ? nothing of the kind: withdraw—*the doctor !* Shades of Galen and Machiavelli ! in the name of gallipots and protocols (henceforward cognate symbols), was there ever so queer a "*medicina malorum*" *exhibited* in a political crisis ? Yes ! History, impartial History, points to a parallel : "Cut off their tea !" exclaimed the Celestial Emperor, when his ports were beleaguered with hostile ships—"Cut off their tea, and the British barbarians will die of constipation !" "Cut off his physic," cried our Governor-General, four years before, "and our *old and sincere friend* will—prove less refractory !" To whom must the palm for enlightened statesmanship be awarded—the Brother of the Moon, or the English diplomatist ? We hesitate ; but future historians will doubtless decide between the conflicting claims of Lord Auckland and TAOU KUANG.*

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[*] *Sind Papers*, 1836—1838, p. 1.

[†] The Treaty with Sind is dated April 20th, 1832. By its provisions the Indus was opened to the merchants of Hindustan; and both parties bound themselves "never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other." —*Sind Papers*, 1838—1843, p. 2.

[‡] *Sind Papers*, 1836—1838, p. 4.

But the negotiation succeeded. The only anxiety now was, lest the Ameers should learn that the danger was past, before their fears could be turned to account. They were certainly coy at accepting our mediation ; but our offers, on their very face, prejudged the case against them.

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* This title signifies "the glory of reason !"—*Davis's China.*

Runjeet Sing was to keep the Mazaree country he had laid his gripe on, *at any rate;* and the Sindians were told, that our kind offices were only to be purchased at the price of their becoming "politically dependent" on us, by allowing a permanent detachment of our troops to settle in their country.* It is quite clear from all this that we considered the Sindians as the offending, and the Sikhs as the injured, parties. We say "clear," because the former are at any rate to suffer; but our ideas become a little confused on finding that the *compensation* for the injury is to be paid, not to the Sikhs, but ourselves!

It is rumoured that, in the halcyon days of India, — when the pagoda-tree was shaken to some purpose,—judicial functionaries were wont to accept,—call them *considerations,* from both parties in legal suits; openly, on the principle of *even-handed justice;* but, slowly as political is known to travel after social morality, we confess to having been startled at coming on a case, in our own annals, where, a verdict being found for the plaintiff, the damages go—to the judge! The Sindians' reluctance to close with us does not appear inexplicable.

At last our offers of mediation threatened to become superfluous. Runjeet Sing and the

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* *Sind Papers*, 1836—1838, p. 6.

Ameers found it more convenient to come to an understanding in their own way; and in Dec. 1837, Colonel Pottinger was desired to inform the latter "that, though the Government could not but *rejoice* at the establishment, without its intervention, of friendly relations between their Highnesses and Maharajah Runjeet Sing, on the basis of mutual independence," yet it must be obvious to them that this result was owing to the interest we had displayed in their welfare, and that, "if they continued to manifest so great an aversion to form a *closer* alliance with the only power competent to render them efficient aid, the British Government must refrain on any future occasion from interfering to promote their welfare, or to secure their independence."* Of course we "rejoiced." It became a great and enlightened state, the reputed well-spring of Eastern civilization, to rejoice at the restoration of amity between its allies. And yet was our joy temperate withal. Runjeet Sing was affectionately, nay pathetically, urged, not to put himself at all out of his way for the Ameers. Lord Auckland would consider "the maintenance of tranquillity along the banks of the Indus *dearly gained*, if its attainment were attended with any diminution of the long-subsisting friendship between" them; and "Captain Wade was therefore instructed to adopt a most conciliatory tone towards his Highness, and *by no means* to urge him to the adoption of any measure which might show undue preference to the interests of the Ameers of Sind."* A hint is seldom lost on an Oriental; and in the present instance, both our consideration for Runjeet's sensibility, and our well-wishes for Sind, were sufficiently transparent.

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* *Sind Papers*, 1836—1838, p. 31.

To prepare our readers for the next move, we must premise, that at this period a Russo-phobia, of which it is difficult now to convey an idea,—but which, it may suffice to say, was shared by the highest personage in the realm, and his lowest minister,—this bugbear had penetrated the Government-house at Calcutta. To it are to be attributed, not only the insanity of making one power hostile, in order to rivet the chains by which another was already linked at every point to our interests—of having ousted Dost Mahomed, the favourite of his people, who declared that he should prefer our alliance to any that could be offered him—rather than thwart the impudent pretensions of Runjeet Sing; but, to support the puppet we put forward, it was at this point, that the mask of our bungling diplomacy was thrown aside for ever in our dealings with the Ameers; and we first appeared to them, and

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* *Sind Papers*, 1836—1838, p. 32.

India at large, in the character of odious and faithless oppressors. Talleyrand's *mot*, "une crime! c'etait pire, c'etait une erreur!" presents itself here rather as a maxim of political morality, than the sneer of a votary of expediency: for, did ever single crime lead to so thick a tissue of wickedness and misery, as *that error*—the miserable delusion that our danger from the West was so imminent as to justify our resorting to any expedients?

That, five months after Lord Auckland's hint to Captain Wade, Runjeet's claims against the Ameers should be as far as ever from being accommodated, will astonish no one. But not only had we thus stopped that pacification *in limine*, but on sending Colonel Pottinger a copy of the *Tripartite Treaty*,* the Governor-General bade him break to the Ameers the following startling intelligence:—

1st.—That we were about to supply another occupant for the Caubul throne.

2d.—That we should revive the claims for tribute (obsolete these thirty years) which that empire used in times past to enforce against Sind.

3d.—As a corollary of the latter, that the Ameers were to defray the expenses of Shah Shuja's expedition to the tune of 20 lacs of rupees.

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* *Sind Papers*, 1838—1843, p. 8.

4th.—That in spite of the Ameers being neutral in the Affghan contest (except in so far as their interests and *wishes* led them to favour *Dost Mahomed*), the Governor-General *commanded* them to allow a passage to Shah Shuja's troops; and so to do whatever in them lay to place him on a throne, from whence his demands against themselves could be best enforced!

It was difficult, said Sir Robert Peel, with reference to this period, to look to our Vattel or our Puffendorf, and decide, on their authority, that it was unjustifiable to claim a passage for troops through a neutral territory;—and, in good truth, when the commonest principles of justice and honesty are flagrantly outraged, it does seem like a jest to refer to the rules of inter-national law that obtain in Europe. Besides, who thinks of applying such canons to the East? Like children, who fancy that the men on the other side of the earth walk on their heads, most people are content to think, that the principles of political morality are naturally *reversed* at the Antipodes.

In effect, we betrayed one ally into the hands of another; that other being at the time, not a Power, but a helpless puppet in our own hands. Is it alleged that we looked on the Ameers as the dependent tributaries of Shah Shuja, (!) and that his permission was therefore a sufficient sanction for the demands that were so imperiously enforced? We reply, that such a plea disavows the independence which all our previous engagements with them had acknowledged; and Lord Auckland's advocates are welcome to either horn of the dilemma.

About a month and a half after the despatch we have noticed was sent to Colonel Pottinger, the Government received a copy of an intercepted letter, from Noor Mahomed, the chief of Lower Sind, to the Shah of Persia,* written before the disclosure of our sweeping intentions. It was a flowery production, with the least possible amount of meaning;† but how bitterly must our negotiators have grieved that it had not made its appearance two months earlier;—what would it not have served to justify! True, Colonel Pottinger ascribed no political object to the letter; and looked on it as proceeding "solely from the bigotry of Sheeaism;"* but to the Government, *late as it came*, it proved a wonderful windfall. It "may justly be held to have forfeited for him" (Noor Mahomed), "on the part of the Governor-General, all confidence and consideration," writes the Secretary;† and, in pursuance of this position, the Resident was desired at once to proceed towards transferring the supremacy in Sind from the hands of the Chief to those of some other member in his family; and to arrange for the permanent establishment of a British force in his territory. The "incidental presence" of some 5,000 troops, it is pleasantly added, would probably "insure success to your negotiations." Milder alternatives were, indeed, suggested, in case the more stringent measures should prove impracticable; but the Resident was admonished, that "the course first named—in the opinion of his Lordship—would alone give security for the future!" Again we say, Oh, that the rhapsodical epistle had come to light but one month and a half before! no one could have sworn to its having any sense at all; any might therefore have been attributed to it! Oh, that the dates of the Tripartite Treaty* and Noor Mahomed's letter to the Shah† could but change places! That these natural regrets must have often affected the Governor-General, we gather from the somewhat startling phenomenon, that the succession of the two events seems to have become actually inverted in his mind. He literally desires the Head-Ameer to be told that he "would have gladly taken any step which might have insured a *friendly co-operation* in these measures" (relating to Affghanistan) "on the part of the Ameers of Sind," *but for the discovery of Noor Mahomed's letter!* There never was such an instance of the wish being father to the thought.

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* *Sind Papers*, p. 12.

† Anxiety not to occupy our pages with more rubbish than we can help, has prevented us from quoting any passages from this letter. But we by no means wish to slur it over. On the contrary, we would draw attention to the 12th page of the Blue Book, where it is to be found: and we propose it as an interesting problem to the budding diplomatist, to discover what it is that constitutes the rhapsody in question an Infringement of Engagements; while the Tripartite Treaty, entered into without the cognizance of the Ameers, though seriously damaging their interests, was so far from partaking of such a character as to be absolutely "a boon" (page 10). For this is the cream of the jest, that we disabled the Sindians, and then rifled their pockets, mainly, according to Lord Auckland, from a regard for their welfare!

"What spites me more than all—
He does it under name of perfect love!"

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* *Sind Papers*, page 11.

† *Id.* p. 16.

It is fair that Lord Auckland should now be heard in his own defence. Colonel Pottinger, in acknowledging the Instructions sent him with the Tripartite Treaty, had suggested, that the "moral effect" of an efficient force being raised "for eventual service in Sind," would go far towards counteracting other *moral effects* occasioned by our policy. For, says the cautious Resident, while "I do not, by pointing out this argument, mean for an instant to uphold its correctness, Sobdar and his party will in all probability even go so far as to declare that the demand" (of twenty-five years' arrears of tribute for Shuja)

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* June 26th, 1838.

† Aug. 13th.

"is a breach of the late agreement, on the principle that, without our assistance, Shah Shuja-ool-Moolk had no means of exacting one rea from them; consequently that the demand may be considered our own. . . . Had our present connexion existed some years, and our Resident thereby had time, by constant kindly intercourse with the chiefs and people, to have removed *the strong and universal impression that exists throughout Sind as to our grasping policy*, the case might have been widely different; but I enter on my new duties without anything to offer, and with a proposal that will not only strengthen the above impressions (for many besides the Sindees will believe at the outset* that we are making a mere use of Shah Shuja's name), *but revive a claim to tribute which has long been esteemed obsolete.*"† This most posing of epistles drew forth the following remarks in justification of the policy that was being pursued.

"The Governor-General would have been disposed to attach weight to your opinion, that the mere preparation of a suitable force might have all the moral effect‡ that could be desired, had no ulterior measures been in contemplation beyond those of preventing, on the part of the Sind Government, any opposition to the accomplishment of our immediate objects; but it will be, at all events, necessary that a force should be stationed on the Indus, as a reserve for the advancing army. He (the Governor-General) deems it hardly necessary to remind you that, in the important crisis at which we are arrived, we cannot permit our enemies to occupy the seat of power; the interests at stake are too great *to admit of hesitation in our proceedings;* and not only they who have shown a disposition to favour our enemies, but they *who display an unwillingness to aid us* in the just and necessary undertaking in which we are engaged, *must be displaced,* and give way to others on whose friendship and co-operation we may be able implicitly to rely."*

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* We wonder whether the *finale* has undeceived them?

† *Sind Papers*, pp. 14, 15.

‡ What a soothing charm this often-recurring phrase seems

We have thought it due to Lord Auckland to give these passages at full length; it is due to public morality that their meaning should be placed before the reader in a somewhat simpler guise. Firstly, we observe therefrom, that the necessity of a reserve to the army destined for Affghanistan, and *not* the sins of the Ameers, was the reason for stationing a force in their country; secondly, it is assumed that the danger from Russia was so imminent as to justify us in demanding from the Sindians a passage for troops, marching in support of a man they hated; not to mention twenty lacs of rupees, in part payment of Shuja's debt to ourselves; and, to have possessed for our diplomatists! To the student of the Parliamentary Papers, it is as—

"the warning bird,
Who bringeth him news of the storms unheard!"

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* *Sind papers,* pp. 21, 22.

thirdly, the enormous fallacy is taken for granted, that the refusal of a favour (*i. e.* some benefit not guaranteed by treaty) justifies the revolutionizing of the recusant state. The first of these positions is a sufficient comment on the tone taken up in our communications with the Ameers; the second has been proved before all the world a fearful error; and, for the third, we may be permitted to appeal to a sufficient authority. Of *favours*, VATTEL observes, that a nation "a droit de les demander, *mais non pas de les exiger*. . . La nation n'a qu'un droit imparfait aux offices de l'humanité; elle ne peut contraindre une autre nation à les lui accorder."* What then remains of Lord Auckland's defence? All that remains is, that the Russo-phobia was so strong upon him, as to warrant him, in his own eyes, in overleaping any of the sanctions and barriers of international law, by which the bugbear could be avoided. In his mind, the urgent necessity which suspends "tous les droits de propriété" existed. And there is an end. We can only say, God defend us from Power and Unwisdom combined!

The Sindians were driven frantic by our demands. At one time obsequious, at another insolent, they tried entreaty and bullying, threats and prayers, by turns, and in vain. Then they would affect a desire to close with our offers, and endeavour, by all the lies they could invent, to detain us from actually executing our designs; while, with the impotent efforts of despair, they were making overtures to every Power, far or near, which they thought could protect them. We watched and exposed their abortive struggles; twitted them with their treachery; and proceeded to its punishment with as lofty a port, as if every crime laid to their charge had not been a natural and foreseen consequence of our own original violation of good faith.

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* *Droit des Gens*, ii. 1. §§ 8, 9,

How quietly does this passage open:—

> "It occurs to the Governor-General that it might materially facilitate any negotiations which may eventually be called for, with Meer Sobdar,* were that chief informed that we have received overtures from a descendant of the Caloree dynasty, now residing at Bikaneer. His Lordship has reason to suppose that the individual in question has many powerful adherents in Sind, (!) and it is not impossible that his pretensions may be favourably regarded by the British Government, should it be found that no member of the reigning family is disposed to accede to those arrangements which are deemed absolutely indispensable to the safety and tranquillity of our Indian possessions."†

Here, of course, the reader sees a repetition of the Affghan policy; for we have but to substitute the Barukzyes for the Talpoors, and the

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* A subordinate Ameer of Lower Sind, whom Government were at this time thinking of elevating to the chieftaincy, in Noor Mahomed's place.

† *Sind Papers*, p. 60.

Suddozye for the Caloree refugee, and we have the main plot of the Caubul drama. It is easy, indeed, to see how great a favourite this tactique was with all the actors in those scenes, from the circumstance that, on the day previous to the date of the letter we have quoted, Sir Alexander Burnes had made exactly the same threat to the Ameers of Upper Sind, and had shaken in their faces the very parallel we have indicated.* Did a ruler prove reluctant to forfeit every symbol of his independence,—did he, instead of simply surrendering himself to our schemes, obstinately point to treaties and engagements? Their resource was obvious. Displace him for some helpless claimant who will be glad to accept on any terms a country which could not otherwise have fallen into his hands, and who therefore will be the last person in the world to moot the question, how it ever became ours to give him. In this system, our hardy schemers thought they had found a master-key, before which every lock was to yield, every obligation might be loosened, and Treaties themselves could be set at nought.

But Lord Auckland stopped short of territorial spoliation; and we will not deny our readers the pleasure—short-lived though it may prove—of perusing those passages in the Government despatches where it is deprecated. "The Governor-General is hardly disposed to concur entirely in the opinion you have expressed," writes the Secretary in November 1838, to Colonel Pottinger (who had forwarded a good-sized *catalogue raisonné* of the Hydrabad Chieftain's follies and offences), "to the effect that the circumstances specified, however clearly they demonstrate the want of all honour and honesty in the character of Noor Mahomed Khan, are such as to place that chief at our mercy." And on December 13th, this opinion is reiterated: "The Governor-General would refer you for his general views to his letter of November 19th, and will only add to it, that he is not disposed to entertain any proposition having reference to territorial acquisition in Sind, or any adjacent territory, as at all advisable under the present state of things on our north-west frontier." *

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* *Sind Papers*, p. 55.

When we first came across these passages in the Blue-book, we confess we were dazzled, as at the sudden lighting of a lamp in a dark room; but will not our readers share in our subsequent disappointment, on finding that the Governor-General, as if in fear of his forbearance being attributed to a better cause, pertinaciously ascribes it in the next paragraph to his dread of "the risk of exciting the jealousy and distrust of states, hitherto either friendly or neutral, by a course which might be construed by them as indicative of a desire for selfish aggrandizement?" More emphatic still are his explanations to Sir John Keane: "Your Excellency will have been already in possession of my opinions as to the *inexpediency* of any acquisition of territory in Sind on the part of this government. I look upon it as highly important that British troops should *advance upon* Candahar, without the impression attending their progress that they are employed to reduce Affghanistan into the condition of a province of our Indian empire." * An excellent reason doubtless; but there was a better at hand. However, his Lordship's extreme caution lest his forbearance should be misconstrued deserves to be respected: we conclude, therefore, in the words once applied to a just measure of Cæsar's, that "la politique eut plus de part à son refus que l'amour de la justice; mais enfin, *il put, en cette occasion, suivre avec justice les maximes de sa prudence.*"

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* *Sind Papers*, p. 97.

To make a long story short, the "moral effect" of Sir John Keane's appearance at Hydrabad with a stout force did not disappoint our diplomatists. On January 10th, 1839, the treaty with Roostun Khan, the Chief of Upper Sind, was concluded. On February 4th, Colonel Pottinger wrote, "I consider that our supremacy in Sind, is now finally and fully established." On the 13th, he forwarded to Government, the draft of a treaty to which the Hydrabad Ameers had set their seals; whereby Noor Mahomed's supremacy was abolished, and all were rendered individually responsible, on the principle of *divide et impera.* On March 11th, Lord Auckland returned it with some stringent modifications; and on July 14th, after many a wry face, they fairly drank the bitter cup to the dregs; and their independence virtually passed away from them for ever. "*The world,*" writes the Resident, "*will now acknowledge that if our power is great, our good faith and forbearance are still more to be considered at!*"*

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* *Sind Papers*, p. 147.

Here our view of Lord Auckland's administration closes; and, as the Sindians, from this period till some time after the arrival of his successor, played a very insignificant part in Eastern politics, here too for a while closes our notice of them. It has been alleged that the people of England never give a thought to the morality of a political measure, as long as prosperity smiles on its results;—that they never trouble themselves with its criminality, till smarting under its chastisement. In contempt of so hateful a charge, we have left it to others, with keener eloquence and severer justice, to scrutinize and expose those melancholy portions of Lord Auckland's policy that have already "received their reward;" while our own remarks have been confined to those more *prosperous* measures, for which his advocates would be themselves most likely to challenge attention; and we are content to leave our readers at the very point where all his Lordship's negotiations in Sind were crowned with success, to decide on his claims to the character of a just and high-minded Statesman.

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* *Sind Papers*, p. 152.

We trust the reader may leap uninjured over the dreary chasm that intervenes between our last date and February 1842. He will light in a troubled scene. The murder of our Envoy, the massacre of the Caubul force,—not singly had these fearful disasters come; but with them,

> "ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,
> Confusion worse confounded!"

The Government of India was paralysed. On no other supposition can we account for the fact, that with Nott and 8000 men at Candahar, and Pollock's three brigades at Peshawur,[*]—with British prisoners in the hands of barbarians, and the national honour to be retrieved,—our generals should have been told, that "no great effort for the re-occupation of Affghanistan"[†] was contemplated that year!

Four days after the date of this despatch, Lord

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[*] *Papers relating to Military Operations in Affghanistan,* 1843," p. 170.

[†] *Id.* p. 152.

Auckland was relieved by his successor; and symptoms of reviving vigour were gladly hailed in the instructions issued by the new Governor-General on the 15th of March.* Nott, indeed, was told to retire to India after relieving Ghuzny; but General Pollock was to push on to join General Sale; Affghans of rank were, if possible, to be seized as hostages for our captive countrymen; and even an advance on Caubul was mentioned as not improbable. It was not a vigour, however, which could withstand buffets. The "deliberate view" that saw in "the infliction of some signal and decisive blow upon the Affghans, which might make it appear to them, to our own subjects, and to our allies, that we have the power of inflicting punishment upon those who commit atrocities," an object "for which risk might be justifiably incurred,"†—that *deliberate view* was, alas! so distorted by the fall of Ghuzny and Brigadier England's repulse at Hykulzye, that, on the 19th April, Nott was ordered to retreat *at once*,‡ and General Pollock's army,—after opening the vaunted passes half-way to Caubul, and reinforced by the Illustrious Garrison,—were told to turn tail on their beaten foes, as soon as weather and the health of the troops would permit! §

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* *Papers, &c.*, p. 167.
† *Id.* p. 167.
‡ *Id.* p. 223.
§ *Id.* p. 224.

But to estimate better the actual importance of those reverses, let us see their effect on a man of different mould. On the 14th of March, NOTT had besought the Government to "pause before deciding on a retrograde step," and to consider the difficulties under which we should again advance after "such an admission of weakness" as "the withdrawal from Jellalabad or Candahar." * *After* their occurrence, and in regretting those very reverses, he warned them against "an unnecessary alarm regarding the position of our troops, and the strength and power of the enemy;"† while on the same day he wrote to Brigadier England, "*I have not contemplated turning back.*"‡ This last letter was that which Major Outram termed "the most refreshing draught" he "had quaffed since our reverses commenced."§ PAR NOBILE!

However, to give Lord Ellenborough his due, the fall of Ghuzny, and the repulse at Hykulzye, were heavy blows: they were only inconsiderable as compared with the Issue at stake, and the means in our hands. But if reverse was a reason for retreat, *success*, strange as it may sound, was urged as one still more cogent! Bitter, indeed, are the reproaches levelled at General Pollock, —still at his post two months after Sale's victorious sally,—for not having perceived that retreat, following immediately on its heels, "would have had the appearance of a military operation successfully accomplished, and even triumphantly achieved!"* Poor General! blinded, perhaps not unnaturally, by the past lustre of British warfare, he seemed singularly slow in appreciating the laurels he should reap, and the humiliation which would accrue to the Affghans, by quitting the country, with guns, colours, and prisoners in the hands of the enemy! Yet such were the orders issued from time to time to our Generals, *until about the middle of June;* the pith of which may thus be put: fly, if beaten; but if victorious,—fly double-quick! We need not weary our readers with the *thirteen* several enunciations of this policy, or the remonstrances they excited; but, for the benefit of such as may desire to see for themselves how effectual a counterpoise steady national feeling, on the part of *subordinates*, can supply to vacillating Authority, the references in the note are added.†

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* *Papers, &c.*, p. 224.

† *Id.* p, 246.

‡ *Id.* p. 249.

§ *Id.* p. 250.

About the middle of June, curious speculators on cause and effect have observed that the English mail, of May the 1st, arrived at Calcutta; about the same time, they have also observed, that Lord Ellenborough's instructions to retreat ceased. After allowing a fortnight for deliberation, they have not failed to notice, that the Governor-General so wonderfully swung round from the point at which he had been making, as fairly to give General Nott an option of fighting or retreating, on his (the General's) own responsibility.* These insidious reasoners cannot be said to have received any check from such remarks as the following:—

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* *Papers, &c.*, p. 297.

† *Id.* pp. 223, 244, 251, 318, 224, 225, 290, 235, 291, 241, 242, 294, 297.

> "Each gave his own date and circumstances—out went the order from home on the 1st June, it had been confidently and pompously announced: but that would not tally with Lord Ellenborough's order to advance on the 4th August; therefore that position is no longer tenable, and the honourable gentleman prudently retreats to the 1st March. He begged pardon, the 1st April."†

The 1st of April, indeed! This is a bit of mystification indeed worthy of the day! The last mail that preceded Lord Ellenborough's change of policy *was not supposed* to have left England on the 1st June, but the beginning of *May;* the order to advance was *not* sent on the 4th August, but, as all the world knows, on the *4th July;* and the hon. gentleman, who so "prudently" hesitated between the 1st March and the 1st April, might have stuck to either, or both, of his dates, with full as much accuracy as they were assailed by the member for Beverley.—We repeat it, those casuists have still got to be controverted!

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* *Papers, &c.*, p. 327.

† Speech of Mr. Hogg, *Hansard*, lxvi. pp. 1004, 1005.

Some sympathy may be due at seeing a man of Lord Ellenborough's temperament reduced to eat his own orders; but we confess we can never read that celebrated despatch without yielding to a smile at the pertinacious efforts of the poor Governor-General, even at the last, to keep up some show of consistency. "Nothing has occurred," he protests, to change his "first opinion," that the *retirement* of the troops must be effected. The only question now is—Shall Ghuzny and Caubul, or Quetta and Sukkur, be the "*line* of retirement?" One important distinction, he owns, characterizes the latter: "there is no enemy to oppose you." He might have added, that it was the direct route back to India, not 100 miles long; while the other, 480 miles in extent, lay right through the heart of the enemy's country, his capital, and the terrible Passes! At this rate, we suppose his Lordship considers the term *retirement* as applicable to the Duke's march from Brussels to England, *viâ* Waterloo and Paris, as if it had been simply *viâ Ostend.*

We shall not detain our readers longer with this despatch. Contrary as have been the statements of partizans, we do not believe any two sensible men, who have read the papers, differ on the subject. The Marquis of Clanricarde said all that is to be said, in the following pertinent sentence :—

> "I defy any man, if Nott had failed in his advance, to attribute any blame to Lord Ellenborough: and if no blame could attach to him in case of failure, surely no merit should accrue to him from success."[*]

The plain truth is, that Lord Ellenborough was incapable of facing the emergency which met him on his arrival. We mean no reproach :[†] *few* men could have grappled with its difficulties. But there was *one* on the spot who could, and did. Around General Nott,—verily "justum ac *tenacem propositi virum*,"—the disasters of Caubul, the revolutions in our fortunes and prestige, the faint-heartedness of authorities,—yes, even the orders to retreat, fell,—and found him undismayed,—unshaken.

"I HAVE NOT CONTEMPLATED TURNING BACK!"

He stood his ground in the heart of the enemy's country, pleading to the Government now one, now another excuse for his delay, until the memorable choice was offered him :—his prompt resolve, and its glorious execution, need not be recorded here.

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[*] *Hansard*, lxvi. p. 920.

[†] The Duke of Wellington said that he would undertake to defend any of Lord Ellenborough's Orders to his generals. We are not dissenting from so high an authority; for, doubtless, those orders can be defended on the score of prudence. All we mean to intimate is, that *something more than prudence* was requisite to cope with this terrible crisis.

It were rash to attempt a description of the splendid ovation prepared by Lord Ellenborough for himself and his generals, on their return to India. Believing, as we do, that his Lordship's talents are eminently adapted for getting up a spectacle of that kind, from his known facility at *coups de theatre*, we shall not presume to criticize. It is enough for us, that "Victoria vindex" is again triumphant; and that we may bid a complacent farewell to Affghanistan.

Revenons a nos moutons,—the sheep that are being driven to the slaughter,—the wretched Ameers of Sind. From the moment that the treaties of 1839 were imposed upon them by Lord Auckland, the process of events which led to their final ruin was, in our opinion, as irresistible as one of Euclid's deductions from its premises. Conceive a free and barbarous people subjected to a yoke that suddenly crushed their independence; a yoke in itself intolerable, but rendered a thousand times more galling by the way in which it was imposed. Disaster darkens the prestige of their oppressors. Could ignorant Orientals pierce the future, and calculate the elastic force of our power, blinded as they were both by barbarism and fury? No: "Allah has at last avenged his honour on the miscreants!"

they cried; "their day has passed: Islam has triumphed in Affghanistan; it shall triumph again in Sind!" What could have been done to undeceive them,—to avert from them the destruction they were rushing upon,—that was not done? Their plots were destroyed ere they could ripen, and then ignored; oblivion of the past was promised—in vain: when, as a last resource, Lord Ellenborough addressed to them the stern warning of May the 6th.* But if the issue of this circular, at a season when our momentous struggle in the North-West had as yet been uncheered by any crowning success, did honour to the determination of his Lordship, it impaired its efficacy with the Ameers. Continued intrigues, though rendered futile by our vigilance, made it at last absolutely necessary that we should prove ourselves capable of punishing infidelity on the part of princes, who were infatuated enough to believe in November, '42, that we had been "turned out of Affghanistan," and who naïvely anticipated that we should be so harassed by their Belooch troops, as to exclaim, "What infernal devils these are! What have we done to bring down upon us such a nest of hornets?"† We were forced to vindicate our authority; the Ameers appealed to arms, and their kingdom passed away.

Is not all this a natural sequence? Given, a race of martial barbarians; place them under an oppressive yoke; let defeat at once degrade in their eyes the power of their oppressors, and render it impossible that leniency on the part of the latter should not be misinterpreted by its objects; —and the result is clear as noonday,—inevitable as fate. What then is to be said of the violent outcry that was raised against the annexation of Sind by some of Lord Auckland's advocates,— nay, by the very instrument of his unprincipled policy? Was it for *Sir Henry Pottinger* to use such terms as these:—

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* *Sind Papers*, p. 315.

† *Id.* pp. 464, 465, 335.

> "No explanation or reasoning can, in my opinion, remove the foul stain it (the annexation of Sind) has left on our good faith and honour; and, as I know more than any other man living of previous events and measures connected with that devoted country, I feel that I have a full right to exercise my judgment and express my sentiments on the subject."*

When he could use this tone in August, 1838,—

> "I shall not fail to tell them (the Ameers) distinctly that *the day on which they commit themselves with any other power will be the last of their independent authority, if not of their rule;* for, that we have the ready power to *crush and annihilate them, and will not hesitate to call it into action,* should it appear requisite, *however remotely,* for either the safety or integrity of our empire, or its frontiers."†

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* We are not aware that Sir H. Pottinger has ever disowned the letter that appeared, with his name, in the *Morning Chronicle.*

† *Sind Papers,* p. 9.

When, too, as has been pertinently remarked,[*] he could prophesy in February, 1839, that "if we are ever again obliged to exert our military strength in Sind, it must be carried to subjugating this country"?[†] That Sir Henry did his best to mitigate the harsh measures inflicted on the Ameers, we do not wish to deny;—that he did not foresee that the result he described *must* occur, tells more for his humanity than his penetration; but *he must share its responsibility.* In statesmanship emphatically may it be said,

> "This is the curse of every evil thing,
> That propagating still, it brings forth evil,"

and its guilt is coextensive with its consequences. But Sir Henry Pottinger has served his country well; and we will choose rather to associate with his name the achievements of China, than the memories of Sind.

Let us guard against misconstruction. We must not be understood to maintain, that our dealings with the Ameers, viewed as a *whole,* are otherwise than reproachful to our fair fame among the nations;—that it would not have been more glorious to have relaxed the bonds that drove them to desperation, *had it been practicable at the period* (but this we have denied);—or, that it would not *now* be as wise, as it is an improbable, measure, to restore them to the possessions, which were tyrannously wrested from their hands. But, secure from the imputation of partizanship, we will affirm, that whatever firmness, humanity, and public principle could do to *avert* the final catastrophe, was done by Lord Ellenborough.

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[*] *A Great Country's Little Wars,* by Mr Lushington.

[†] *Sind Papers,* p. 152.

If, however, the certainty of all leniency being misinterpreted by the Ameers (and not by them alone; for many native states were slow to appreciate the glory of our last Affghan campaign)—if this was the Governor-General's sole justification in punishing their intrigue,—it follows that any abstract plea for the measures pursued must be unsound. We therefore object to Sir Charles Napier's *Essay* on the Sind question in October, 1842:* and, as it is characterized with the gallant General's wonted pithiness, and vigour of style, an effort to detect its fallacies may not be thrown away.

We understand Sir Charles Napier to justify the stringent measures used to enforce on the Ameers an adherence to the Treaties of 1839, by the following positions:—

1st. He premises, that his arguments will be "called hard" by such "sticklers for abstract rights" as "maintain, that to prevent a man from doing mischief is to enslave him."

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* *Sind Papers*, p. 362.

2nd. He insists that the Treaties of 1839 were favourable to the interests of civilization.

3rd. That the "attempt to break such Treaties," on the part of the Ameers, showed their unfitness to govern.

4th, and lastly. That their rule was hateful to their subjects.

With regard to the first head, Sir Charles Napier has chosen a true, but most unlucky, parallel. For, that a man could be absolutely *prevented from doing mischief* by anything but a system of coercion more severe than any known code of slavery, no one,—be he a "stickler for abstract rights," or their *opponent*,—will doubt. We cannot, therefore, refrain from the General's own conclusion, that the arguments we are about to consider must "be called hard."

Secondly, we take it for granted that, *cæteris paribus*,* the criminality of imposing an unjust treaty grows and multiplies in proportion as it is enforced; just as the guilt of a robber who disables a traveller is enhanced according to the advantage he takes of the power he has usurped. It follows, then, that what is not sufficient to justify the first step of its imposition will, *a*

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* A condition, be it remembered, which in our then-existing relations with Sind, did not exist. We are not attacking the actual policy that was pursued; but a rotten defence set up for it by Sir C. Napier.

fortiori, be inadequate to justify the ever-increasing guilt of its execution. No one, we presume, will maintain that the *interests of civilization* would excuse a strong nation in *imposing* a tyrannical treaty on a weaker; for, in the first place, a main point in civilization—the maintenance of international good faith—is thus violated; and next, if superiority in the arts of government were a sufficient plea for subjugating less favoured countries, the whole gradation of European states, from Britain to Turkey, might with perfect propriety be continually encroaching on each other! We conclude, then, that, as the interests of civilization could not justify the imposition of the tyrannical treaties of '39, still less could they justify their rigid execution.

This would appear enough; but the fallacy we have attacked is so widely spread, so plausible, and so offensive to the first principles of international morality, that, for the further benefit of the professors of that fire-and-sword philanthropy which, like the agent it employs, is ever "shattering that it may reach, and shattering what it reaches," we shall summon Vattel once more to our assistance:—

"Mais si une nation est obligée de contribuer de son mieux à la perfection des autres, elle n'a aucun droit de les contraindre à recevoir ce qu'elle veut faire dans cette vuë. Ces ambitieux Européens, qui attaquoient les Nations Americaines et *les soumettoient a leur avide Domination, pour les civiliser*, *disoient-ils*, et pour les faire instruire dans la véritable religion; *ces Usurpateurs, dis-je, se fondoient sur un prétexte egalement injuste et ridicule*."*

In reply to Sir C. Napier's third position, it may suffice to observe, that what their "attempt to break the treaties" *did* evince on the part of the Ameers, was, first, a very natural desire to shake them off at the earliest opportunity; and, second, a hardly less natural miscalculation of our power to enforce them.

And as for the fourth, and last, plea, there is no computing the odious interference which it might cloak, and give rise to, were not some symbol considered necessary to show, that the hatred of a people for its rulers has arrived at the point where other nations may justly proffer their assistance. This symbol has generally been held to be an armed and organized resistance on the part of their subjects against the unpopular government. Now we should like to know—not how many Sindians were in the field before we assumed a hostile attitude; for there were none—but how many flocked to our standards *thereafter?* Could Sir Charles Napier possibly mean to recognise the suttlers and hucksters, who were attracted by the tariff of the camp-bazaar, as the representatives of the proud and martial Sindians? No: if the measures which the gallant general was employed to execute rested on no better grounds than he has chosen for them, we should not have much to say in their favour. But a brave honest heart will sometimes guide a man straight in spite of his theories; and so it has been with Sir Charles.

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* *Droit des Gens*, ii. 1. § 7.

There would be much risk of needless repetition, were we to occupy our readers, first, with the details of Lord Ellenborough's Sind policy, and next, with a refutation of the principal charges brought against it; we shall therefore confine ourselves to the latter, in the belief that it will be found to involve a tolerably complete view of the general line pursued. Those charges will be found all included in the five following counts:—

1st. That Lord Ellenborough evinced from the beginning rapacious intentions against the Ameers.

2d. That the authenticity of the two treasonable letters alleged to have been written by Meer Roostum and Nusseer Khan was never proved.

3d. That their guilt, even if established, could not justify the infliction of an equal punishment on all the Ameers; such as was imposed by the Revised Treaty.

4th. That by a plot of Sir C. Napier's, Meer Roostum was inveigled into Ali Moorad's power, in order that he might be compelled by the latter to abdicate the chieftancy.

5th. That the destruction of Emaumghur was a wanton act of spoliation.

The best reply to the accusation we shall first consider, will be to display the state of our affairs with the Ameers on Lord Ellenborough's arrival, and to follow their progress till the period when it was resolved to enforce the Revised Treaty. Our readers may be surprised to find, that *all the most stringent provisions of that document were proposed by Major Outram*,—the reputed champion of the Ameers,—some months before it was drawn up; at a time when neither their hostility or intrigues had arrived at their subsequent pitch; and that, so far from the Governor-General having given that officer his *cue to get up a case* against the Sindians, every letter on which the insinuation has been based was elicited by the representations of the Resident, and suggested measures invariably more lenient than those proposed by the latter. The following intelligence from Major Outram must have been received by Lord Ellenborough a few days after his landing at Calcutta:—

Feb. 22*nd*, 1842.

"I shall have intrigues of some of the more restless Ameers to expose hereafter, Meer Nusseer Khan of Hyderabad particularly, who has been especially active of late. * * I think we ought to preserve our positions in Sind as strong as circumstances will admit, during the season when our communication is cut off, or Nusseer Khan's (of Hyderabad) intrigues have been so extensive of late, that he must see he has committed himself beyond hope of concealment, *which may make him eager to embroil others with us while our troops are occu-*

pied at a distance. I do not expect, however, disturbances; for I trust to counteract Nusseer's manœuvres (with which view I shall move towards Sukkur as soon as possible); but of course *it is proper to be prepared, if only for the purpose of thereby preventing outbreak.*"*

The instructions in reply were temperate; and firm, though issued at a troubled season.

"*Fort William, March* 7, 1842.

"The Governor-General in Council has considered the circumstances brought to his notice in late communications from Sind, of the vexatious and apparently unfriendly proceedings of Meer Nusseer Khan of Hyderabad and his subordinates, and on this subject I am directed to inform you that Government relies upon your prudence and discretion, to prevent any misunderstandings with subordinate officers of the Meer, from leading to serious discussions with himself, as long, at least, as they can be avoided; but that you will endeavour, notwithstanding, to act with such firmness and decision in all your proceedings, in which those officers are concerned, as may convince them of the steadiness of purpose with which the objects of your Government will be pursued, and of its resolution to maintain its proper authority in the territories subject to Hyderabad."†

Unfortunately for themselves, the Ameers did not relax in their intrigues during the following month. "I intercepted the other day," wrote Major Outram to Mr. Clerk on May the 1st, "a letter purporting to be from Meer Roostum Khan of Khyrpore to Shere Sing,"‡ the King of the Punjaub. He also kept the Government constantly informed of the progress of the Ameers in disaffection, by a species of testimony which, though generally to be distrusted, as coming from native informants, was, in this instance, according to Lieut. Leckie, "to be depended on."* We shall quote a few specimens; and first from Lieut. Leckie himself:—

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* *Sind Papers*, p. 314.

† *Id.* p. 314.

‡ *Id.* p. 324.

"*April* 13, 1842.

"Nusseer Khan is going a-head as fast as he can, and is trifling with the treaty, as far as levying duties is concerned."†

"*April* 28, 1842.

"I was told last night that Nusseer said, when he heard we had won the Khyber, that the Afredees and Patans were a set of donkeys, and should have thrashed us."‡

"*May* 1, 1842.

"Meer Nusseer Khan recommended Meer Roostum to take immediate steps with 'Suckmut,' to get possession of the fort of Bukkur, *as in the event of anything, all the fighting must be in Upper Sind,—Lower Sind being too open.*"§

With whatever amount of qualification it may be thought advisable to take the above testimony, no one will affect to doubt, that the Ameers were persevering in their suicidal efforts; or that humanity itself could have dictated anything more likely to turn them from the course by which they were rushing into our jaws, than the following stern admonition:—

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* *Sind Papers*, p. 336.

† *Id.* p. 332.

‡ *Id.* p. 332.

§ *Id.* p. 333.

"THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO THE AMEERS OF SIND.

"*May* 6, 1842.

"My agent in Sind will have communicated to you the circular letter addressed, by my order, on the 26th of April, to all the agents of the British Government at all the courts of India.

"You will have seen in that letter, the principles of justice and moderation by which I am resolved to regulate my conduct.

"But while I am, myself, resolved to respect treaties, and to exercise the power with which I am entrusted, for the general good of the subjects of the British Government, and of the several States of India, I am equally resolved to make others respect the engagements into which they have entered, and to exercise their power without injury to their neighbours.

"I should be most reluctant to believe that you had deviated from the course which is dictated by your engagements; I will confide in your fidelity and in your friendship, until I have proof of your faithlessness and of your hostility in my hands; but be assured that, if I should obtain such proofs, no consideration shall induce me to permit you to exercise any longer a power you will have abused. On the day on which you shall be faithless to the British Government, sovereignty will have passed from you; your dominions will be given to others; and, in your destitution, all India will see that the British Government will not pardon an injury received from one it believes to be its friend."*

Now, what shall we say to a writer who has not shrunk from citing the despatch, enclosed with the above circular, as the *first* insinuation of the guilt of the Ameers,—as *suggesting to Major Outram* the line Lord Ellenborough desired him to pursue against them ?* This is the sentence he has quoted: "The Governor-General is led to think that you may have seen reason to doubt the fidelity of some one or more of the Ameers of Sinde."† *Had* not his Lordship been led to think so, by the intelligence we have given? Nay, so far back as January, was not Major Outram making bitter complaints of their hostility to Government ?‡ However, it is for his own party to quarrel with a man who betrays their cause by such *transparent* duplicity.

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* *Sind Papers*, p. 315.

On May the 8th (and therefore *before* the last-mentioned despatch could have been received), Major Outram proposed these sweeping measures against the Ameers:—

> "I shall have it in my power shortly, I believe, to expose the hostile intrigues of the Ameers, to such an extent as may be deemed by his Lordship *sufficient to authorize the dictation of his own terms to the chiefs of Sind,* and to call for such measures as he deems necessary to place British power on a secure footing in these countries.
>
> "Should it be resolved to abandon the Kelat territory entirely, *I should the more earnestly advocate the assumption, by the British Government, of the entire management of the whole of the Sukkur and Shikarpore districts, on fair terms to the Ameers.*"§

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* "*India and Lord Ellenborough,*" p. 87. † *Id.* p. 315.

‡ *Sind Papers,* p. 308. § *Id.* p. 316.

The Governor-General replied to this letter in a tone, which, compared with that of the Resident, was indulgence itself; but it has, nevertheless, been quoted as the crowning evidence of his Lordship's rapacity.

"It is the Governor-General's earnest desire to put an end, wherever it may be practicable, with any regard to our financial interests, to the system whereby a native State receives protection from us, in consideration of a tribute to be paid to the British Government.

"In most cases in which such a system prevails, it must be as much the real interest of the British Government to afford protection, as it is that of the native to receive it; and the payment of a tribute by the native State, however equitable it may be in principle, cannot fail to affect the otherwise friendly nature of our relations with it; to introduce much of disagreeable discussion; to occasion the frequent visits of the officers in the unpopular character of exacting creditors; and to attach to the British Government, in the eyes of the subjects of the tributary State, much of the odium of the acts of extortion by which native administration is too frequently conducted.

"It would be much more conducive to a permanent good understanding between the British Government and the protected States, if arrangements could be made whereby, either in exchange for territory, or in consideration for the abolition of duties burthensome to trade, such demand for tribute on our part might be altogether given up.

"The Governor-General would consider that it would be a most desirable arrangement, if, in lieu of all tribute payable under treaty, or otherwise, by the Ameers of Sind and of Khyrpore, such cessions of territory as may be necessary were made to us at Kurrachee, the island of Bukkur, and the town of Sukkur, and all claims to tribute payable by the Ameers to us, or to any other power, were, after such cessions, to be cancelled, in consideration of the establishment of the perpetual freedom of trade upon the Indus, and of such other provisions for the freedom of transit through their respective territories as it might appear expedient to make."[*]

There can be no doubt that his Lordship was well aware that, though all these advantages would attend an exchange such as he contemplated, it was one which no native power was likely to assent to of its own free-will. But, surely, it is mere cant to pretend, that, at the pass at which our affairs with the Ameers had arrived, the Governor-General could shut his eyes to the fact, that he would soon be compelled to repress their hostility: and what expedient so judicious, or humane, as the exchange in question? As he elsewhere says, "in the first instance, the surrender of territory would be as painful[†] to the Ameers as the exaction of tribute; but the latter is a grievance constantly recurring,—brought continually to the recollection by incessant applications for payment, which the debtor state continually invents excuses to evade or defer. The cession of territory is a grievance which, once submitted to, is in time almost forgotten."[‡]

Major Outram did not deliver Lord Ellenborough's warning circular to the Ameers; for, said he, "if, as I have reason to believe, *almost every individual chief throughout these countries* has been more or less concerned, directly or indirectly, in treasonable plottings, all would consider themselves compromised, and in mere dread of the consequences might be driven to commit themselves openly, and together."* This course was approved of by his Lordship in a letter, which, while it expressed regret at the ripening hostility imputed to Meer Roostum and Nusser Khan, breathed a full determination to vindicate our authority; and the Resident's opinion was asked on the propriety of punishing Meer Roostum, by transferring a portion of his territory to the adjoining possessions of our ally, Bhawul Khan. We shall give, not only Major Outram's reply to this proposal, but the general views propounded in the three last letters of importance which he wrote, before he was relieved by Sir Charles Napier. It will be found, that the very measures that have been stigmatized as tokens of the Governor-General's shameless rapacity, emanated from a man whom partizans have delighted to describe as dissenting *in toto* from the policy pursued,—a man, whose humanity is as acknowledged as his valour. And, first, regarding the transfer of territory to Bhawulpore:

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[*] *Sind Papers*, p. 318.

[†] More so, no doubt.

[‡] *Sind Papers*, p. 438.

"From the repeated disputes between the Kardar of Subzulkote and the neighbouring authorities of Bhawulpore, regarding the infringement of their respective boundaries, I conclude that the district of Subzulkote must be conveniently situated for the contemplated transfer; and I believe *it was formerly wrested from Bhawulpore by the Sind Government; and that only since the British Government guaranteed to the latter the territory which we found the Ameers in possession of, has Bhawul Khan relinquished his claim to it;* however, of this I am not certain, having had little personal experience in Upper Sind, but have directed Lieutenant Brown to communicate the result of his inquiries on the subject."*

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* *Sind Papers*, p. 320.

"*I consider making over Subzulkote to the Khan of Bhawulpore a most desirable arrangement in every respect,* * * as punishing an unfaithful to the benefit of a faithful ally, without the objectionable appearance of any desire for territorial acquisition on our own part; the arrangement regarding Sukkur and Kurrachee bearing the aspect merely of securing ourselves on the ground we already occupy, for, beyond the sites of the cantonments, and ground on which these towns are situated, no cession of actual territory is involved thereby."†

Major Outram even contemplated the possibility of its becoming advisable to deprive Nusseer Khan of his possessions altogether; and thus states the *pros* and *cons* of so severe a measure. Be it remembered, too, that this was *previous* to the discovery of that chief's treasonable letter to Beebruck Boogtie, which eventually became so critical to his fate:—

"*June* 26, 1842.

"If, however, his Lordship should determine on making a more signal example of this chief, by depriving him of his possessions altogether, the other Ameers of Lower Sind would the more readily relinquish their shares of Kurrachee, the land customs of Tatta, the claim to levy tolls from their own subjects on the river, and agree to our clearing the banks thereof (the measures which in my despatch, dated 22nd ultimo, I represented as most necessary to secure, on any renewal of negotiations with the Sind Government), for shares in the forfeited territory, after assigning Subzulkote to Bhawulpore, and a sufficient provision for the support in respectability of Meer Nusseer Khan and his family, more especially if tribute is also remitted by the British Government."*

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* Lieut. Brown confirmed the surmises, p. 348.

† *Sind Papers*, p. 345.

The general exchange of territory for tribute, proposed by Lord Ellenborough, was thus warmly seconded by the Resident:—

"I myself consider that an open and *bonâ fide* relinquishment of all tolls on the river, for value received in the shape of remission in tribute, which would set the question at rest for ever, *is highly advisable.* I think it would be necessary to show, as a ground for requiring new arrangements, that we have of late been exposed to the inimical intrigues of some of the Ameers; that therefore we are called upon to demand such arrangements as will ensure security for the future to our power and to commerce, which, as at present situated, is liable to be interrupted.

"The evidence which I have already submitted to Government, even if deficient of legal proof, gives, I consider, sufficient data for suspecting that *intrigues were in progress to overthrow our power, and to authorize, consequently, our now taking the precautions necessary for self-preservation; and it cannot be denied that, as at present situated in Sind, our mili-*

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* *Sind Papers*, p. 346.

tary positions are insecure, and our communications liable to be cut off.

"These considerations would, I should suppose, justify the dictation of our terms to the Ameers, although generously, at the time relinquishing for ever, as an equivalent for what we justly assumed the right to demand, all pecuniary claims we possess on them, and even making up to such chiefs as we have no claims against, what we estimate they may sacrifice pecuniarily by the arrangement."*

The chiefs alluded to in the last sentence, who were exempted from paying tribute by the treaties of 1839, were the three Ameers,—Roostum, Sobdar, and Ali Morad. The question arose, how they were to be compensated for their shares in the territory about to be ceded. The Resident thus solved the difficulty: As Meer Roostum Khan's "hitherto uniform friendliness to the British Government may fairly entitle him to more lenient treatment for his recent infidelity than is due either to *Meer Nusseer Khan, of Hyderabad, whose intrigues against the British Government have been unremitting from first to last*, or his namesake of Khyrpore, I would recommend that our demands on Meer Roostum Khan be confined to the cession of Bukkur and the two small islets above and below that fort (which is no pecuniary deprivation, and has already been tacitly made over to us), relinquishing the right to levy tolls from his own subjects on the river, admission of the claim of his brother, Meer Ali Morad, to the turban, after his death, and expulsion from Sind of his minister, Futteh Mahomed Ghoree, and his family."* Sobdar and Ali Morad were to be compensated for the damage they might sustain through the new arrangements, by slices from the territory of such Ameers as would gain more by the remission of tribute than they would lose by the cessions to be demanded.

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* *Sind Papers*, pp. 339, 341.

Lord Auckland's measure, on the *divide et impera* principle, of making all the Ameer chiefs of Lower Sind individually responsible, by destroying the supremacy of their chiefs, had been given a tolerable trial, and proved an utter failure. Major Outram therefore now advocated a return to the old order of things. For (he wrote),

> "While each Ameer remains independent, there is no general government in Lower Sind, and the British representative having to transact business with each, causes infinite trouble to all parties, and each Ameer evades doing anything by throwing the onus on his neighbour. Moreover, there being no common head, as heretofore, when one of the chiefs had the turban, the British Government is appealed to in every case of dispute among them, which ought to be settled among themselves, causing the direct interference in their affairs so obnoxious to themselves, but which nothing but a constituted head, under British guarantee of his power, can obviate."†

Moreover, the Resident sketched out a draft of a new Treaty, which he submitted to Lord Ellenborough. In it he distinctly specifies the following terms, to be demanded from the Ameers: 1st, Subzulkote was to be transferred to Bhawulpore; 2d, In exchange for a total remission of tribute, the fortress of Bukkur and its neighbouring islets, the site of the ancient Sukkur, and the town and harbour of Kurrachee, were to be ceded to ourselves; 3d, and last, We were to have the privilege of cutting wood within 100 cubits of the river, for the use of our steamers.

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* *Sind Papers*, p. 346.

† *Id.* p. 347.

Nothing is so tedious either to write or to read as the refutation of a vague and general charge. But we hope that we ourselves have now arrived at a specific result. At the risk of prolixity, we thought the most satisfactory method of proving that Lord Ellenborough's Sind policy was just and moderate, would be to place before the reader the strong representations which the Resident was perpetually making to Government of the hostility of the Ameers; and to draw attention to the remarkable fact, that the penalties which that officer considered them to merit, *in June* 1842, were held by his Lordship sufficiently severe to form the basis of the *Revised Treaty*,* which was not issued till *November*, when their unremitted crimes and intrigues had multiplied manifold, and were full-blown. The remaining charges are, happily, definite; and will not, therefore, require many words.

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* *Sind Papers*, pp. 441, 442, 443. The only additional penalty to be found therein, is the substitution of the Company's coinage for that of the Ameers.

2. *That the authenticity of the two treasonable letters alleged to have been written by Meers Roostum and Nusseer, Khans, was never substantiated.*

This is an important accusation; for, on the evidence of these two letters, and a hostile act of Meer Roostum's minister, depended the question whether the Revised Treaty should be enforced. The earliest notice of the document attributed to that chief* is as follows :—

"MAJOR OUTRAM TO MR. CLERK.

"*May* 1, 1842.

"The enclosed is a letter I intercepted the other day, purporting to be from Meer Roostum Khan, of Khyrpore, to Shere Sing. However, as the party through whom I obtained the information which led to the seizure, is inimical to Meer Roostum Khan, I was doubtful as to the authenticity of the letter, and sent it to Lieutenant Postans, who has seen much of the Meer's correspondence, for his opinion as to the seal, and for comparison with the writings in his office, from the Khyrpore Durbar. I enclose a copy of his reply, *which pronounces the document genuine.*"†

"SIR C. NAPIER TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

"*Nov.* 23, 1842.

"I have just received from Mr. Clerk the original letters from the Ameer Roostum Khan, of Khyrpore, to the Maharajah. *Of their being authentic original letters, Lieutenant Brown assures me that there cannot be the slightest doubt.*"[*]

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* *Sind Papers*, p. 370.

† *Id.* pp. 324, 325.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"*Nov.* 17, 1842.

"With regard to the letter of Meer Roostum Khan, of Kyrpore, to the Maharajah Shere Sing, there are doubts on Major Outram's mind, whether Meer Roostum Khan was privy to this letter or not. *But of its having his seal, and being written by his confidential minister, Futteh Mahomed Goree, there is no doubt. Query.* Is the doctrine to be admitted, that if a prince gives his signet and power blindly to his minister, such folly is to excuse him from the consequences? I think that your Lordship will hardly admit this. You will say that Meer Roostum must be answerable for the acts of his confidential minister."[†]

His Lordship did say so; and for those who maintain an opposite opinion, we must suspect them of romance,—or dishonesty. The annexed extracts, from the same despatch, will show the caution that was adopted in deciding on the authenticity of the other letter:—[‡]

"SIR C. NAPIER TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

"*Nov.* 17, 1842.

"*Major Outram, Major Clibborn, Lieutenant Brown, and the confidential moonshee hitherto employed in the Political Agency, all assert that the seal is that of Nusseer Khan, of Hyderabad.* In measuring with a pair of compasses the details of this seal and those of the Ameer which are in this office, I find that they do not exactly coincide in size and the distance between the letters, but they agree in all other respects; so I am told by those who can read Persian. But the discrepancy which I have observed is accounted for by the circumstance, (said to be notorious) that the Ameers have two seals: one is used for occasions of secrecy, that if discovered they may deny it, and adduce their ordinary seal in proof, by pointing out the want of coincidence which I remarked. Now, it is one of these seals that I am trying to get hold of, and through the same people that intercepted the letter; *but they have been unable to obtain one,—a very strong presumptive proof that it is not a forgery of theirs, because the object of the first forgery would be secured by a second, and the instrument would be in their hands . . . no one here has a doubt of the authenticity of the letter. But I shall, nevertheless, endeavour to get a proof seal.*"*

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[*] *Sind Papers*, p. 457.

[†] *Id.* p. 454.

[‡] *Id.* p. 408.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"*Nov.* 18, 1842.

"I have procured, not only a similar seal to that of Meer Nusseer Khan's, but *on the cover of the letter to which it is attached, is writing known to be that of Chotram, the Ameer's confidential moonshee.* I enclose both this and the treasonable letter. There now remains no question of the fact."†

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"*Nov.* 30, 1842.

"My conviction is, that every letter was really written by the Ameers, and that *nothing is wanted but an opportunity to attack us*—I mean as regards Nusseer Khan, of Hyderabad, and Roostum Khan, of Khyrpore."‡

Now, what have we arrived at? Why, that Sir Charles Napier's decision on the authenticity of the first letter was confirmed by the opinions of

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* *Sind Papers*, p. 454. † *Id.* 455. ‡ *Id.* p. 462.

Major Outram, Lieut. Postans, and Lieut. Brown; his decision on the second, by Major Outram, Major Clibborn, and Lieut. Brown; in short, that in both cases he was supported by *all* the political officers whose local duties qualified them to pass a judgment on the matter. What have we to set against this body of testimony? The quibbling sentiments of a few writers and orators in this country, who have thought to mislead the public by *burking the evidence.* To proceed:—

3. *That their guilt, even if established, could not justify the infliction of an equal punishment on all the Ameers, such as was imposed by the Revised Treaty.*

The answer to this is simple. The terms of the Revised Treaty did *not* fall with equal severity on all the Ameers. There was this vast distinction that characterized the forfeitures of Meer Roostum and Nusseer Khan,—that they were unredeemed by any compensation. The value of land to be ceded by the latter, far exceeded the tribute he was absolved from paying; while Meer Roostum had been exempted by the Treaties of 1839 from paying any tribute at all; so that to him the proposed cessions were so much sheer loss.*

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* A glance at the "Table showing the interest of each Ameer in the towns and districts under discussion," (p. 445)

4. *That by a plot of Sir Charles Napier, Meer Roostum was inveigled into Ali Moorad's power, in order that he might be compelled by latter to abdicate the chieftancy.*

Sir Charles Napier's account of this transaction is the only one we have. The accusation against him, therefore, and the reply to it, if there be any, must be drawn from his own testimony. Let us hear his narrative from the beginning:—

"I had a secret message from Meer Roostum. The bearer had an open letter in the usual unmeaning style of the Durbar; but the messenger privately informed Lieutenant Brown, that Roostum could do nothing, and would escape to my camp. I did not like this, as it would have embarrassed me very much how to act; but the idea struck me at once that he might go to Ali Moorad, who might induce him (as a family arrangement) to resign the turban to him (Ali Moorad), especially as *Roostum has long been desirous of getting rid of this charge of the Talpoors.* I therefore secretly wrote to Roostum and Ali Moorad, and about one o'clock this morning I had an express from Ali Moorad, to say that his brother is safe with him. Ali Moorad is now virtually chief; for, *if Meer Roostum does not bestow the turban upon him*, he will, at all events, be guided by Ali, into whose hands he has voluntarily thrown himself."

Again, "the chief of the Talpoors, frightened at the violence

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will prove that Meer Nusseer, *of Khyrpore*, who, perhaps, suffered next in degree to the arch offenders, was to give up, in exchange for his tribute, territory to the value of 84,643 rupees: whereas, Nusseer Khan's, of Hyderabad, loss was computed at 176,914 rupees; and that of Meer Roostum, at 196,203 rupees.

of his family, and at our steady operations to coerce them, has thrown himself into his brother's power by my advice, otherwise I should believe some trick was intended."*

The last passage we have italicized would imply, to an ordinary reader, that Sir Charles expected that Meer Roostum would at least have *the power to withhold the Turban*, however improbable it was that the poor imbecile old chief should take up any line of policy opposed to the views of his energetic kinsman. He elsewhere writes, I ventured "to promise Ali Moorad your Lordship's support in having the turban; the next step was to secure him the exercise of its *power now even during his brother's life*." Here too it is clear, that, though he rejoiced at the transfer of power into abler hands, he did not reckon confidently on Ali Moorad's succeeding to the Turban *till after Roostum's death*. But, says the General, "there is one point which I do not yet understand, some trick probably, but I cannot yet clearly see it. There is an evident objection to my seeing Roostum; *why, I do not know;* but I told Ali Moorad, I must and will see his Highness."† Two days afterwards some light was thrown on the enigma:—

"My Lord, I have to tell you that Meer Roostum has decamped yesterday morning. I met Ali Moorad the night before, and desired him to say that I would pay my respects to his Highness the next day; and the next day I heard of his flight. I can only account for this in two ways:—

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* *Sind Papers*, p. 478. † *Id.* p. 484.

"First, Meer Roostum, who is a timid man, and has all along fancied that I want to make him prisoner, believed that the time for this step had arrived, and that his brother and I were about to execute our conspiracy against him; or,

"Second, that Ali Moorad drove his brother to this step. Meer Roostum had resigned the turban to his brother Ali in the most formal manner, writing his resignation in the Koran before all the religious men collected to witness the resignation at Dejee. Ali sent the Koran to me to see it. I said that these family arrangements were their own, but that your Lordship would support the head of their family, whoever it might be; *that I personally thought it better for Roostum to keep the turban*, and let Ali Moorad act for him. Now, it strikes me that Ali Moorad may have frightened the old man into the foolish step he has taken," &c.* "I feel no confidence even in Ali Moorad. I believe he managed the flight of Meer Roostum."†

We are confident that every one who has read the foregoing statements, will already have acquitted Sir C. Napier of the charge we are considering. That he should have deliberately affirmed to the Governor-General, that he was unprepared for, and undecided as to the cause of, a result which he himself planned, involves an accusation so gross, that it defeats itself. Every honourable man will scout it as unworthy of a moment's thought. It remains, then, only to see whether or no Meer Roostum's own plea for his unlooked for flight is confirmatory of the suspicions, which the General and Major Outram entertained of Ali Moorad's violence. At the conference that took place between the Commissioner and the Ameers of Sind, one week before the battle of Meeánee, the following conversation was held:—

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* *Sind Papers*, p. 485.

† *Id.* p. 494.

Meer Roostum. "By the General's own direction I sought refuge with Ali Moorad, (here he produced the letter directing Meer Roostum to place himself under Ali Moorad's protection, and to be guided by his advice), who placed me under restraint, and made use of my seal, and *compelled* me to do as he thought proper. Would I resign my birthright of my own free-will? I did not write that letter. Anything that I did was by Ali Moorad's *advice*, whose advice *I was directed by the General* to be guided by."

Commissioner. 'Why did you not meet me at Kyrpore as you promised?"

Meer Roostum. "I was *advised* not to go, at Ali Moorad's instigation, who sent three different persons to deceive me."*

We notice some inconsistency in these statements. The first ground taken up is, that he was compelled by force to do what Ali Moorad "thought proper." The second, that he had only followed his *advice;* and *that* because the General had wished him to be guided by it. The third, that he refused to meet the General and the Commissioner, and so ran counter to his (the General's) commands, at the instigation of the emissaries of a man whose counsels were just now represented as deriving their sole weight *from being recommended to him by the General.* And, lastly, we are perplexed by remembering that the advice which could thus make him thwart the wishes of Sir Charles Napier and Major Outram, came from one who (according to Meer Roostum's own story), by violently dispossessing him of his seal and the Turban, had exhibited himself in the character of an open enemy!

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* *Sind Papers*, p. 503.

We shall not venture to pronounce any decisive judgment on this extraordinary statement; however shrewd a guess we may make as to the fate that would attend it in a court of justice. But it may be permitted us to suggest, as a not impossible hypothesis, that Meer Roostum, who, under the "moral effect" of the stringent operations in 1838 and 1839, was our fastest friend among the Ameers—who, during our reverses in 1841, was *as* pre-eminent for his hostility to our interests—that this wretched imbecile old man, driven fairly frantic by the decisive measures of Sir Charles Napier, after twice playing the traitor to his brethren, desperately threw into his kinsman's hands an authority he could no longer sustain; and then crowned a life of cowardice and chicane by flight and falsehood.

5. *That the destruction of Emaumghur was a wanton act of spoliation.*

This charge rests on the assertion that our ally, Ali Moorad, had no authority over the fort in question, so that the consent of that chief did not justify Sir Charles Napier in blowing it up. The following are the only passages in the General's despatches where allusions are found to the ownership of the fort. "Emaumghur, a fort belonging to Meer Mahomed Khan (but becoming the property of Ali Moorad by his election to be chief), nephew of Meer Roostum Khan."—"It was Ali Moorad's, but he gave it to one of his relations three years ago."—"It belongs to Ali Moorad, who consents to its destruction."* These passages have been contrasted with the repeated assertions of Major Clibborn that it was Meer Mahomed's fort, and the undisputed claim which was laid to it by that chief himself at the conference with the Commissioner. Now it must be owned that there is an air of contradiction about these statements; but let us understand the first sentence we have quoted, and whatever difficulty there is, will be solved.

It is certain that it cannot be construed to assert, that the title to Emaumghur which accrued to Ali Moorad by his becoming chief was *incompatible* with that possessed by Meer Mahomed; for Roostum was chief before Ali Moorad, and yet the fort is described as having been

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* *Sind Papers*, pp. 487, 493, 497.

Meer Mahomed's at the time when the Turban was transferred. Furthermore, the use of the present participle "belonging" shows, that the parenthesis is not meant to militate with the rest of the sentence. Doubtless Sir C. Napier merely wished to signify that the feudal superiority over Meer Mahomed's fort, which was once held by Meer Roostum, had passed over to Ali Moorad; and thus the objection which has been raised, to the effect that, "if the possession of the Emaumghur went along with the Turban, it could not have been Ali Moorad's to give away three years before," falls to the ground. For, that personal tenure of the fort, which *was* Ali Moorad's to give away to Meer Mahomed, when he was himself a vassal of Meer Roostum's, continued to be Meer Mahomed's, now that Ali had stepped into his brother's shoes; while the supreme authority controlling that tenure, remained vested in, and was transferred along with, the chieftaincy.

Thus much for Ali Moorad's title. When Meer Roostum deserted the cause of the other Ameers, and abdicated in favour of his brother, all the ex-chieftain's followers fled from him, espoused the opposite cause, and took refuge in this fortress of Emaumghur. Now let us reduce the exclusive power conveyed by the Turban to what we will:—if Ali Moorad was Chief *in any sense* over Meer Mahomed, was he not authorized to punish him for harbouring the traitors from his camp? And when, further, we find that the latter Ameer had openly joined the ranks of the hostile faction, at that very time armed and ready for battle; that his fortress was stored with grain and powder, and the munitions of war; surely no doubt can be left that Ali Moorad was justified, and more than justified, in destroying it; and, if so, in delegating its destruction to Sir Charles Napier.

Emaumghur was blown up on January the 15th, 1843. So rang the first note of that blast, before which the Empire of the Talpoors fell.

Are there among us men, who, while they shrink from taking in the whole scope of our dealings with Sind from first to last, are disposed to scrutinize sternly every minute blemish that may be discernible in the closing scenes of the drama? We would refer such men to the motto prefixed to our pages: we would remind them, again and again, that LORD AUCKLAND *snatch'd the sceptre*;* and left its *maintenance* to Lord Ellenborough.

Some sticklers for consistency may indeed lament that, but a few short weeks before the deadly contest, the Governor-General should have addressed the ill-fated Ameers as his "friends,"—nay, as his "*brothers*,"—in tinted proclamations, which were variegated with every hue of the Emblem of Peace. But such repiners are inconsiderate. His Lordship may set them at defiance; and point to the proverb,—old in the days of Aristotle,—

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* "I consider that our supremacy in Sind is now finally and fully established."—*Sir H. Pottinger to Lord Auckland's Private Secretary, Feb. 4th,* 1839, (p. 140).

Χαλεπὸι γὰρ πόλεμοι ’ΑΔΕΛΦΩ͂Ν.

Thus far we have thought it just to defend the measures of a policy which has been unfairly assailed. But what shall we say to the other, and not least important, half of Lord Ellenborough's Indian career,—his internal administration? We need say very little; for as many of its mirific details as the public are capable of crediting, have already been laid before it.

With all the vanity, and more than the caprice, of a woman, Lord Ellenborough, in his treatment of subordinates, was ever reminding us of the silly partialities and petty spites of some imperious Catherine or Elizabeth;—they would move our laughter, but for the pitiless power with which they were backed and executed. The ex-Governor-General delights to be called the Friend of the Army,—and certainly the army did him good service,—but even here it is impossible not to trace a womanly foible for a red coat and a jingling sabre. Look along the list of his victims, from Lieutenant Hammersley downwards,—

are they not, with one or two exceptions, all military men? But then they had doffed awhile their regimentals for the unpretending weeds of civil employ; and *that*, we must conclude, made all the difference!

Well may Indians ask, why was this indiscreet man entrusted with power, literally *à discrétion*? Why were the interests, not of the natives only, but of a large body of English gentlemen, put into the hands of one who thought no more of sacrificing a man or a measure to a good clap-trap, than he did of sacrificing the decencies of life to the luxury of insulting some helpless object of his wayward antipathies? Doubtless, the "wild elephant" may have been an undesirable yoke-fellow for the home-team,—was it for this that the unruly brute was tethered on India, to break his rope, and play "such fantastic tricks before high heaven" as made "the angels weep," and laugh, by turns?

> "Where was our reason sleeping, when we trusted
> This madman with the sword, and placed such power
> In such a hand? I tell you, *he'll refuse—*
> *Flatly refuse to obey the imperial orders.*
> Friend, he can do't, and what he can, he will;
> And then the impunity of his defiance.
> Oh! what a proclamation of our weakness!"*

Such was the voice of wailing, and such the self-reproaches, that lately rent the mists in Leadenhall-street, while a venerable conclave was being goaded to desperation by the freaks of the most insubordinate of Subordinates. "Patience is a good nag, but she will bolt," says the adage. The Court of Directors at last made a convulsive effort, and pulled Lord Ellenborough from his high horse. If the people of India *were* delighted, the people of England were no less amazed at the feat. The Court were accused of indiscretion.

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* Wallenstein.

With deference to the quarter from whence it came, we venture to pronounce this the most extraordinary charge that ever was brought against a public body. What!—poor, long-suffering, much-enduring old gentlemen,—after (in Oriental phrase) having "eaten dirt" for two long years, with hardly a wry face,—when *at last* their stomachs revolted, to be accused of indiscretion! For our own part, their conduct rather recalls to us the example of that most discreet, least rash, of mortals, who let himself be given the lie, caned, and kicked down his own stairs, *before* he turned on his assailant with a warning to proceed no further, lest he should rouse in his breast the British lion! The only difference is, that in the case of the Court the *ulterior* provocation was added, —and they were roused. But we own, we cannot help suspecting irony, when we hear them twitted with *indiscretion!*

Of Lord Ellenborough's *Proclamations*,—the spawn of a bloated vanity,—we have purposely said nothing: they have amused Europe,—and what is so tame as a worn-out jest?

Our survey of events is finished. Its object has assuredly not been to expose follies or crimes that had better far creep into oblivion, if they can; still less have we espoused the cause of any clique, either here or abroad. No; we have simply endeavoured to force upon authorities the consideration, that no ability or private worth can atone for the absence of political principle in the ruler of a country with so many and complicated foreign relations as India; any more than its presence, though backed with a smattering of local details, such as two months' residence would give, can compensate for that common discretion, which is essential to his being the equitable controller of the internal interests of a people numbering eighty-two millions.* The mass of British and Native subjects who fall under his sway, may fairly demand that common sense, political principle, and moral courage (surely no Utopian combination), shall be held indispensable attributes in a Governor-General, for which none other, however brilliant, can be substituted.

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* We do not here include the population of Madras or Bombay.

Until they are so held, you may *expect* to hear of reckless territorial aggrandizement, followed swiftly by calamity, or the ravages of disease;—you may expect to hear of disaffection among the troops, distrust among our allies, and absurd jealousy between services whose interest lies in cordial co-operation:—In a word, you may expect a constant diminution in that solidity and harmony in its parts, which have been, and are, the main security of our Indian empire.

London: Printed by STEWART and MURRAY, Old Bailey.

THE

REV. DR. DUFF'S LETTERS,

ADDRESSED

TO LORD AUCKLAND

ON THE SUBJECT OF

NATIVE EDUCATION:

WITH

HIS LORDSHIP'S MINUTE

(FOR THE SAKE OF REFERENCE)

PREFIXED.

Reprinted from the Calcutta Christian Observer.

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1841.

DEDICATED

(WITHOUT PERMISSION)

TO ALL, OF EVERY NAME AND COLOUR,

WHO THEORETICALLY BELIEVE, AND PRACTICALLY

ACT ON THE DIVINELY REVEALED

PRINCIPLE, THAT

"The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge."

PREFACE.

1. THE design of the following letters was not to enter into the *details* of Lord Auckland's Minute. It was simply to seize on and elucidate *a few of the great principles involved in its leading statements and conclusions.* The details on minor points, such as, the establishment of pecuniary scholarships for meritorious students, the application of the funds granted to the School Society, the preparation of a Manual of legal instruction, and the proper use of School Libraries, are, for the most part, unexceptionable; and offer no points for special remark. The *meagreness* of the notice on two subjects, *so essential* to the spread and stability of National Education, as that of *Normal training for school-masters*, and that of the *efficient and ubiquitous inspection of all grades of Seminaries*, has indeed surprised me; and can only be accounted for by the supposition that the Minute is the product of a superficial amateur educationist, and not that of one who has profoundly studied the subject in theory, or thoroughly acquainted himself with its wants and workings in practice. The former is announced and dismissed by simply remarking, that "another object in these superior colleges ought to be to instruct the pupils, or some proportion of them, for the duties of *inferior* school-masters—and that to this end they should be made thoroughly masters of the class-books and legal or other manuals, which are designed to be used in the lower schools, and with the branches of knowledge which relate to the subjects comprised in them." Here, the *great and specific object* of Normal tuition for teachers, as contradistinguished from the general tuition of ordinary pupils, is not so much as caught

hold of, hinted at, or expressed; and that is, *not merely the replenishment of the minds of future teachers with adequate knowledge, but the training of them into the habitual employment of the best modes of communicating knowledge, by causing "the theory of teaching and the application of the theory to go on simultaneously."* Let any one, at all acquainted with the continental schemes of education, the machinery of which is now so generally admired, say, how very *large and prominent* a place, the subject of Normal primary teaching occupies both in theory and practice. Yet to that point, so all-important, as regards the efficiency and the permanency of an extended system of education, Lord Auckland devotes a *single pointless paragraph;* while to the *comparatively* insignificant matter of *pecuniary scholarships,* he allots *two entire pages* out of the *thirty-six* embraced by his Minute as originally printed! On the latter of the subjects adverted to, or that of "inspection," he has also written very briefly, and with almost more than even his usual fulcrumless balancing. He "would say that the *day may come* when unity and efficiency of supervision will better be secured by having a single superintendent"—that "at *present* he is satisfied that the varied knowledge possessed by the members of the Committee (of Public Instruction) render their services most valuable to the government, and would gratefully retain their aid"—that he "should be happy to receive from them a report of *their suggestions* on the means of procuring an *occasional local inspection* of the institutions under their charge"—that "the experience of their President will have convinced *him* that there *may be* great hazard of the interests of education being seriously retarded by the want of such inspection." How different all this from the prompt and energetic language of the venerable Van den Ende, the Inspector General of primary instruction in Holland? When spoken to by Victor Cousin on the subject, he replied with the unhesitating assurance of an experienced veteran, "Nothing else will do except inspectors specially appointed;"—

adding, "Take care whom you choose for inspectors; they are a class of men who ought to be searched for with a lantern in one's hand!"

2. Many subjects vitally connected with the establishment of a plan of National Education are *wholly overlooked* in the Minute—such as, the desirableness and necessity of re-appointing a Commissioner to carry on and complete the statistical educational chart which Mr. W. Adam, at the suggestion of Lord W. Bentinck, so vigorously begun. Whether the government should or should not adopt the recommendations of the Commissioner, their own deliberations could not fail to be immensely assisted and their conclusions immensely modified by the authoritative facts and statistics collected and arranged by him. As, in his fitful mood of restoration, Lord Auckland was led to revive so much of the *useless*, the *uncalled for*, and the down-rightly *pernicious*, why did not some grave Councillor suggest, by way of partial counterpoise, that he should restore one of *the most useful* and *imperatively demanded* appointments which the Indian Government in its disinterested wisdom ever created, or in its parsimonious folly ever abolished? And should it be happily revived, let it be on a scale commensurate with the requisite talents of the employee and the undeniable magnitude of his undertaking. Who would, except in derision, compare the talents, acquirements and accomplishments of a qualified Commissioner of police with those of a really qualified Commissioner of Education? And yet in a land, and among a society where money, even without brains, is every thing, and brains without money, nothing—money, money, money being at once the *measure of one's importance*, and the *chief end of one's being*,—is it to be endured that the very inferior office of a Commissioner of Police should be remunerated at *treble* the rate of that of a Commissioner of Education? If so, it can only be, because the Government, in spite of its boastful pretensions on the subject, is yet profoundly ignorant of the real nature and extent—the real demands and uses—the real value

and importance of a thoroughly pervasive scheme of National Education—and as profoundly incapable of estimating or duly rewarding the high mental and moral capabilities which ought to be brought to bear upon it. If the Government be *really* sincere on the subject of native education, why should it not, forthwith, secure at any rate, short of that of a Supreme Councillor, the services of such a man as Mr. J. Marshman of Serampore? The report which one so qualified could furnish, within a reasonable period, would supply ample materials for the stimulating and guiding not only of Government, but of private individuals and public Societies, that are actuated with feelings of commiseration and benevolence towards the people of India. To take the lowest view of the result,—the improved resources, which a mentally and morally improved people would be sure to aid in calling forth, would vastly more than compensate for all preparatory and subsequent educational outlays from the revenues of the state.

3. While certain parts of his Lordship's Minute have been warmly applauded, others have been as warmly reprobated. Of the latter, the two great central points are, *the re-endowment of Orientalism, including its false religion*; and the *total exclusion of true religion from the course of higher instruction in the Literature and Science of Europe.* As the act of a Government which represents the British nation, this is neither more nor less than *a national recognition of the false religions of Brahmanism and Muhammadanism,* and, at the same time, *a national abnegation of the only true religion, that is, Christianity.* Surely, surely, this is a great *national sin*; which, if not repented of and removed, may, sooner or later, draw down the most terrible but righteous retribution at the hands of an offended God. "Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the LORD and against his Anointed, saying, Let us break their bands asunder and cast away their cords from us. He that

sitteth in the heavens shall laugh. The Lord shall have them in derision. Then shall he speak to them in his wrath, and vex them in his sore displeasure. Be *wise now*, therefore, O ye *kings*; be instructed, ye *judges* of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him." Ah, but the avowed and popular doctrine of the day is, "that religion has nothing to do with political measures." Yes, this is the *favourite* doctrine of this politico-irreligious age; but can a mere multitude of voices constitute it a *true* doctrine? Impossible. True it cannot, and will not be, till it is true "that God does not govern the world; for as God rules in human affairs, so must his servants obey him." In cases like the present, what becomes of that race of Christian ministers that are *specially* appointed as guardians, to watch over the interests of Christianity among the Europeans—the ruling class of this vast realm? Why do they seem to remain as silent as if they were fast aslumber in the caves and dens of the earth? The sprightliness of youth and the grey hairs of venerable age, elegant accomplishment and creditable scholarship, devoted piety and goodly eloquence may, doubtless, be found amongst them. But, Oh, for more of the warmth of exhortation—the fearlessness of reproof—the solemn earnestness of protest against the sins and follies of those who, from their rank and power, give tone and fashion to general society, and dictate laws for all India? Oh, for more of the burning love of souls that would lead men, from inclination, taste and choice, to prefer attendance at the dying pillow of the humble poor to attendance at the luxurious, carnalizing entertainments of the great, the mighty, and the noble of the land? Oh, for more of the zeal and fidelity and uncompromising boldness of a Brown, a Buchanan, a Martyn, and a Thomason that could, when occasion offered, rebuke even a Governor General to the face, when he dared openly to violate any of God's holy laws? Polite manners, a fashionable address, a gossiping turn for frivolous conversation, a tacit connivance at the sinful humours, freaks, and follies of the worldly great, will, of course, secure at once their society and their applause. But surely every godly minister of Christ must feel, that these are not the qualifications and the instrumentalities by which, under the Providence of a Holy God, the divine work of converting souls and edifying saints can ever be expected to flourish, or an Anti-Christian be turned into a Christian Government!

4. As to the notices which the Calcutta Press has taken of the present subject.—The cordial manner in which the *Christian Advocate* (which has lately had the honour of being sneered at by an obscure Barrackpore libeller, who would be both wiser and better if he studied and digested its most useful contents) has approved both of the subject and object of these letters, convinces the author that, in advocating the cause of eternal truth and the good of immortal souls, he has the full sympathy of many a right-hearted man. The *Friend of India* has twice condemned, with great calmness and clearness, Lord Auckland's restoration of Orientalism in the education of the privileged classes of native youth. For this he merits the praise of independence, and the thanks of all who wish to see things in the light, and to weigh things in the balance, of the Sanctuary. From the dignified neutrality of the *Hurkaru*, there is reason ultimately to expect much. Surely he who, in days of yore, so powerfully assisted in securing the reform of the old pernicious Oriental system of education, at the hands of Lord W. Bentinck, will not long suffer any act of even partial retrogression to pass unrebuked. The *Englishman*, on general Indian affairs, always writes with indisputable talent and intelligence. But past experience would lead us to expect, on the subject of religion and religious men, a full flow of wit and ridicule, insinuation and banter, which the candid and thoughtful will always be able to estimate at their proper value.

Nevertheless, by opening his columns so largely to the opposite side, he has put it in the power of his readers to judge for themselves;—and this is no small commendation in these days of one-sided partiality. As to the *Courier*, despite the *kindly meant* and *sincerely uttered regrets* of some at the notices that have been taken of him, I must still abide by the honestly felt conviction that, after his oft repeated expression of attachment and regard to religion and religious men, it was a most humiliating spectacle, to behold him, from the first, dealing out a strange mixture of aimless inuendoe and impotent ire—all diluted in an equally strange potion of the lowest principles borrowed from the lowest school of anti-Christian liberalism.

More it is needless to say. The whole subject in debate is one of no secondary importance. It involves principles which shall one day test the value of all prevailing systems, agitate whole kingdoms, and decide the destinies of a globe. "The Lord God omnipotent reigneth." Therefore, shall "all the ends of the world yet remember and turn unto the Lord; and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before Him."

MINUTE

BY THE

RIGHT HON. THE GOVERNOR GENERAL

OF

INDIA.

I have not hitherto, since I assumed charge of the Government, recorded my sentiments at any length on the important questions which regard the best means of promoting Education amongst the Natives of India. The subject is one of the highest interest, and especially calls for calm consideration and for combined effort. But unhappily I have found violent differences existing upon it, and it was for a time, (now I trust past or fast passing away,) a watchword for violent dissension, and in some measure of personal feeling. I judged it best, under these circumstances, to abstain from what might have led me into unprofitable controversy, and to allow time and experience to act, with their usual healing and enlightening influence, upon general opinion. I may earnestly hope that we are now not very far remote from arriving at some satisfactory result in respect to our Education Controversies, and I will approach the topic, with the hope of contributing in some degree to this end.

2. Annexed to this paper will be found a note compiled by Mr. Colvin, containing a condensed view of the principal facts, and of occasional notices of some considerations suggested by them, which relate to the general progress and present condition of the plans of Native Instruction as pursued in different parts of India, and of the tenour of the most important directions on the subject of Public Instruction which have been received from the Honourable the Court of Directors, and with reference to those facts, as they apply particularly to the progress effected in the different Presidencies, and to the circumstances which have come under my observation, when at the seat of several of our Institutions in Bengal, I will endeavour to state with all fairness the conclusions to which I have brought my mind on this subject.

3. I have first however to state my opinions on two specific references connected with the question, which are before me from the President in Council—the one relating to the appropriation of Funds heretofore assigned to particular Institutions, and the other to Mr. Adam's scheme for the improvement of the Indigenous Schools in the Bengal and Behar districts.

4. Before entering on the details of the first of these subjects, I may observe that it may, in my opinion, be clearly admitted, and I am glad from the papers before me, to see that this opinion is supported by the authority of Mr. Prinsep, that the insufficiency of the Funds assigned by the State for the purposes of public instruction has been amongst the main causes of the violent disputes which have taken place upon the education question, and that if the Funds previously appropriated to the cultivation of Oriental Literature had been spared, and other means placed at the disposal of the promoters of English Education, they might have pursued their object aided by the good wishes of all. In the Bengal Presidency, with its immense

territory and a revenue of above 13 millions, the yearly expenditure of the Government on this account is little in excess of £24,000 or 240,000 Rupees*, and I need not say how in a country like India, it is to the Government that the population must mainly look for facilities in the acquisition of improved learning. There is, I well know, the strongest desire on the part of the authorities, both in England and India, to support every well arranged plan for the extension of Education, and the dispatches of the Honourable Court are full of the evidence of their anxiety on the subject. I may cite in particular the declaration of a dispatch of the 18th February, 1824. "In the mean time we wish you to be fully apprized of our zeal for the progress and improvement of Education among the natives of India and of our willingness to make considerable sacrifices to that important end, if proper means for the attainment of it could be pointed out to us." Such we may be assured is the feeling by which the Court is up to this time guided, and the difficulty has been not in any unwillingness to grant the money necessary to give effect to good plans, but in framing such plans, on principles admitted to be satisfactory, and in finding fitting agents for the execution of them. I have alluded to the limited amount and to the existing appropriation of our present funds, not certainly with the slightest idea of casting reproach upon the previous course of administration, but merely as a fact which is of importance in its bearing upon former discussions. The sum immediately at command was limited. Parties wishing to promote the diffusion of knowledge in different forms contended eagerly the one to retain, the other to gain, that sum for the schemes to which they were respectively favourable; and had fresh sums been at once procurable, no one might have objected to their employment for a full and fair experiment on the new ideas which began to prevail. The inference to which I would point from these facts and observations is, that a principle of wise liberality not stinting any object which can reasonably be recommended, but granting a measured and discriminating encouragement to all, is likely to command general acquiescence, and to obliterate, it may be hoped, the recollection of the acrimony which has been so prejudicial to the public weal in the course of past proceedings. The Honourable Court have already, as was to be expected, acted on this principle. They have made a separate grant for the publication of works of interest in the ancient literature of the country to be disbursed through the appropriate channel of the Asiatic Society, and this measure is one which has been hailed with univeral satisfaction.

5. On the merits of the first of the two questions immediately referred to me, which I would consider in the spirit which I have here commended, I would at once say, on the position that the Government has given a pledge that the funds heretofore assigned to particular institutions shall continue to be so for ever appropriated, that I cannot hesitate to express my conviction that the acts or intentions of the Government will not justly bear this very exclusive and restrictive construction. I remember the discussion of April 1836, and certainly I did not understand that the Resolution to which the

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[*]

Parliamentary Grant,		8,888
Interest on Government Notes,		3,030
Madrissa,		2,666
Sanskrit College,		2,055
Delhi Escheat Fund,		250
Benares College,		1,701
Agra College.		
Endowment of Villages,	1175	
Interest of Government Notes,	622	
		1,797
Per mensem,		Rs. 20,387

Government then came was intended to have the force of a perpetual guarantee of the expenditure, *wholly within each institution,* (whatever might be the nature of the instruction to which they might be devoted,) of the funds which might have been assigned to it. The plain meaning of the proceedings and the profession of the Government seems to me to have been that, stipends having been every where discontinued, it would do nothing towards the abolition of the ancient Seminaries of Oriental learning, so long as the community might desire to take advantage of them—their preservation as *Oriental Seminaries* being alone at that time within the contemplation of either party. Had it been intended to promise that, whether Arabic, Sanskrit, or English were taught, the particular Institutions should at all events be retained, the meaning would surely have been expressed in much more distinct terms. My impression of the state of the case is briefly this—that the General Committee viewing the maintenance of the Oriental Colleges, on the footing to which I have referred, as prescribed and secured, proposed to consolidate all separate grants into one General Fund, the savings of which, after the Oriental Colleges should have been thus provided for, should be held by them to be clearly applicable to their general purposes. The answer of the Government on 13th April, 1836, after a discussion in which I in the first instance expressed a willingness to assent to the propositions of the Committee, was in these guarded terms—" *Under existing circumstances,* the Government in India thinks *it will not be advisable* to make the consolidation into one fund of all grants, made heretofore by Government for purposes of education, as suggested by the Sub-Committee of Finance, nor does his Lordship in Council imagine that the Committee *will be put to much inconvenience* by drawing its fund separately as heretofore, and crediting them whether derived from a Government monthly grant or from the interest of stock previously accumulated to the particular seminaries to which they have been assigned, leaving any excess available in any institution to be appropriated *as may appear most equitable* with reference to the Orders of Government, 7th March, 1835, and the pledges and assurances THAT MAY HAVE BEEN GIVEN to particular institutions." The alteration of the word " belong" to " have been assigned" as marked above, will shew the spirit of compromise amongst varying opinions in which the draft was agreed to. There was here no statement that the consolidation was a thing wholly out of the question. The diversion of funds from particular institutions was admitted as a measure which might or might not be proper, and (the circumstances of all institutions not being before the Government) there is a reservation for the pledges and assurances "*that may have been* given" to some of them.

Under such a reservation, if a specific promise in perpetuity of a particular sum to a particular institution could be shown, such a promise would have of course to be respected; but otherwise by these Orders of April, 1836, things were left exactly as they stood before. Whilst however, I am bound to declare that such is my distinct impression on the subject, and whilst for one I would reject the strict principle of absolute and irreclaimable appropriation, I am yet strongly of opinion that it will be best on every account to dispose of the question on the principle of a liberal consideration to all wants and claims. I see no advantage to be gained in this case by a close contest for strict constructions, and having taken a review of money estimates and of local wants, I am satisfied that it will be best to abstract nothing from other useful objects, while I see at the same time nothing but good to be derived from the employment of the funds which have been assigned to each Oriental Seminary, exclusively on instruction in, or in connexion with, that Seminary. I would also give a decided preference, within these Institutions, to the promotion in the first instance of perfect efficiency in Oriental instruction, and only after that object shall have been properly secured in proportion to the demand for it, would I assign the funds to the creation or support of English classes. At the same time, I would supply to the General Committee of Public Instruction from the Revenues of the State any deficiency that this Resolution might cause in the general income at their disposal. And if they should already have partially used for other objects, the savings arising from the Seminaries supported by special funds, I would in recalling such savings, protect the General Committee from loss on that account. The Statement in the margin[*] will shew the contribution from the Revenue which this final settlement of the subject will occasion. It will be perceived that, calculating from the amount of stipends as they existed untouched in the end of 1834, and deducting 1-4th as required at all events for the Oriental Colleges under a Scheme of Scholarships such as I shall hereafter state that I would approve, the additional Annual Disbursement from the Treasury will be about 25,000 Rupees, and perhaps there may be 6,000 Rupees more per annum on account of the office, which has been abolished, of Secretary to Sanskrit College at Benares. I am well persuaded that the Honourable Court will approve of our having closed these controversies at this limited amount of increased expense. I would, upon this understanding, willingly join in the directions sent to the General Committee in the letter of Mr. Prinsep on the 31st of July last, " to avoid making any alienation" (from the assigned funds of the Oriental Institutions) " without previously soliciting the sanction of Government." They should, as I have said, be desired to appropriate the funds within the Oriental Colleges, first to Oriental and then to English instruction. I would not on any account admit the extension of the system of scholarships within these Colleges beyond the general proportion (which should be on a liberal scale) allowed elsewhere, for this would be an excessive and artificial encouragement which might be justly objected to. But I would secure the most eminent Professors for the Colleges. I would encourage the preparation, within the limits of the funds, of the most useful Books of Instruction, such as of the Siddhants and Sanskrit version of Euclid which Mr. Wilkinson has urged upon us, and I would provide in some form which the General Committee should be required to take into early consideration, for an improved and effective superintendence of the Oriental Colleges of the North Western Provinces, where I know that such a supervision is very obviously required. Funds that might still remain available could be doubtless to much advantage devoted to European instruction in union with those particular Institutions, and I should look with very warm interest to an efficient scheme for imparting English Education to Mahomedans at the Madrissa in Calcutta.

6. The other reference made to me is with regard to Mr. Adam's plan for the improvement of indigenous Schools and Teachers. I would observe upon it that it is impossible to read his valuable and intelligent report without being painfully impressed with the low state of instruction as it exists amongst the immense masses of the Indian population. Attempts to correct so lamentable an evil may well be eagerly embraced by benevolent

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	Amount of Stipends Dec. 1834.	Per ann.
Calcutta Sanskrit College,	696	8352
Madrissa,	654	7848
Benares College,	348	4176
Agra ditto,	480	5660
Delhi ditto,	627	7524
		33,560
	Deduct 1-4th	8390
		25,170

minds. Yet I cannot but feel with the President in Council that the period has not yet arrived when the Government can join in these attempts with reasonable hope of practical good. When Mr. Adam enforces his views "for the instruction of the poor and ignorant, those who are too ignorant to understand the evils of ignorance, and too poor, even if they did, to be able to remove them," the inference irresistibly presents itself that among these is not the field in which our efforts can at present be most successfully employed. The small stock of knowledge which can now be given in Elementary Schools will of itself do little for the advancement of a people. The first step must be to diffuse wider information, and better sentiments amongst the upper and middle classes, for it seems, as may be gathered from the best authorities on the subject, that a scheme of general instruction can only be perfect, as it comprehends a regularly progressive provision for higher tuition. In the European States where such systems have been recently extensively matured, this principle is, I believe, universally observed. There is a complete series of Universities in great Towns, of Academies in provincial divisions, and of small local Schools, all connected in a combined plan of instruction. The extension of the plan to the Parish or Village School has been the last stage, as must naturally have been the case, in the national progress. Mr. Adam's plan contemplated such a rise of able pupils from the Village to the Zillah Schools, but the suggestion could not immediately have effect. Here we are yet engaged on the formation and efficient direction of our Upper Institutions. When, indeed, the series of vernacular Class Books for our single *zillah* Schools, which is still a desideratum, and to which I shall subsequently refer, shall have been published, and their utility shall have been established by practice, Mr. Adam's recommendations may be taken up with some fairer prospect of advantage. For the present I would confine our measures in reference to his reports to injunctions on the General Committee that they bear in mind his particular suggestions and objects in determining on the series of Class Books referred to. I would submit the plan to the Honourable Court for the expression of their sentiments and wishes—and in the collection of information for an eventual decision I would make use of the experience which the Bombay measures of Village instruction, alluded to in the note annexed, will have afforded. For this purpose I would communicate Mr. Adam's Report to the Government of Bombay, and ask how far the scheme which he describes is in accordance with that which is pursued in the Provinces of that Presidency—and what opinion may be formed from the result already obtained by their Village schools, of the propriety of carrying out Mr. Adam's plans in their important parts. The encouragement *to existing Schoolmasters*, which is the leading suggestion in Mr. Adam's plan, will probably have been largely tried at Bombay, and the extent to which those School Masters have reaped improvement under such encouragement will be a most interesting subject of inquiry. I learn also in the course of my inquiries regarding the previous progress of Education in India, that a School Society existed for some time in Calcutta, the operations of which were directed with partial success to the amendment of indigenous Schools. Mr. Hare will probably be able to explain the history of this Society, which drew a grant of 400 or 500 Rupees a month from Government, and to give also the causes of its extinction: I would ask this Gentleman to favour Government with a report regarding that Society. And I would conclude upon this subject by recording my opinion that, when such a scheme as that proposed by Mr. Adam comes to be tried, the arrangements for introducing it should be on a liberal and effective scale, and that it ought not to be undertaken at all until the Government is satisfied that it has at command a thoroughly zealous and qualified superintendence.

7. Having said thus much in answer to the references made to me by the President in Council, I would proceed to record my observations upon

the topics which seem to me most important in regard to our plans of Education. I strongly feel that, in all that we can do, we must be prepared for much disappointment in our early efforts to satisfy the demands made upon us on this subject. By some it will be lamented that we do not at once perfect enlarged schemes for general Education; by others it will be regretted that what we do for the best pupils of our few Seminaries seems to produce so partial an effect. Feelings of this nature will attend us in whatever attempts we may engage for the improvement of any branch of our Indian Government. Our governing and instructed class belongs to a highly civilized community. It is in active and increasing intercourse with the European world where, in an advanced state of Society, skill and enterprise are daily gaining new triumphs. It is naturally impatient for the introduction in India of every plan which has, though probably after repeated trials and failures, been adopted with success in European countries. And the spirit of free discussion excites benevolent minds to bring forward the most extensive projects. On the other hand, we are dealing with a poor people, to the vast majority of whom the means of livelihood is a much more pressing object than facilities for any better description or wider range of study. Our hold over this people is very imperfect, and our power of offering motives to stimulate their zeal is but of confined extent. The Agency which we can employ for reform is extremely narrow and liable to constant derangement. Of those who are willing to devote their energies to the business of giving or superintending instruction, Oriental Scholars are apt to be unduly prepossessed in favour of acquirements obtained by much labour, and to which they are indebted for their reputation; while mere European Scholars are liable to be ignorant of, and neglect national feeling, or are at all events incompetent to make a proper use of native means for the execution of their plans. Where even the mind of an able pupil has been very greatly informed and enlightened, the knowledge gained by him may seem to produce no adequately corresponding result in after life. The student may stand alone in the family or society of which he forms a part. These can very generally have few feelings in common with him, and he may be unhappy and discontented in his peculiar position, or he may yield to the influences by which he is surrounded, and accommodate himself to the sentiments and practices which his reason had taught him to disapprove. Add to this, that if he finds that his knowledge opens to him the prospect of advancement, he will, under a restricted competition, be over-confident in his own powers and unreasonable in his expectations, while at the same time he will be tempted to relax in the exertions necessary to maintain, or carry forward, the standard of proficiency at which he had arrived. These are circumstances of the operation of which we must all I think in a greater or less degree have had practical experience. I can only say upon them that we must neither entertain sanguine or premature hopes of general success, nor yet allow ourselves to be seriously discouraged. We must be content to lay even the first rude foundations of good systems, and trust for the rest to time, to the increasing demand of the public and of individuals for the services of educated men, to the extension which must every year take place of the Agency for instruction at the command of Government, and to the certain effects of the spread, however slow, of knowledge, and of the gradual growth of wealth and intelligence in the community.

8. I would in now offering my opinions and suggestions on the present practical directions of our plans, desire to consider the question of our educational policy as one of interest to every portion of the empire, without minute reference to merely local and temporary discussions. I am aware that we are yet in expectation of the orders of the Home Authorities on the subject of the changes in the scheme of education in Bengal, which were adopted by the Government in 1835. But I would not on this account longer withhold the explanation of my own sentiments on the course which should

be adopted, and I do not anticipate that in what I shall propose, I shall be found to have deviated in any material degree from the wishes of the Honourable Court.

9. I would first observe that I most cordially agree with the Court in their opinion, which is quoted in paragraph 45 of Mr. Colvin's note, that, with a view to the moral and intellectual improvement of the people, the great primary object is the extension, among those who have leisure for advanced study, of the most complete education in our power. There cannot, I think, be a doubt of the justice of their statement that "by raising the standard of instruction among these classes, we would eventually produce a much greater and more beneficial change in the ideas and feelings of the community than we can hope to produce by acting directly on the more numerous class." It is not to be implied from this that in my view elementary education for the mass of the people is a thing necessarily to be neglected, or postponed for an indefinite period, but it will have been seen that the hope of acting immediately and powerfully on the mass of the poor peasantry of India is certainly far from being strong with me. And the practical question therefore, to which I would endeavour before all others to give my attention, is the mode in which we may hope to communicate a *higher* education with the greatest prospect of success.

10. One mode which has been ably contended for, is that of engrafting European knowledge on the studies of the existing learned classes,—of the Moulvees and Pundits of India. I confess that from such means I anticipate only very partial and imperfect results. I would, in the strictest good faith, and to the fullest extent, make good the promise of upholding while the people resort to them, our established Institutions of Oriental learning. I would make those Institutions equal sharers with others in any general advantages or encouragements which we are satisfied ought to be afforded with a view to the promotion of due efficiency in study. I would from the funds which have been before allowed to them assist in them, as I have already said, any judicious plans for ameliorating the course of study, as by aiding the publication of works which may seem likely to be decidedly useful to the students. Nor am I at all disposed to undervalue the amount of sound education and morality which is to be acquired at these Seminaries, even without calling in the resources of European Science and Literature. I will not profess deep respect for the mere laborious study of a difficult language, or of the refinements and subtilties of scholastic learning. But sensible, as assuredly I am, of the radical errors and deficiencies of the Oriental system, I am yet aware that the effect of all advanced education, and I will add especially of a Mahomedan education, is in cherishing habits of reflection, of diligence, and of honorable emulation, that it tends also to elevate the tone of moral character, though its practical effect is unfortunately too frequently marred by the domestic and social habits of Oriental life. Judging however, from the common principles of human nature, and from such experience as is referred to in the case of Mr. Wilkinson at Bhopal, it is not to the students of our Oriental Colleges, trained, as it will be admitted that they are, in a faulty system to which they are yet naturally and ardently attached, that I would look for my chief instruments in the propagation of a new knowledge and more enlarged ideas. It was not through the professors of our ancient schools, but by the efforts of original thought and independent minds, that the course of philosophical and scientific investigation and of scholastic discipline was for the most part reformed in Europe. The process of translation, it is to be added, into the learned languages must unavoidably be so slow that, on that account alone, the arguments in favour of a more direct method of proceeding appear to me conclusively convincing.

11. Another class of recommendations is, that all the leading facts and principles of our literature and science be transferred by translations into

the vernacular tongues. Mr. Hodgson, in his book on Education, says, "As a practical measure for the immediate adoption of Government, I have no hesitation in saying that to found a College for the rearing of a competent body of translators and of schoolmasters; in other words, for the systematic supply of good vernacular books and good vernacular teachers, (leaving the public to employ both, in case the Government fund be adequate to no more than the maintenance of such College) would be an infinitely better disposal of the Parliamentary grant than the present application of it to the training of a promiscuous crowd of English smatterers, whose average period of schooling cannot by possibility, fit them to be regenerators of their country, yet for whose further and efficient prosecution of studies, so difficult and so alien to ordinary uses, there is no provision nor inducement whatever."

12. But those who support this course overlook in the first place the extreme practical difficulty of preparing any very extensive course of translated or adapted works. We are speaking now *of the means of an advanced and thorough education*, and not of a limited series of works for the purposes of common instruction, to the compilation of which, as I shall have immediate occasion to remark, I am entirely favorable. The difficulties of translation have been illustrated by our knowledge of what has been effected at Bombay, where the object has been prosecuted with much zeal, and I have annexed to this Minute a list of the works which have been prepared in Arabic by the European Officers attached to the service of the Pasha of Egypt, and it will be seen how very confined the number is, excepting in works of Military, Medical, or other Science. The clear truth seems to be that works of science may, at least to some considerable extent, (their range being necessarily contracted) be rendered into other languages within a comparatively moderate period, but the translation, within any time the extent of which we could reasonably calculate, of any thing like a sufficient library of works of general literature, history, and philosophy, is an impossible task. I have only, therefore, to conclude on this point by stating my entire concurrence in the opinion which has been quoted in the note from a despatch of the Honourable Court to the effect, "that the higher tone and better spirit of European Literature can produce their full effect only on those who become familiar with them in the original languages."

13. I would then make it my principal aim to communicate through the means of the English language, a complete Education in European Literature, Philosophy and Science to the greatest number of students who may be found ready to accept it at our hands, and for whose instruction our funds will admit of our providing. All our experience proves that by such a method, a real and powerful stimulus is given to the native mind. We have seen that in Bombay as at Calcutta, from the time at which effective arrangements have been made for the higher branches of instruction in English, the understandings of the Students have been thoroughly interested and roused, and that the consequences have wonderfully, to use the words of the Calcutta Committee of Public Instruction in 1831, "surpassed expectation." The difficulty which attends this course is the very important one, not of principle, but of practice, namely, that the wants and circumstances of our Indian population bring to our Colleges so few who desire, or are able to receive from us the complete English education, which it is our object to impart to them. Those who look with greater confidence to other methods of diffusing knowledge in this country, dwell especially upon this difficulty. Mr. Hodgson, argues that we have no reasonable ground to hope here for the same wide study of English Literature, and subsequent use of the information acquired in it for the purposes of vernacular composition, as occurred in the different stages of European civilization with reference to the Greek and Roman models from which that civilization was chiefly derived. His words are, "True the difficult and inapt Science of Greece and Rome was in modern Europe, first mastered in itself, and eventually

worked into our own speech and minds. But how? by the employment of means adequate to the end, by the existence of circumstances most powerfully efficient to forward that end. A thousand predisposing causes led a mighty nobility to seek in this lore the appropriate ornament of their rank and station. A Church which monopolised a third of the wealth of the Continent, called Rome its mother and Greece its foster-mother, and throughout the great part of that Continent, the law, Ecclesiastical and Civil, was even lingually Roman. Hence the magnificent endowments and establishments and permanent inducements of all kinds by which a difficult and exotic learning was at length effectually naturalized amongst us. Hence the scholar if he pleased, might pursue in retirement letters as a profession, assured of a comfortable provision *for life;* or if he pleased, he might devote himself to the task of instructing the scions of a most influential and wealthy nobility, all of them from peculiar association necessitated to become his pupils whether they profited by his lessons or not, and thereby affording him the certainty of an enduring means of livelihood, or if he pleased he might pass from the Cloister or the College into the world, and there find the greater part of its most important concerns subservient to the uses and abuses of his peculiar gifts."

14. Mr. Wilkinson has also on different occasions remarked that it seems to him that Education in English should be confined for the present to the Presidencies, and to some of the principal Provincial Stations, as being the only places at which there is yet an actual demand for it.

15. Mr. Adam says of the condition of our English Scholars—"Extraordinary efforts have been made to extend a knowledge of the English language to the Natives, but those who have more or less profited by the opportunities presented to them do not find much scope for their attainments, which on the other hand little fit them for the ordinary pursuits of native society. They have not received a good Native education, and the English education they have received finds little if any use. There is thus a want of sympathy between them and their countrymen, although they constitute a class from which their countrymen might derive much benefit. There is also little sympathy between them and the foreign rulers of the country, because they feel that they have been raised out of one class of society without having a recognized place in any other class."

16. But I believe that, in all these opinions, the practical value of superior English acquirements is very greatly underrated. A familiarity with the general principles of legislation and government, and the power of offering information or opinions upon public affairs in English Reports, (which is the form in which the higher correspondence regarding the British Administration in India will, of course, always be conducted) must be qualifications so directly useful, as (not to speak of the recommendations of an improved moral character), to insure to the possessors of them a preference for the most lucrative public employments, after they shall have acquired that knowledge of life and of business, and that good opinion among those who have had opportunities of witnessing their conduct, which mere book-learning never can bestow. There are as yet, no doubt, circumstances of temporary operation, which will keep for a period our best English Scholars from reaping from their studies all the worldly profit which will ultimately accrue to them. Our course of instruction has not hitherto been so matured as to include any efficient and general arrangement for giving that knowledge of morals, jurisprudence, law, and fiscal economy, which the Honourable Court have so wisely and earnestly insisted on, and which will be most directly useful in the discharge of administrative duties. There are other obstacles also which for a time may impede our young scholars in their desire to obtain public office. They may over-estimate their own pretensions, and decline to accept the subordinate situations which alone it may at first be thought right to entrust to them. The cure for such exaggerated expectations will

come with time. When this class of candidates becomes more numerous, there will be less hesitation with many of them in taking lower appointments. In the meanwhile, it is known that I am not disposed to adopt any special means, which could be felt as doing injustice to the rest of the community, for connecting our educated English students with the public service. The subject has been fully discussed in my Minute in the Judicial* Department of September 4, 1838, the completion of the measures consequent on which I am anxiously awaiting. The scheme proposed by the Honorable the President in Council, to which in that respect I assented in the Minute referred to, included, however, the appointment of a limited number of Native Assistants to some of the best of our Zillah Judges, who would be instructed in the forms and practice of office. And so far there would be an immediate opening for the employment of several of our Students. The general character of my recommendations in that Minute was however, to establish a test of qualification, before selection for the honorable and responsible situation of a Moonsiff, for *all* candidates, wheresoever and in whatever language instructed, and to procure the compilation and printing of Manuals of legal instruction, in the native tongues as well as in English, which might be taught every where by private masters, or in public Institutions. To the principle of this plan I would steadily adhere. But in our Colleges I would carry instruction of this kind further than would be the aim of these Manuals, which would be more proper for use in our common schools. Having thus applied suitable aids for the acquisition of the knowledge most requisite in public life, I would look with assured confidence to the recognition by the community of the advantages of an advanced English Education, comprising those branches of study, a conversancy with which would place an instructed Native Gentleman on a level with our best European Officers. It is true, and no one has more heartily concurred and rejoiced in the determination than myself, that the vernacular tongues and not English will be the future languages of the Courts and Offices in the interior of the country. But this circumstance will in no degree detract from the force of those inducements of English study of which, as regards the vast and most important correspondence which must ever be conducted in English, I have just spoken, nor need I dwell on the degree to which such inducements will be increased by the mere fact of English being the language of the ruling and governing class in India. This is an encouragement to the pursuit of English that will probably greatly counterbalance the want, which has been justly noticed by Mr. Hodgson, of those motives to its cultivation which would have existed in such strength had English been here, as the Classical languages were in the West, the established languages of Theology and of Law.

17. It will be observed that I have referred chiefly to inducements connected with employment in the public service as likely to lead Indian students to ask admission to our Colleges. This we may be satisfied, is the principal motive which will as yet operate to bring them to any of our educational Institutions. Excepting perhaps partially in Calcutta (and possibly, though I am not informed on the point, at Bombay) the wealthy and higher classes of India do not send their sons to public Colleges and Schools. Those who come to us for instruction are in search of the means of livelihood, either in places under the Government, or in situations under individuals, which, in the peculiar constitution of Indian Government and society, bring them in a greater or less degree, in connection with the public administration. I mention this point as explanatory of the importance to be attached to the nature of the instruction communicated to our students. The remark

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* Recorded in the Legislative Department.

applies with equal force to our institutions for the study of the Classical learning of the East. Putting aside the money stipends which were formerly allowed, the great object of the students in the Sanskrit and Arabic Colleges of the Government has been to rise to office as Law Pundits and Moulvies in the Courts. The knowledge which gains for men reputation and profit among the Native community, as great religious Teachers, or among the Hindus as proficients in Astrology, is not to be acquired at those Colleges, and will best be obtained elsewhere from private Native instructors. If there be not a demand for the same number of Law Pundits and Moulvies as previously, the attendance at the Colleges may be expected to decline, though in the Arabic in a much less degree than in the Sanskrit Colleges; for Mahomadan studies fit men far more than those of Hindu learning for all the active offices of life.

18. What has been said may suffice to prove that there are weighty and daily growing inducements to the pursuit of English education, if directed with a proper attention to the wants of Scholars and to practical results. It remains that means should be furnished, at least to the most promising of the Scholars, to continue their studies to the desired completion: as incontestible proof appears to have been given that their poverty would otherwise generally compel them to retire from College as soon after their leaving boyhood as an opportunity of securing a provision for their subsistence might be open to them. On this point I will immediately remark separately, but I would here again say, that I am of opinion, in full concurrence with the President in Council, that whatever amount of reward and support for meritorious students may be granted to those attached to our English, should be granted also, in perfectly like proportion, in our Oriental, Institutions. The pledge to maintain these latter Institutions, while resorted to by the people, involves to my mind the clear obligation to maintain them with all the conditions which are judged necessary for the general efficiency of our educational schemes.

19. Assuming upon the preceding reasoning that our aim as regards those seminaries of highest learning which are not, like the learned Eastern Colleges, specially assigned to other objects, should be to communicate European knowledge through the medium of the English language, it is next to be considered what should be the character of the minor Academies or Schools, such as may probably be eventually established at every Zillah Station.

20. I have not stopped to state that correctness and elegance in vernacular composition ought to be sedulously attended to in the Superior Colleges. This is a matter of course in the scheme of instruction. But a question may well be raised whether in the Zillah Schools, the subject matter of instruction ought not to be conveyed principally through the vernacular rather than the English medium.

21. I would certainly be much in favour of that course if I saw any solid reason to believe that instruction of a common order would more readily and largely be accepted from the Government in the one mode than the other. I am quite of opinion that a very valuable amount of useful knowledge may be easily conveyed, when good class books and persons competent to teach from them are provided, through the means of the vernacular languages. And while I am satisfied that some not trivial amount of moral and intellectual stimulus and improvement is obtained from the Minor English Schools at present existing, yet the standard of proficiency in them is probably not so great as that the mass of Scholars in them would not be nearly as much gainers from merely vernacular tuition.

22. It is an argument for the use of the vernacular medium in such schools that, after the first expense of preparing school books has been incurred, instruction in that manner would, it may be expected, be more

economical than through English, which requires the employment of an English master on a salary at least two or three times as high as would be adequate for a native teacher who had received an English education, and was at the same time perfectly conversant with his own tongue. Employment as a School-master would also be a natural and proper provision for studious young men, who had gone through a complete course at the English Colleges. Such a master would of course be able to instruct a class attached to a vernacular school in the first elements of English learning, so as to lay a foundation for those who wished further to prosecute that study.

23. It is a deduction from the saving which the substitution of Native for English Masters in the Zillah Schools might produce, that English superintendence over several circles of such Schools would probably for a long period be indispensable, and a charge on that account must be estimated for. It is also to be reckoned that the cost of compiling and translating a proper series of vernacular class books is likely to be considerably greater than might at first be supposed.

24. I would speak with much respect of the authority of Mr. Wilkinson on this subject. But I will avow that I am by no means convinced of the applicability of his system or suggestions to the objects of a common education. It is, at least, not certain that he will in the end carry the body of Hindu Astronomers along with him in his correction of prevalent errors. In any event it is not the abstruse parts of Mathematical Science which could be of use in our Zillah Schools. In fact Mr. Wilkinson's system is almost wholly dependent on his own eminent personal talents and exertions, his admirable zeal, his great knowledge, the weight of his excellent character, and perhaps also, it should not be concealed, the influence attaching to his position as the British Political Agent. It would not be safe to draw conclusions as to what may best be done by ordinary agents within the British Provinces from what may have been accomplished in vernacular instruction by Mr. Wilkinson in Sehore. Some of his remarks too as to the failure of attempts at English education within foreign states are not good grounds for anticipating failure within our own districts, where other circumstances and motives are in operation.

25. I do not admit into this discussion the question of promoting at the present time the formation of a body of vernacular literature. Instruction through the vernacular languages, to a definite extent for ordinary purposes, may possibly be, as the readiest mode to the attainment of those purposes, proper and desirable. But anything like a body of enlarged literature can, I am thoroughly convinced, be created only with time, by the unprompted exertions of private authors, when a general demand for such literature shall have arisen among the people. The Honourable Court have in a passage which has been quoted declared themselves strongly in favour of a liberal encouragement of native private authors and translators, and I would by no means dissent widely from their views, though the encouragement must be given with judgment, or the Government will be constantly in hazard of aiding mediocrity or premature and ill-directed efforts. But these are considerations apart from the settlement of the plans of School instruction on which we are now engaged.

26. I have thus stated what has seemed most important on the subject of introducing the vernacular medium in our common District Schools —I mean as to the general principle of such a change; for the measure could not be named as one for very early adoption, with no class books prepared, or Teachers versed in those books yet trained for their duties. And as the contrary system has been actually established, it is right that, unless urgent reasons for abandoning that system demanded attention, it should be fully tried, with the improvements of which it may fairly be susceptible. We may be said to have two great experiments in progress, one in the Bengal, the other in the Bombay Provinces,—the provincial

education being in the former conducted chiefly through the English, in the latter, almost, if not quite exclusively, through the vernacular languages. It will be most interesting that both experiments shall be closely watched, and thoroughly developed. It is possible that in Bengal, in aiming at too much, we may have withheld some facilities for acquiring knowledge which might otherwise have advantageously been left open. And in Bombay the standard of proficiency in the Mofussil Schools may have been fixed and allowed to remain too low, with no principle in the scheme by which they are regulated which would constantly animate exertion, and maintain a spirit of progressive improvement.

27. The immediate practical question in respect to Bengal seems to be that which I have before mentioned, namely, whether it may be reasonably supposed that a vernacular would be more readily and largely accepted in our District Schools than an English education, and on this subject I am not able, after much careful reflection, to discover any reasons which could lead me to answer the proposition in the affirmative. Native youths will not come to our schools to be instructed in vernacular composition. This qualification is more quickly and easily to be attained from other sources. We can in those schools draw little, if any, aid from existing native literature. The desire for the new ideas and information which will be imparted at them must therefore be among the great inducements to attendance, and those who are candidates for such instruction will not, I think, in any important degree be deterred by having to undergo also the labour of learning the English character and language. The fact indeed is, as it is to be presumed from the evidence, which has been recorded on the subject, that a knowledge of the English language itself with a view to the business, however humble, of life, is one main object of most of the scholars. It is fortunate that, in the pursuit of such an object, they can be led on to higher studies and ends. For mere instruction of a general nature (such as our masters now give) *through the vernacular* medium, it may, it seems to me, well be doubted whether even the number of pupils would seek our schools who now resort to them.

28. On the other hand, I confess that I regard it as a serious defect in our plans that we have compiled no proper series of vernacular class books. It is obviously desirable that, as we have vernacular classes, the books used in them should not only be correct and elegant in style, but should be themselves of the most useful description. I would urge also the justness and importance of the advice of the Honourable Court, that such a series of class books should be prepared under one general scheme of control and superintendence. Much expense will thereby be saved, and efficiency greatly promoted. The cost would equitably and willingly be divided among many parties. The works would either be selections from English books of instruction already published, or original compilations adapted for native pupils. In either case the charge of the first selection or compilation in English would be borne in part by the Education Funds of Bengal, and in part by those of the other Presidencies, especially by those of Bombay, where such works must be urgently required for the vernacular schools in the interior. The new Patsalah of Calcutta, the projectors of which have proposed a good series of works, would also of course contribute, and aid might be expected from benevolent individuals or associations, in different parts of India. The present opportunity is favorable for entering on the undertaking. When the books shall have been prepared in English, they will afterwards, as the Honourable Court have observed, be translated at each Presidency into the vernacular languages current in it, but the first step for all the Presidencies must be the primary compilation. I would, then, place the body, which at Bombay represents the Government in the direction of native education, in communication with the Committee of

Public Instruction at Calcutta, and make it my first injunction to the latter Committee, in concert with the Managers of the Hindu College Patsalah or others, to draw a definite scheme of the several sets of books wanted for instruction through the vernacular languages in seminaries of ordinary education—then to consider and report by what means, and at what estimated cost, to be distributed among what parties, these books can be drawn up, and with what further cost the printing of them would be attended. With this information before them the Government can determine on the completion of the plan, and on the amount of funds which can properly, independent of the usual income of the Committee, be assigned to it.

29. I need scarcely repeat that I look with particular favour on the suggestions of the Managers of the Patsalah for including in the list of works Treatises on the Elements of Law, general and local, of Political Economy, and of Morals.

30. When the series of class books shall have been printed, and especially when those further Manuals of the Precedents, Rules and Practice of our Courts to which my Minute in the Judicial Department* of September 4, 1838, referred, shall have been added to them and made a part of instruction, it is more probable than at present that students will attend the vernacular classes of our Zillah Schools for the sake of the general and practical knowledge to be acquired at them. In that stage of progress it would be my second direction to the Calcutta Education Committee to relax their rule for the discontinuance of *separate* vernacular instruction, and to allow students to attend the full course of English or vernacular tuition as they might themselves prefer.

31. The day however when all this can be accomplished may yet be distant. It is easy to wish for and to project such compilations as will be requisite for the purpose, but the means in India for the efficient execution of them are unavoidably limited, and in this respect, as in other parts of our endeavours, we must expect delays, and partial disappointments.

32. Meanwhile we have to improve the Institutions which are established, and to make the most of them for the great end sought for. My leading recommendation on this point would be, so to connect our Zillah Schools with the Central Colleges as to give from the latter to the ablest students of the Zillah Schools a stimulus that will carry them beyond the ordinary range of instruction which is reached by the mass of the Zillah pupils. Without such a stimulus, we shall fall short of the point which we must desire to gain in the promotion of national improvement.

33. This brings me to the question of pecuniary scholarships for meritorious students, for such a stimulus as I have spoken of is scarcely to be given excepting by attaching in some form scholarships of that description to the Central Colleges, to which the best of the Zillah scholars may be eligible. On the general question regarding pecuniary support to promising students to enable them to perfect their studies, I think that I may content myself by referring to the facts and opinions which have been detailed on this point; and I will only therefore profess my decided adoption of the principle laid down by the Honourable Court in the words which I shall again quote from their despatch of September 29th, 1830—" *Provided* (they say,) *that the privilege of scholarship is restricted to young men who have afforded proof of a peculiar capacity and industry, it appears to us to be a highly useful and proper mode of encouraging and facilitating their acquisition of high attainments.*" My third present direction to the Calcutta Committee would now therefore be, to consider and report with all expedition on the details of a scheme for assigning a certain number of Scholarships to all our higher Seminaries—those in the English and Oriental

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* Recorded in the Legislative Department.

Colleges being in an equal ratio. In consequence of the very general poverty of students I would fix the ratio on a high scale, say at 1-4th of the number of pupils, if that number "should afford proof of peculiar capacity and industry." I do not suggest Scholarships in our ordinary schools, as the most deserving pupils of these will best be provided for in the Colleges, and the average efficiency of such schools can well be maintained by honorary prizes or single donations of money. Of the College Scholarships it may perhaps be the most convenient in the first instance, that some should be assigned in regular rotation to be competed for by the pupils of each Zillah School. The amount ought from the commencement to be enough for the decent subsistence of a Native Student, and there might be some small increase admitted after a year or two, as an incentive to continued effort. On the other hand the Scholarship should be forfeited if a proper standard of attainment were not exhibited at each yearly examination. I would not grant Scholarships for a year only, liable to be then lost if, upon the chance of an examination, another competitor might stand higher on the list; for the uncertain tenure of the emolument would be very unfavourable to hearty consistent study. But I would provide by such safeguards as I have mentioned against the growth of indolence or indifference in the student. Four years is an ordinary period for holding such Scholarships at home, and it may be sufficient here. The following is the scheme of the Flaherty Scholarships in the University College, London, taken from the report of the Council of that Institution for 1838. "They (the Council) have determined to apply the income of this fund towards the formation of Scholarships to be called Flaherty Scholarships, which at the same time that they stimulate and reward the exertions of the students might commemorate the zeal and munificence of this body. This donation increased by the investment of the surplus dividends until the Scholarships are in full operation, together with the sum of £250 supplied by the Council out of the funds of the College, will constitute a fund producing £200 per annum, which will be sufficient to create four Scholarships, each amounting to £50, annually for four years. One of these Scholarships will be vacant every year, and is to be given in alternate years to the best proficient in classical languages, and in Mathematics and in Natural Philosophy, the first is intended to be given in the present year to the best proficient in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy."

34. I would state to the Education Committee, that it is the wish of Government eventually to bring the Medical College at Calcutta within our general scheme on this subject. But I would not press any immediate proposition to that effect. It will be enough to request now that the General Committee report specially in each of their successive yearly reports, whether they think that the time has arrived at which the assimilation could properly be introduced.

35. The fourth point on which I would at present give instructions to the Education Committee is as to the preference to be given to rendering the highest instruction efficient in a certain number of Central Colleges, rather than employing their funds in the extension of the plan of founding ordinary Zillah Schools. I would have the places fixed, with reference to extent of population or convenience of locality, at which it should be the aim gradually to build up these efficient Central Colleges. I would, on a first conjecture, name for them Dacca, Patna, Benares, or Allahabad, Agra, Delhi, and ultimately, though probably at a distant date, Bareilly. At these places, as well as at the Colleges of the metropolis, the course of instruction should be carefully widened and perfected as opportunities offer. The Scholarships to be established at them will provide a class of students, prepared to avail themselves of the utmost advantages which they can afford, and real progress will thus be made, to the good effects of which we

can look forward with reasonable hope. The Committee can act on this view only according to the actual state of circumstances from time to time. At Agra and Delhi, there is already a demand for higher instruction which ought to be satisfied with the least delay possible; elsewhere perhaps the condition of the institutions may not call for or admit of immediate improvement. Where there is no strong occasion for the enlargement of the existing schools into Colleges, the founding of other schools may occasionally be the best and wisest appropriation of the educational income, but I would point it out to the Committee that the first of these objects, when practicable, is to have a declared priority of attention. I would especially invite the Committee to report how the studies connected with jurisprudence, government, and morals may be most readily introduced into our superior Colleges, and particularly whether very early arrangements cannot be made for the purpose in the Hindu College at Calcutta. The revision of the system of Scholarships in that College, so as to obviate the too general course of early withdrawal from instruction, which is now complained of, should have early consideration. Another object in these superior Colleges ought to be to instruct the pupils, or some proportion of them, for the duties of inferior School-masters—and to this end, they should be made thoroughly masters of the class books and Legal or other Manuals, which are designed to be used in the lower schools, and with the branches of knowledge which relate to the subjects comprised in them. Lastly, in order to make the greatest use of the advantages of the Colleges, I would attentively watch the degree to which the students profit by their access to the considerable Libraries which are now attached to many of our Institutions. Important deficiencies in those Libraries should be promptly supplied. A regular register should be kept of the books read by each student, the advancement made in general knowledge by the perusal of these books should be tested by examination, and rewards should be given to the most proficient, and the subject of the employment made of the Libraries should be one for special notice in the Annual Reports regarding each Institution.

36. If instructions founded upon these observations should, with the concurrence of the President in Council, be communicated to the Calcutta General Committee, I would be glad that it should be added to them, that, if the Committee should doubt the feasibility of attaching Scholarships to Central Colleges on some such general scheme as has been suggested for the improvement of the pupils of the Zillah Schools, they will then submit such other recommendations as they may think most likely to promote the object contemplated by that scheme—the advancement of the best pupils of the body of our scholars beyond the present scale of common acquirement being regarded as a point of the first importance in our educational plans.

37. I have not more to observe on the immediate guidance of the measures of the Calcutta Committee. Before leaving the subject, however, I would say that the day may come when unity and efficiency of supervision will better be secured by having a single superintendent of our Government Seminaries, with an adequate establishment, than by retaining the existing large Committee of Members acting gratuitously in the intervals of other laborious duties, and so numerous as necessarily to cause a frequent inconvenience in the despatch of business. At present I am satisfied that the varied knowledge possessed by the Members of the Committee renders their services most valuable to the Government, and I would gratefully retain their aid. But I should be happy to receive from them a report of their suggestions on the means of procuring an occasional local inspection of the institutions under their charge. The experience of Sir Edward Ryan, their President, will have convinced him that there may be great hazard of the interest of education being seriously retarded by the want of such inspection.

38. For the Bombay and Madras Presidencies,—it may be convenient to place those Governments in possession of the substance of the review which has been taken of the facts relative to the progress of education in all parts of India, and to communicate to them also the Resolution which may finally be adopted by the Government, explanatory of its general views on the suggestions which I have offered, and of the orders that may be issued for the guidance of the Committee in Calcutta. These Governments should be specially invited to co-operate, through the bodies charged with the control of Public Instruction under their superintendence, in the common object of aiding the preparation of a useful and comprehensive set of class books, to be afterwards rendered into the vernacular tongues of the several Provinces. In this, as in other parts of the Government,—it is a matter of high importance that there should he a thorough understanding, among the different Presidencies, of the principles observed and plans followed out in each, that the experience of one should be made known for the benefit of all, and that all should work together in the pursuit of the desired result. The Bombay Government I would particularly request to consider the measures, which I have contemplated for raising and adapting to native wants the instruction conveyed in the most advanced of our English Colleges. I would ask also for a distinct and detailed report on the condition of its Mofussil vernacular schools ; the precise nature and range of the education given in them, whether at sudder stations or in the interior towns and villages; the manner in which the teachers at either class of schools are selected and remunerated; whether (as has been before alluded to), by superintending and rewarding the teachers of the Village Schools who have not been trained in any of our own Seminaries, sensible good has been effected; whether, where there is no regular European superintendence, these inferior schools are kept in a state of real efficiency; whether inducements in the grant of Scholarships are, and if they are not, whether they may not well be, held out to the best scholars of the Zillah Schools to prosecute their studies further, and to acquire an improving knowledge of European literature; what are the general inducements which bring pupils to the schools, and whether good conduct in them ordinarily leads, as appears to have been approved by the Honourable Court, to employment in the public service. It may be explained that under this Government there has been care taken to withhold any thing like a monopoly of the public service from the scholars of its Institutions,—general tests open to all candidates, and selection by local Officers with regard to known character as well as proficiency in learning, being considered the proper grounds for nomination to public office. If the lads from the schools are drafted largely into official situations, opinions from the European Officers under whom they have served as to the degree of superior fitness exhibited by them would be of value. It is probable that Captain Candy, the Superintendent of the Schools in the Deckan and of the Sanskrit College, could condense the materials for such a report and submit it, with his own comments, without much delay. He will especially say whether the general standard of acquirement in the vernacular Schools is as forward as he could desire, and whether he would recommend the establishment of English Schools, with a due arrangement of merit Scholarships, in a few of the interior districts. He will explain also what is his system in regard to the Sanskrit College at Poona, what improvements through the introduction of European knowledge have been attempted and with what success, and what is the extent and promise of the English classes.

39. Of the Government of Madras, I would ask for information of the present state of education under the direction or encouragement of the State, within those Territories, and as to what proceedings were taken consequent on the expressed desire of the Honourable Court for the foundation of an English College at Madras. The Madras Presidency is remarkable in India

as being that in which a knowledge of the mere English language is most diffused among all who are attached in public or private capacities to European Officers; but comparatively little appears, in any reports before me, to have been done in order to make such a knowledge conductive to moral and intellectual advancement.

40. In concluding this paper I have to express my regret if it should have extended to an inconvenient length. But the importance of the subject will be my excuse with my colleagues for my having treated it in this manner, with a view to the suggestion of such practical conclusions as may correct existing defects, diffuse more accurate information, and possibly have some effect in satisfying and reconciling opposite opinions.

Delhi, Nov. 24, 1839. (Signed) AUCKLAND.

Lord Auckland's Minute on Native Education.

LETTER I.

Oh! for the coming of that glorious time
When, prizing knowledge as her noblest wealth
And best protection, this imperial realm,
While she exacts allegiance, shall admit
An obligation on her part to *teach*
Them who are born to serve her and obey;
Binding herself by statute to secure
For *all* the children whom her soil maintains,
The *rudiments of letters*; and to inform
The mind *with moral and religious truth.*

Wordsworth.

MY LORD,

When the Governor General of India has recorded his sentiments on a great National question, and when these have been rapturously responded to by so many of the councillors, the judges, the secretaries, and the leaders of public opinion, it may be deemed presumptuous in a Christian Missionary to lift up his voice at all;—more especially, should that voice, however feeble, seem to mingle as a note of discord amid the fresh full gale of popular applause. And so it would be, were the question *exclusively* one of *mere worldly policy*. But, when it is found to be one, which, in its essential bearings, concerns the souls fully as much as the bodies of men —affecting the interests of eternity not less than those of time —the Christian Missionary must not, dares not, be silent,— even if his voice should be uplifted against Kings and Governors and all earthly Potentates. When the honour and glory of his divine Master and the imperishable destinies of man are involved, the Ambassador of Jesus can brook no dalliance with mere human greatness, or rank, or power. In the spirit of St. Basil, in the presence of the Roman Prefect, he is ever ready to exclaim:—"In all other things you will find us the most mild, the most accommodating among men; we carefully guard against the least appearance of haughtiness, even towards the obscurest citizen, still more so with respect to those who are invested with sovereign authority; but the moment that the cause of God is concerned we despise every thing."

In the influence of policy and arms, you are, my Lord, at this moment, the first man in Asia. Speak but the word for peace or for war, and that word will speedily cause itself to be felt from Ceylon to Bokhara, from the Euphrates to the Kianko. Thus planted on an eminence which would make most men giddy, it is no small achievement to have so maintained the equilibrium and balance of the mental powers, that, amid the blaze of conquest and the echoes of victory, you could have paused to indite a calm dispassionate dissertation on Educational Economics. But does it follow that the first man in Asia, in policy and arms, must also be the first in the department of intellectual and moral husbandry? This may be;—but all the probabilities are against it. The human mind is no more omnipotent than the human body is omnipresent. The powers and faculties of both are not only limited in kind and in degree, but limited also in the range and sphere of their application. Let any of them be preponderantly exercised in any one department of human thought, or human activity, and in that department may surpassing excellence be attained. But the very vigor and giant development of any one set of powers is apt to dwarf and enfeeble their associate capacities, and utterly unfit them for shining in their own appropriate domains. Must Newton, the greatest of Astronomers, be also the greatest of Theologians? Must Brown, the acutest of modern Metaphysicians, be also the most brilliant of modern Poets? No. The very superiority of such men, in the several provinces of Astronomy and Metaphysics, generated intellectual habits which, of necessity, incapacitated them for excelling in the alien regions of Theology and Song. When, quitting their own unapproached and unapproachable orbits, they entered other walks, even Newton and Brown shrunk into the stature of ordinary men. And need it excite surprise that he, who is the lord paramount over a hundred and thirty millions of Asiatic subjects;—he, who, from his very position, must be mainly concerned with *the mechanics of human nature*—the *dynamic forces* of armies and diplomacies and legislative enactments!—need it excite surprise that *he* should not be *equally at home* in another and totally heterogeneous science?—a science, which has well been defined, "the philosophy of the human mind applied practically to the human mind?" Impossible. Excellence in the former must create the *habit* of looking *outwardly* at the *visible* play of human passions, human interests, human policies. Excellence in the latter presupposes and demands the *habit* of looking *inwardly* at the subtile agent of spirit—watching the progressive development of its varied susceptibilities and powers—noting their diversified combinations and transformations—and generalizing the laws by which each mystic movement is regulated. The one habit of mind, viewed as the *predominant* one, is not only negatively uncongenial;—it is, in more than one important feature, the positive antagonist of the other. That the author of the immortal work on "the Conduct of the Human Understanding" should be the author of the equally immortal "Thoughts on Education," is nothing strange. The intellectual habit, from which the former proceeded, formed the best possible discipline and preparation for the production of the latter. But that the intellectual habit, from which resulted the celebrated Simlah *Ukase* on British Policy in Central Asia, should prove the best discipline and preparation for inditing a Dilhi Minute on National Education, would be passing strange. Who, that has studied the human mind, or attended to the lessons of past experience, could reasonably expect Lord Auckland to be *equally at home—equally great—in both?* When the first Statesman in Asia steps aside from *his own* towering eminence to grapple with a theme that is wholly foreign to, and incompatible with, his general habits, he must reckon it no disparagment, if, of him it be recorded, as of Newton and of Brown, in similar circumstances, that he has *gone out as another man!*

Still, as the commentary on Daniel will be perused, *because* it is the product of the author of the "Principia;" and the poem of the "Paradise of Coquettes" will be read, *because* it claims the same paternity as the Lectures on "The Philosophy of the Human Mind"—so will the Dilhi Minute on Native Education obtain currency and favour, *because* it is the offspring of a Politician and Statesman who is at the head of the most powerful empire in Asia. And as, in the cases of Newton and of Brown, the splendour of their great—their immortal works—is apt, from the blending of association, to shed and diffuse a portion of their own lustre over the kindred but inferior progeny of the same minds; so, will the dazzling renown of the present Governor General of India, as a Statesman, be sure illusively to communicate a share of its own brilliancy to a production, which otherwise might soon have sunk into oblivion;—a production, which is remarkable chiefly for its *omissions* and *commissions*—remarkable for its *concessions* and its *compromises*—remarkable, above all, for *its education without religion, its plans without a providence, its ethics without a God!*

At the outset, your Lordship propounds your scheme for the final settlement of "our education controversies." In order to render this *vitally important* part of "the Minute" intelligible, it is necessary to refer to the celebrated enactment of your illustrious predecessor, dated 7th March, 1835.

1. By a reference to the *declared sentiments* of the *official*

organs of Government; as well as by a reference to their *general uniform practice,* it might be demonstrated that, up to 7th March 1835, the *open, avowed,* and *leading* (though not exclusive) object of the British Government in India was, the *promotion of Oriental Literature and Science chiefly among the higher and more influential or privileged classes of Hindus and Muhammadans.* In *direct opposition* to this scheme of educational policy, Lord W. Bentinck decreed, "that the great object of the British Government ought to be *the promotion of European Literature and Science among the natives of India,*" i. e. among the natives of India *generally,* high caste and low caste, influential and uninfluential, without any invidious distinction of persons or worldly condition.

2. Faithful to their avowed principles, and in perfect consistency with their avowed object, the Government Committee had, from the first, sanctioned and employed native professors of the different branches of Oriental Learning. To learned Brahmans or Pandits, to learned Musalmans or Maulavís fixed salaries were allotted. Certain stipendiary allowances were also granted to the majority of the students, during the whole period of their college curriculum. Thus, altogether independent of the large sums lavished on the building and repairs of Colleges, the expenditure on account of Pandits, Maulavís, stipendiary students and other apparatus for the maintenance of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian lore, amounted to *nearly sixteen thousand pounds sterling annually! In direct opposition* to this scheme of educational policy, Lord W. Bentinck decreed as follows:—"It is not the intention of his Lordship in Council to abolish any college or school of learning, while the native population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages which it affords; and his Lordship in Council directs that all the existing professors and students of all the institutions under the superintendence of the Committee shall continue to receive their stipends. But his Lordship in Council *decidedly objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed of supporting the students during the period of their education.* He conceives that the only effects of such a system can be to give *artificial encouragement to branches of learning,* which, in the natural course of things would be *superseded by more useful studies;* and he directs that *no stipend shall be given to any students that may hereafter enter at any of these institutions,* and that when any Professor of oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall *report to the Government the number and state of the class, in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.*"

3. The attention of the Public Instruction Committee, says Professor H. Hayman Wilson in his official report for 1831, was early directed to the necessity of supplying the different establishments, under their control, with printed books, in the learned languages. For this end they found it advisable to establish, in the first instance, a printing press of their own. They also subscribed liberally to the publications of individuals at other presses. In this way, the amount expended on *Sanskrit, Arabic,* and *Persian* books, subscribed for, purchased, or printed, from 1824 to April 1831, amounted to not less than *twelve thousand pounds!* During the *next two* years the *printing* charges alone exceeded *four thousand pounds more!* —besides the additional items for works subscribed for, or purchased. And these charges were *yearly* increasing, at *an accelerated rate,* up to the day when Lord W. Bentinck suddenly arrested the growing progress by this emphatic proclamation:—"It has come to the knowledge of the Governor General in Council that a *large sum has been expended by the Committee on the printing of oriental works;* his Lordship in Council directs that *no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.*"

4. Though the great and leading object of the grovernment Committee was to encourage the study of Oriental Literature and Science, the gradual and ultimate introduction of the more improved Literature and Science of the west was not wholly overlooked. The *first* Institution, however, in the presidency of Bengal, for the dissemination of European knowledge through the medium of the English language, did *not originate* with Government. It arose under the joint auspices of *individual* English and native gentlemen; and was opened for the first time, on the 20th Jan. 1817. Through various causes, it became in 1823 a Government Institution, commonly known under the name of "the *Hindu College.*" Some years afterwards the Committee began to append a small English class to their several Oriental Colleges. But, from the excessive tardiness of their movements in this department, and the extreme scantiness of their support, it palpably appeared that, in their estimation, it was, in all respects, a very *secondary* and *subordinate* object to that of encouraging Oriental Literature and Science, as locked up in the antiquated storehouses of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. And meagre and inadequate as this support was, it does not appear that even this little was rendered, in consequence of a due appreciation of the superiority of the English language as a medium of conveying to the educated natives of India the Literary and Scientific treasures of the west. On the contrary, there is ample

documentary evidence to prove that, if European learning was to be communicated to the natives of India at all, *the favourite scheme of the Government Committee was, to impart it through the medium of the learned languages of India—Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian,*—and that the study of the English language was to be encouraged, *chiefly in so far as it could be rendered subservient to the advancement of their own favourite scheme.* Accordingly, those of their number who were in any wise qualified betook themselves to the task of translation. A few works were gradually prepared at an exorbitant cost. At the period when, *in consequence of the admission of several new members*, a new light began to dawn on their minds, £6,500 remained to be expended in completing Arabic translations of only *six* books. At length, on the 7th March, the decree was issued: "His Lordship in Council directs that *all* the funds, which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee, be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population *a knowledge of English Literature and Science, through the medium of the English language.*"

The previous resolutions determined in favour of the *promotion of European Literature and Science* to the *exclusion of Oriental Literature and Science;* while this concluding resolution decided in favour of an *European medium* to the exclusion of *Hindu and Muhammadan media* of communication. The short and apparently insignificant expression "through the medium of the English language," proved the death-warrant of translations at the expense of the education fund, into Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian. The work of reform was now complete. The Oriento-maniasts were overwhelmed with amazement and dismay. Their gorgeous visions of literary monopoly, and self-aggrandisement vanished like a dream. In a moment the old and fondly cherished theory, that, if European knowledge is to be conveyed at all, it can only be conveyed through the medium of the learned languages of India, exploded as if smitten with the wand of enchantment. In an instant, the new and obnoxious theory, embodying the simple but grand idea, that European knowledge can most rapidly, effectually, and successfully be imparted to the superiorly educated classes of Natives, *through the medium of the English language*, was exalted to the well earned honour of a station amongst the legislative enactments of the British Government in India.

From this summary, it must be evident that Lord W. Bentinck's enactment amounted to a great deal more than a mere extension of the former Government scheme of education—to a great deal more than a mere superaddition to some of its provisions. It amounted, immediately or in sure reversion, to an *entire abrogation of the old economy*, and the *substitution of an entirely new economy instead*. The stout defendants of the discarded regime, who had become more and more exasperated, as their prospects became increasingly desperate, were of course defeated but not satisfied. And it is to the protracted warfare carried on between them and the advocates of the new order of things, both before and after the 7th March, 1835, that your Lordship has applied the designation of "our education controversies." The wish to terminate these controversies proves the reality of an amiable and peaceful disposition. And so far is the meed of praise pre-eminently due to the Dilhi Minute. But the existence of a *good intention* is one thing; *the wisdom and adaptation of the means* of carrying it into effect, quite another. The excellence of the former is admitted; the manifestation of the latter is wholly denied. For, what is your Lordship's *panacea* for the final closing up of all past dissensions, and the sure furtherance of future peace and harmony on "the education question?" It is—by assuming chiefly on the authority of one of the most violent of the disputants, "that the insufficiency of the funds assigned by the state for the purpose of public instruction has been amongst the main causes of the violent disputes,"—to toss *the question of principle overboard altogether*; and resolve the whole affair into *a scramble for money!* It is, by *repealing the greater half* of Lord W. Bentinck's enactment, to *restore the ancient reign* of Hindu and Muhammadan scholasticism! And all for what? Simply to extinguish the smouldering ire of a few doating Orientalists. It is, at the same time, by retaining the *minor half* of that enactment, to perpetuate the sway of Anglicism, as a co-ordinate system. And why? To bribe, if possible, into silent acquiescence, the friends of European Literature and Science. In other words, by the *abolition* of the *abrogatory*, and the *maintenance* of the *substitutionary* clauses of your noble predecessor's enactment, your Lordship proposes to *unite the living with the dead—to revive the spirit of the dark ages and cause it to enter into heterogeneous combination with the spirit of modern enlightenment—to divide the empire of education equally between the devotees of antiquated error and the propagators of acknowledged truth!* Such is the grand specific, which your Lordship fondly expects, is to operate as a *quietus*, in allaying the whole feverish excitement of our education controversies. That it may, indeed, act as a soporific on the spirits of such of the former belligerents, as contended "*mainly*" for the sordid prize of *filthy lucre,* were nothing strange:—but it would be passing strange, should it be found to act as a charmer in lulling into inglorious sleep those who fought "mainly" for *principles,* on the practical recognition of which depends so much of the temporal and eternal welfare of millions of our Indian fellow-subjects. Here are two systems of education, *directly opposed* to each other, and *absolutely contradictory in their entire substance, scope, and ends.* Reviewing these two systems, Lord W. Bentinck,—with the straight-forward bearing of British manliness and British courage in the spirit which fired the old barons of Runnymede, and with the decisive energy of uncompromising principle,—thus pronounced his decision: "Regardless of the idle clamours of interested partizanship, and fearless of all consequences, let us resolve at once to repudiate altogether what is demonstrably injurious, because demonstrably false; and let us cleave to and exclusively promote that which is demonstrably beneficial, because demonstrably true." Reviewing the very same system, my Lord Auckland,—with what looks very like the tortuous bearing of Machiavellian policy, in the spirit of shrinking timidity which heretofore hath compromised the success of the best laid schemes, and with the Proteus-like facility of temporizing expediency,—thus enunciates his countrary verdict: "Fearful of offending any party, wishing to please all, and anxious to purchase peace at any price, let us,—dropping all minor distinctions between old and new, good and bad, right and wrong,—let us at once resolve to embrace and patronize *both,* and *both alike*:—

"Tros Tyriusve mihi nullo discrimine habetur."

In a word, "Let us," says Lord W. Bentinck, "*dis-endow error, and endow only truth*:" "Let us," replies Lord Auckland, "*re-endow error, and continue the endowment of truth too.*"

A decision, so wholly at variance with every maxim of truth and righteousness—a decision, so utterly repugnant to the progressive spirit of the age;—what valid plea, what plausible grounds can be adduced to justify?—Justify! It surely must scorn all justification as impossible, and any attempt at justification as the most ludicrous farce. But seeing that *vindication* is impracticable, does it not admit of some *palliatives?* If palliatives there be, they may be summed up in a single sentence; viz. that it was most kind and amiable to sooth the expiring sorrows of the superannuated remnant of the race of Orientalists, who, like the owls and the bats, have such a special affection for the dingy and the dismal edifices of hoar antiquity; and who, like these lovers of darkness, are ever ready to break forth into strains as doleful as the notes of a funeral dirge, when the crazy crevices in which they have so long nestled are threatened with extermination! Most kind and amiable we admit all this to be! But, beyond this admission, where are we to look for grounds of palliation?

Was the decision demanded by the promptings of *generosity?* At this your Lordship seems to hint, when you remark "that a principle of wise liberality, not stinting any object which can reasonably be recommended, but granting a measured and discriminating encouragement to all, is likely to command general acquiescence." In *the abstract*, nothing can be sounder than this remark. But the real question is, Whether the object proposed by your Lordship be one which can "reasonably be recommended?"—and, Whether the application thereto of state funds be an exemplification of "a principle of *wise* liberality?" Tacitly to assume these two points is an absurd begging of the whole question. I deny that the re-endowment of a system, which, like the venomous night-shade, has for ages benumbed the national mind of India, can be *reasonably* recommended. I deny that money applied to re-establish and perpetuate its noxious efficacy can possibly flow from a principle of *wise* liberality. All this will appear more fully from what follows. Meanwhile, I am ready to maintain that there was no want of generosity in Lord W. Bentinck's enactment. If the funds, abstracted from Sanskrit and Muhammadan Colleges, had been merged into the general revenue, there might have been some room for the charge. But this was not the case. The funds, it is true, were alienated; but they were only alienated from the encouragement of one kind of literature, which was worse than useless and rapidly becoming obsolete; and applied to the diffusion of another kind of literature, which is fresh, vigorous, and eminently productive of good,—a literature, which to say the least, seems to be equally well appreciated by the natives themselves. They were merely transferred from one educationary field to another, that promised a richer harvest. The *object* proposed was still one and the same, viz. the cultivation of the native mind; but the *mode* of culture was altered. The old worn-out implements of intellectual husbandry were exchanged for new, improved, and more efficient ones. Where was the lack of liberality manifested here? On the contrary, this was a "*wise* liberality," because it was the liberality of *principle*. Yea, it was nobly *generous*. Formerly, justice was every where administered according to Hindu and Muhammadan law, as treasured up in Sanskrit and Arabic; and, in the native courts, all cases, civil and criminal, were pleaded and recorded in the Persian language. Hence were we continually reminded by the advocates of the old system that it was generous, if not necessary, to aid in qualifying natives to assist, in various capacities, in the administration of justice. Now, however, the scales began to be completely turned. A new code of laws for all India was about to be prepared in English; and in that language, agreeably to your Lordship's important remark, "the vast and most important correspondence" (connected with government and other public business) "must ever be conducted;"—while the vernacular tongues, and not Persian, "will be the future languages of the Courts and offices in the interior." Was it generous to aid in preparing individuals to act as native pleaders, councillors, assessors, and judges under the old system? And must it not be equally generous to do the same under the new? Yea, in this right view of the case, were not the best interests of the people more than generously provided for, when funds, formerly expended in qualifying for *a system* about to be abolished, were all transferred and appropriated to the preparing of agents to act with intelligence and vigor under that which was to be substituted in its place? Had your Lordship imitated the wise and generous policy of your noble predecessor; and, instead of reviving, at so large an expense, an effete and noxious system, had you persevered in the spirit of his new and productive application of the lapsed funds;—more especially, had you increased tenfold the means of an improved education through the medium of English and the vernacular dialects;—then, indeed, would your Lordship's administration be characterised by one splendid manifestation of the "principle of a wise liberality," directed to the promotion of an object which could not only be "reasonably recommended," but warmly extolled. Whereas, by adopting the contrary course, your Lordship has just succeeded in exhibiting to the world, *an object without a reason, a scheme without wisdom, a liberality without principle!*

Was your Lordship's decision demanded by the exigencies of *state policy?* No. There are seasons when, amid the eruptions of popular fury, rulers think themselves constrained to make concessions which their own better judgment may condemn. But, in the present instance, no such state necessity can be pleaded. True, certain native inhabitants of Calcutta did, in the exercise of their rights of citizenship, deem it proper to petition the Government on the subject of its new Education Act. But what of that? If, amid the vague and undefined notions of a first surprise, some alarm had been excited in unobservant minds, would it not be the duty of a great, wise, and magnanimous Government, conscious of the integrity of its motives and the rectitude of its principles, to remain unmoved? And if it did so, would not such alarm, like every other ebullition of ignorant clamour, prove transient as the ruffling of the waters by the passing breeze? Would not the continued good faith and unabated kindness of a paternal Government speedily allay all groundless surmises? Would it not, by giving substantial proofs of its own more enlightened views, very soon succeed in dispelling the darkening visions of those idle alarmists who are so apt to be haunted with images of terror? And would not the settled and permanent security which they would find still extended to all they most valued, open up a natural safety-valve for the escape of all heated fancies and doleful presages? But, in the present case, there was no room at all for the exercise of such magnanimous policy. Your Lordship, therefore, very wisely does not so much as even hint at such a ground of vindication. The fact is, that the number of natives, *directly* affected by the proposed education reform, constitute but an *exceedingly minute fraction* of the general population. The educational advantages previously conveyed, whatever these might be, were *wholly engrossed by a very small body of the learned classes*. The great *mass* of the people were *wholly excluded* from the benefits of the literary monopoly. Ninety-nine in a hundred knew little, and cared less, about its nature, objects, workings, or privileges. And of the small monopolist fraction, in consequence of the judicious provision of the enactment, not one living member was to suffer, whether student or professor, whether secretary or superintendent. All were to enjoy their respective pecuniary immunities, whether these were stipulated for a limited period or for life. The existing incumbents were thus allowed gradually to wear out, or die out. Hence the change, from the position of active support to the condition of a wise neutrality, was made to progress so insensibly as to provoke little or no murmuring, and excite little or no real opposition. And when any little murmuring or opposition which had been manifested by a few selfish partizans was daily shrinking away into evanescent or infinitely small quantites; then it was, that your Lordship, not only without any urgencies of state policy, but without any urgencies at all on the part of those most directly concerned; yea, and in spite of the reclaiming good sense of the community at large:—then it was, that your Lordship gratuitously resuscitated a system which has not only its brow deformed with the wrinkles of old age, but its whole form and aspect deeply branded with the rottenness and dishonours of the tomb!

Was your Lordship's decision demanded on the score of *right* and *justice?* No. Your Lordship at once disowns the proposition so foolishly assumed by some of the ultra-orientalists, viz. "that the Government had given a pledge that the funds heretofore assigned to particular Institutions shall continue to be so for ever appropriated;" and you at once "reject the strict principle of absolute and irreclaimable appropriation." So far your Lordship has decided soundly; and this is the part of your Lordship's Minute which opens up a cheering glimpse of the prospect of an eventual return to a better order of things;—it is the fulcrum on which another Governor General is invited to poise his lever for the upsetting of that fabric of delusion and error which has now been restored. But—letting that pass—I proceed, in re-echoing your Lordship's declaration, to remark, that nothing could be more preposterous than the pleas and pretensions of the Ultras in orientalism. For, how stands the case? At certain intervals, during the last fifty years, voluntary grants have been made by successive governments, for the encouragement of native Literature in a few Institutions established by Government itself. Will it be presumed that the Government of the day, acting under a sense of its responsibility towards the public weal, has not a legitimate right to review, alter, amend, or annul the acts of former administrations? Will it be pretended that it cannot, without breach of faith, divert privileges previously conferred into new and more profitable channels? Will it be disputed, that it cannot, without being impeached with the charge of injustice, resume, and apply to better ends, grants spontaneously proffered by itself? Could it be shewn that, at any time, when the British smote into the dust the confederacies of the Indian Rájás and Nawábs, mounted the throne of the Great Mogul, and wielded the imperial sceptre over a domain more extensive, an empire more consolidated far than that of the mightly Aurengzebe;—could it be proved that then, or at any subsequent period, the Government had really pledged itself, had actually entered into a solemn compact with the representatives of the people of India, to devote *in perpetuity* a determinate amount of funds for the *specific* purpose of encouraging native Literature, in certain Native Institutions;—then, indeed, but not till then, might the sudden or gradual withdrawment of such funds *seem* to implicate the good faith, the honour, or the justice of the British Government. But as no such pledge, according to your Lordship's own admission, was ever given, as no such compact was ever entered into, as the boon conferred was of the nature of a pure gratuity and not of a vested right, as the pecuniary grant bestowed was wholly unfettered by terms or conditions, having no guarantee whatsoever for its permanency but the free will and pleasure of the existing Government;—what imaginable foundation was there for the outcry of the Ultras respecting the violation of pledges, rights, and justice? Was it an outcry which could be tolerated without stultifying the free deliberations of legislative councils, nullifying their peculiar and inalienable rights, and establishing a principle which might serve to eternize error, as well as attach the seal of unchangeableness to truth? And yet, in spite of all this admission on the part of your Lordship, and all this demonstration on the part of reason, your Lordship has concluded by conceding to the noisy claimants fully more than their unfounded and injurious demands! It is much the same as if,—on my purse being demanded by some sturdy petitioner on the highway, and after my having succeeded, both by arguments and blows, in demonstrating that he had no right to it and could not get it without my permission,—I chose to wind up the fierce encounter, by granting to him all that he had asked, with something extra, out of sheer good-nature, to encourage him in future, still to persevere in the same honourable calling!

It thus appears that *not the shadow of a reason* can be adduced *in favour* of your Lordship's restoration of what your noble predecessor had abolished. But the question rests not on *negative* grounds alone. There are *positive* reasons, at once resistless and unanswerable, *against* the act of restoration. These have already been alluded to in different forms. But the vast importance of the principle at issue, to the millions of this benighted land challenges a more detailed notice. In order, then, to understand these reasons aright, we must start with asking what is meant by *Education?* In its highest and noblest sense, it must denote *the improvement of the mind, in all its capacities, intellectual, moral, and religious.* But let us adopt what definition we may; let us reduce it within its narrowest limits; let us restrict it to the mere formation of the *intellect*, and the question still remains, *How is the intellect to be formed or cultivated? Is it by the inculcation of error or the introduction of truth?* Doubtless by *the latter*, will all, with one accord, exclaim.

The next step, then, is to apply this *indisputable* test or canon to Oriental Literature. Will it abide the application or not? *If* we were to give implicit credit to some of its idolizing eulogists it would. And sorry I am to find your Lordship *apparently* giving countenance to the *gross delusion*, when, in the spirit of well-meant but ill-timed complaisance, you state that you " see *nothing but good* to be derived from the employment of the funds which have been assigned to each Oriental Seminary, *exclusively* for instruction in, or in connection with, that Seminary"—and further declare that you are not " at all disposed to undervalue the amount of *sound education and morality* which is to be acquired at these seminaries." True it is, that, as in the case of all other formal and fulsome compliments, your Lordship cannot long be consistent with yourself. For, in the *second* paragraph *after* the *last* quotation, you proceed to state that you are " assuredly sensible of the *radical errors and deficiencies* of the Oriental system." So far, then, as your Lordship is concerned, with the bane you have taken care to supply the antidote—the one statement admirably neutralizing the other.

But there are others besides your Lordship, with whom we have to do in this matter. The Oxford Professor of Sanskrit, H. H. Wilson, Esq., who may well be allowed, from his eminent attainments, to represent the Orientalists generally, has, in an elaborate article in the Asiatic Journal, resolutely declared that, to the natives of India, their own writings are invaluable, not merely as the repositories of their religion and laws, but on account of their salutary influence in maintaining amongst the people a " respect for science, a veneration for wisdom, a sense of morality, a feeling of beauty, a regard for social ties and domestic affections, an admiration of excellence, and a love of country." *If* all this were true, and *if* it were the whole truth, one might be at a loss to know how to vindicate the conduct of Government in so summarily resolving to banish native Literature from its intellectual gymnasia. But the moon has two faces,—one very dark, and the other faintly luminous. And so we suspect has Oriental Literature. The luminous side has now been presented to us in its fairest array; but we must not forget that there is a dark side too; and that it has been painted in such gloomy colours, that Cimmerian, or Egyptian darkness, would fail in supplying representative emblems of it. To the all-comprehending system, or vast ocean (as an Asiatic would term it) of Oriental Literature, some would not scruple to apply, by way of accommodation, the cutting satire of Ferdusi, respecting the imperial splendour of the court of Ghizni: " The magnificent court of Ghizni," said he, " is a sea; but a sea without bottom and without shore; I have fished in it long, but have not found any pearl."

In this however, as in all other cases, truth will be found to be intermediate between the extremes. Let us freely concede that the Literature of Hindustán contains a proportion of what is sound, beautiful, and true, in principle, imagery, and fact; and that it embodies a hundred-fold more of what is original and curious, than is to be found in the ancient Literature of any other nation in or out of Christendom:—and what of all this concession? The grand question still recurs:—Is it not one thing to regard a Literature as an inexhaustible field for literary, scientific, and theological research; and quite another, to cherish it as the sole nursery of intellect, morals, and religion? And in spite of occasional truths, beauties, and excellencies, is it not true that Oriental Literature is throughout impregnated with a great deal more of what is false in principle, erroneous in fact, and, by consequence injurious in moral tendency?

That the truth of this could be shown, is beyond all controversy. To advance all the proofs, would be to transcribe the greater part, by far, of these enormous piles of writings which ages of "learned and laborious trifling" have accumulated. This would be impossible. In any case, therefore, we should be obliged to rest satisfied with a few gleanings which might serve as specimens of the materials which compose the greater part of the huge misshapen mass. In the selection of such specimens, we would not require to roam over the wide field of Oriental Literature. As has already been shown, the old Government Committee published or patronised, to a great extent, works of native authorship, for the express purpose of being employed as class-books in the colleges established or superintended by them. These works, therefore, we should have a right to consider as the best and most useful to be found in the classical language of India, and censequently, in the estimation of the Committee, the best adapted for the instruction of Indian youth. Of course, in selecting our specimens from these publications the most zealous Orientalist could not charge us with acting unfairly towards his favourite theme. Did our space admit of it, we might here present the reader with extracts from these, the choicest works of Hindu Literature, which would demonstrate that in them are taught:—1*st. Things frivolous and useless.* 2*nd. False chronology and history.* 3*rd. False science.* 4*th. False civil and criminal law.* 5*th. False logic and metaphysics; and,* 6*th. False morals and religion!* After such a statement, need one word more be added in vindication of an act that proposed to sweep away all such false systems from the Government schools and colleges for the instruction of youth?

Still, the friends of Oriental Literature plead hard for a suspension or modification of so severe a verdict. One of these has lately reminded us, that it is "a prejudiced and ignorant criticism that looks only for blemishes in the literature of the

East." Would to God that this Literature were such, that it really required the scrutiny of a prejudiced and ignorant critic to detect its blemishes! What! is it insinuated by this remark, that the blemishes are so few, that the microscopic eye of prejudice alone could discover them? and so slight, that the blundering gaze of ignorance alone could magnify them into serious faults? If so, then do we throw down the gauntlet, and declare (while we challenge any Orientalist living to disprove, by written documentary evidence, the declaration) that the foulest blemishes pervade the entire mass; that they pervade it to the extent of composing the main part of its ingredients; and that, instead of being isolated spots, which would elude the glance of any eye save that of prejudiced criticism, they are the real or supposed excellencies which may truly be characterized as isolated spots, thinly strewn over the vast surface, like rare islets of verdure scattered over the great African desert!

Again, it has been alleged, that if Oriental Literature be superseded on account of its blemishes, every other literature, even that of England, must be laid aside too, since the latter is not without its "foul spots." Never was there a comparison that would appear more unfair and disingenuous. The Literature of England has, it must be admitted, its foul spots. It has its idle and frivolous publications; it has its works that inculcate false principles in science, in morals, in religion. But are they all of this description? Is the greater part, or even the one-half, of this description? If not,—rather if the greater part be of an entirely contrary character, or even so large a proportion of it, as to supply a complete course of sound knowledge, unmixed with error in every branch of inquiry, literary, scientific, and theological,—then do we hold it to be "foul scorn," to compare the universal literature of England with the universal literature of India, which cannot produce a single volume on any one subject that is not studded with error; far less, a series of volumes, that would furnish any thing bearing the most distant resemblance to a complete range of accurate information in any conceivable department of useful knowledge.

Once more, the study of the Indian classics, as they have been politely designated, has been defended on the ground of its being analogous to the study of the Greek and Roman classics in Great Britain. Never was there a more fallacious analogy. In Britain, the study of the Greek and Roman classics forms but a fraction of a collegiate course of instruction. In the Sanskrit and Muhammadan Colleges of the East little else has been taught; and till of late, nothing except the niceties and subtilties, the extravagant legends, and worse than fantastical speculations of the Indian classics. In Britain, whatever injurious impressions might otherwise be produced in the mind, by the perusal of the Greek and Roman classics, are more than neutralized by another and a higher species of teaching, even that of Christian tuition, whether in the domestic circle, or in the public sanctuary. In India, there is nothing to neutralize the evil; no true religion instilled into the youthful mind to counteract the pernicious influence of what is false. In Britain, both teachers and taught know and acknowledge that the religion of Saturn and Jupiter is not only a false, but a dead religion, wholly divested of the influence which it once exerted over the European mind; and that the writings which unfold its doctrines and its practices are possessed of no divine authority. In India, the religion of Brahma is still a *living* religion, fraught with malignant energy, and operating with undisputed sway on the understanding and the consciences of millions. There, too, the classics that are its repositories are studied, not as mere literary productions, but as *divine scriptures;* works that either issued directly from the mouth of Brahma at the time of the creation, or were subsequently written under divine inspiration of some kind. Every thing contained in them is regarded as sacred truth, every thing enjoined in them as sacred law, having the stamp and signature of divinity. And to make assurance doubly sure, they have been taught and expounded in the government institutions, to heathen youth, by brahmans or heathen priests; whose duty, and profession, and interest it is, to maintain their authority as imperative and supreme in science, law, morals and religion. In circumstances so absolutely diverse, does it not seem to savour of something like impertinence to say, that the study of the Greek and Roman classics in Great Britain bears any analogy to the study of the Indian classics in seminaries established along the banks of the Ganges?

Thus it appears that every attempt to defend the Indian classics as the exclusive or even chief instrument in the education of native heathen youth, only recoils with more deadly force on the strongholds of the unhappy defenders.

Seeing, then, that whatever definition of education may be adopted, it must exclude the inculcation of error; and seeing that the Indian classics abound throughout with *radical errors and fatal untruths*, was not the Government of Lord W. Bentinck amply justified in resolving to banish these from its schools and colleges? Was it not more than justified in refusing any longer to expend its revenues in hiring students to learn, and professors to teach, what is *notoriously false in history and chronology, in geography and astronomy, in logic and metaphysics, in civil and criminal law, in morals and religion;—enforced as all such instructions were and must be, by the overawing influence of sages, and the incontrollable authority of the gods?*

And seeing that the reasons which so amply justified the renunciation of Oriental Literature and Science in the education of native youth are *still the same*—unchanged and unchangeable—how ought we to reprobate that act of my Lord Auckland by which these have been restored to their wonted supremacy?—an act, so wholly gratuitous;—an act so wholly without any valid reasons, yea, so absolutely in spite of reasons, the most cogent and resistless;—an act, which tends to roll back the tide of improvement—re-introducing the logomachies of a barbarous scholasticism, the legends of a debasing idolatry, and the subtilties of an impious Pantheism into fields, whence they were beginning to die away before the vigorous shoots of literary, scientific, and religious truth! What! Would not your Lordship shudder at the very thought of expending the revenues of the state, or any revenues at all, in establishing manufactories of deleterious drugs for the express purpose of poisoning the founts of water and the garners of provision throughout the land? And, what is *error*, but *the poison of the soul?* And ought a being, distinguished by the gifts of reason and benevolence, to shrink less from the wilful ruin of the souls of men than from the wilful destruction of their bodies? Surely, my Lord, when the hosannahs that rise from present success are hushed, and the mind has retired into the chambers of imagery, and conscience has been re-vivified by inward reflection and the monitions of Providence,—surely, your Lordship will be the first to shudder at the remembrance of having, without a cause, re-opened and re-endowed on the soil of poor unhappy India, those laboratories of intellectual, moral, and religious poison which your noble predecessor had so generously resolved to close! Language utterly fails me in attempting to embody my own impression of the degradation, the ignominy, the sin, of so fatal—so disastrous a retrogression!

These words, my Lord, are penned in the full assurance, that in this age of canting candour and gilded hypocrisy, they will be denounced as presumptuous, intolerant, and exaggerated. Nevertheless, truth is truth, and error is error, though a whole guilty world should conspire to break down the divine landmarks by which they are eternally separated. These words are also penned in the full assurance, that with your Lordship and Councillors they will not have the weight of a feather. So let it be. *Here,* your Lordship is *every thing. Here,* politically and civilly speaking, *your voice* is all but omnipotent. Speak but the word, and thousands are ready to shout. It is the voice of a God! Speak but the word, and thousands more are ready to fall down and worship whatever idol or image you may be pleased to set up. *Here,* on the other hand, the humble Missionary, in a *worldly* sense, neither is, nor desires to be, any thing. Let him but speak the word, and lo, it is the voice of a fanatic! Let him but give forth his warnings, and lo, they are treated with supercilious scorn or branded as a grand impertinence. But, my Lord, I must remind you that the greater the power, the more tremendous the responsibility! I must also remind you that,—apart from the solemnities of the Great Assize to which the noble and the mighty will be summoned, without respect of persons, along with the poorest and the meanest of the land—there is, even here below, another tribunal, of a different frame and texture from that of an Asiatic time-serving, favour-seeking community, at whose bar the appeal of a gospel minister will be heard as promptly as that of the noblest Lord. There is a British public, and above all, a religious public in Great Britain, which heretofore hath been moved, and may readily be moved again, by the addresses and expostulations of a Christian Missionary. It was the righteous agitation of this public which wrenched asunder the bars of prohibition to the free ingress of Bibles and Heralds of salvation into India. It was the righteous agitation of this public which accelerated and ensured the abolition of the murderous rite of Suttee (Sati.) It was the righteous agitation of this public which foredoomed the ultimate severance of official British connection with the mosques and temples and idolatrous observances of this benighted people. And rest assured, my Lord, that as certainly as the rising sun chases away the darkness of night, so certainly will the righteous agitation of this same British public eventually wipe away, as a blot and disgrace, from our national statute book, that fatal act, by which your Lordship has restored the government patronage and support to the shrines and sanctuaries of Hindu and Muhammadan learning—with all their Idolatrous, Pantheistic, and Anti-christian errors! A surer prospect of earning the garland of victory, no Christian Missionary could possibly desire, than the opportunity of boldly confronting, on a theme like this, the mightiest of our State Functionaries, in the presence of a promiscuous audience of British-born free-men, in any city or district, from Cornwall to Shetland. His march would be that of one continued conquest. The might and the majesty of a great people, awakened to discern the truth and import of things as they are, would increasingly swell his train. And, from the triumph of indomitable principle in Britain, would emanate, as in times past, an influence which would soon cause itself to be felt in the Supreme Councils of India—and thence extend, with renovating efficacy, through all its anti-religious Schools and Colleges.

A. D.

P. S.—The author cannot but express his high satisfaction at the spirit and the power manifested in the *condemnatory part* of the *first* notice of "the Minute" in the *Friend of India*. It was altogether worthy of the reputation of that most able, useful, and influential Journal. In his next letter, the author expects to enter on a part of "the Minute," which it will afford him no ordinary pleasure to be enabled conscientiously to applaud, with as great earnestness as he has felt himself constrained to reprobate the portion commented on in the present.

Lord Auckland's Minute on Native Education.

LETTER II.

> Oh! for the coming of that glorious time,
> When, prizing knowledge as her noblest wealth
> And best protection, this imperial realm,
> While she exacts allegiance, shall admit
> An obligation on her part to *teach*
> Them who are born to serve her and obey;
> Binding herself by statute to secure
> For *all* the children whom her soil maintains,
> The *rudiments of letters*; and to inform
> The mind *with moral and religious truth.*
>
> *Wordsworth.*

MY LORD,

Wealth, rank, station, power, sovereignty:—these united in one person, are stupendous gifts of Divine Providence—stupendous for good or for evil. Neglected and abused, as in the case of a Roman Nero, they become the most frightful scourges of humanity and draw down the most terrible retribution at the hands of an offended God. Cultivated and well directed, as in the case of an English Alfred, they become founts of the richest benefits to the race of man, and sources of reversionary bliss to the happy possessor. And though few there be that ever sink into the depths of guilt entailed by the vices of the former, or rise to the pre-eminence of glory that crowns the virtues of the latter, there is not a point along the whole vast line of gradation between these extremes, at which the words, the example, or the decisions of an earthly potentate may not powerfully operate for weal or for woe. If this could be doubted, the calculating facility with which your Lordship conceived the great bad measure reprobated in my last, and the over-mastering, though it may be, noiseless energy with which the apparently most stubborn materials have been moulded into willing instruments to give it full effect, must stand forth as ineffaceable monuments of demonstration. Doubtless there may be esoteric elements which, if divulged, might tend to modify the aspect of the question; but, as we have no access to the thoughts of princes or the counsels of state, we can only look at the exoteric. Looking at these, the spectacle presented is, indeed, a strange one—forcing us to watch and to wonder at the talismanic influence of the wand of power. Glance we at the past:—Behold the Committee of Public Instruction manfully fighting the battle of Educational Anti-Orientalism, under the shadow of Lord W. Bentinck, and cheerfully giving effect to his paramount will. Glance we at the present:—Behold the Committee of Public Instruction, under the fostering shadow of my Lord Auckland, adroitly passing over to the other side, as cheerfully ready to execute his paramount though *contrary* will. Proh Tempora! Proh mores! We had thought *some* of them at least men of principle, who had built their conclusions on a rock which the tempests and the torrents of opposition might assail in vain. But, lo, they all act like men of shifting, sand-like expediency which the gentle gale of vice-regal favour has blown into shreds. One Governor General frowns on the State Institutions of Orientalism and blasts them with the breath of his sore displeasure. "Well done, my Lord," exclaim the Public Instructionists, "well done; *so perish all endowments of error.*" Another Governor General smiles propitious on the State Institutions of Orientalism, and revives them with the breath of his approving complacency. "Well done, my Lord," re-echo the Public Instructionists, "well done, *so re-flourish all endowments of error.*" In our ignorance of the esoteric mysteries of state councils, how are we left admiringly to cry out:—What must be the latitude and the longitude of the policy of him, who could so calmly abide his time—waiting till the lamentations of the chief mourners were ended, and the most interested friends had become reconciled to the loss of their darling Orientalism—and then going forth, amid the silence and the gloom of ill-omened auguries, to resuscitate the hydra-headed spectre which had been formally consigned to the befitting mansions of the tomb? What must be the latitude and the longitude of the allegiance of those, who,—after having, under the former Government Head, witnessed or even assisted in celebrating the funeral obsequies of this gaunt Oriental antagonist,—could now march forward in the rear of the new Chief to behold his intended feat of resurrectionism, and exult at the re-appearance of the disinterred apparition, and eagerly join in re-equipping it for its wonted vocation of fell revelling among the blighted intellects and the withered hearts of a deluded and benighted people? If justice and truth *could* allow it, gladly, oh, most gladly would celestial Charity draw her benign veil over the whole; and breathe forth unto Heaven the God-like prayer, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!"

One of the earliest and most lamentable results of your Lordship's act of restoration will be, *the re-introduction of the old confusion of ideas on the subject of Oriental Literature* *and Native Education—and the ultimate realization of all the unhappy consequences to which such confusion inevitably tends.* Already, in the distant horizon, do I behold symptoms—significant symptoms—of reviving opinions on this head, whose portentous shadows, when they gather into strength, may well scare away a Governor General, less resolute and less fraught with the true reforming spirit than the last. It is well then betimes to sound a note of warning. From the constant and almost exclusive employment of Oriental Literature in the education of native youth, these two wholly "distinct and distinguishable" things, viz. the Patronage of Oriental Literature, and the Advancement of Native Education, came to be perpetually and systematically confounded. The Educationists of the old regime held these to be *inseparable,* if not altogether *identical.* And what was the unavoidable consequence? The instant, Lord W. Bentinck simply decreed that Oriental Literature, bestrewn as it is throughout, with what your Lordship justly terms "radical errors and deficiencies," should be withdrawn from the Government education of native youth, and a true and wholesome literature substituted instead,—that instant, the snug little coterie of Oriento-maniasts, alarmed at the disjunction of what they held to be incapable of being riven asunder, rent the air with their hoarse murmurings and bitter plaints. The Corypheus of the storming party actually pronounced Lord Bentinck's enactment, "an act of extermination against the literature and classical languages of Hindustán." From these and other similar terms, in which he and his co-adjutors spoke and wrote and raved on the subject, one ignorant of the facts might naturally have supposed that it threatened to deluge the shores of India with fresh floods of bigotry and intolerance—that it threatened to recal "Chaos and Old Night" from their long undisturbed slumbers, and reseat them on the throne of worse than Gothic darkness and error. One might suppose, that it was an act which might have been concocted in the barbaric council chamber of Genseric or Attila; or, that it might have issued from the conclave of the Caliphate at the time, when, from the Tagus to the Jaxartes, its destroying sword had obliterated the records of every faith, save that of Allah and his Prophet; or, that it might have formed one of the ruthless decrees of Mahmoud of Ghizni, who, from time to time, "pounced like an eagle from his tremendous eyry amid the snows of Caucasus on poor unhappy India, and having snatched his prey, instantly flew back to his mountain domain," leaving behind him temples desolated, idols trampled in the dust, and the sacred archives of the gods—the written monuments of a literature, and science, and theology, that proudly boasted of an immeasurable antiquity,—devoured by the blaze of many a wide-spread conflagration.

Whatever may be alleged as to this being an exaggerated picture of the opinions and forebodings of certain doating Orientalists, no one at all conversant with their views will be disposed to deny that there is a deep, and broad, and strong foundation for it. Bating the use of comparisons altogether, language was employed on the subject that admitted of no equivocation and no mistake. The act, not virtually, but actually, was characterized as a scheme for the total extinction of native classical literature—as a project for the annihilation of all the languages of India, vernacular or classical—as a measure for the abolition of all native institutions for native education. And having thus characterized, or rather caricatured, the act, it required neither the wisdom of a sage, nor the vaticinative powers of a seer, to prognosticate that it might involve the most mischievous consequences,—that it might tend to alienate the minds of the natives by impressing upon them the conviction that they and their rulers had conflicting feelings and incompatible interests,—that it might be calculated to destroy all respect for the British character, yea to endanger the stability of the British power,—and, finally, that it might contribute to retard indefinitely, if not altogether to prevent, the intellectual, moral, and religious improvement of the people.

Those who indulged in such retrospective criminations and prospective fears might be sincere in their convictions; but most assuredly, they were woefully mistaken. Whether the sudden dissipation of their own congenial dreams might have somewhat excited the heat of indignation which enveloped the judgment with fumes, while it had quickened the activities of the fancy, it is not for us to say. But certain it is, that they did seem to contemplate the subject through some hazy medium, like travellers in the morning viewing the face of nature through those misty exhalations which distort the forms of things, as well as expand them into disproportionate magnitude. For how stood the case? When presented in its bare literality, it was neither more nor less than this.—The British Government at one time voluntarily allotted certain funds for the cultivation of Native* Literature in connection with Native Education in certain institutions, founded by itself. The same government afterwards deemed it expedient to determine to withdraw these funds from such allotment, and apply them to the encouragement of European literature and science.

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* The expression "Native Literature" or "Oriental Literature" for want of a better, is employed here and elsewhere to denote *all native writings* of every description, whether strictly literary, scientific or theological. It is employed in this all-comprehending sense as exceedingly convenient to prevent the recurrence of constant circumlocution.

Now, it matters not a jot in this part of our inquiry, whether the government views of right or expediency in effecting this transfer were defensible or not. The simple question that arises here is—Did the withdrawing of certain funds from the support of a few native institutions, originated by government itself, amount in any reasonable sense to an abolition of *all* native institutions? Did it amount to an extinction of *all* native classical literature? In other words, was the simple *withholding* of *direct positive* encouragement to the study of Oriental Literature in the instruction of native youth, equivalent to a direct active discouragement of Oriental Literature altogether,—amounting to a persecuting prohibition or a general extermination? Why, if common sense has not fled the habitations of man, this determination of withdrawing direct positive support from native literature in the Education of Native youth, could not be construed to mean a downright actual suppression or extirpation of that literature either in whole or in part. It was simply a return to the first position of *strict neutrality*; it was the re-assumption of an attitude of *non-interference*; it was a resolution to *do nothing directly and actively, in connection with National Education,* either for or against, either to uphold or to abolish, native literature. So far as the British Government was concerned, it just left that literature precisely as it existed before its interference at all; i. e., it resigned the classical literature of India to the patronage and support of the descendants of those who have cultivated and perpetuated the knowledge of it during the last thirty centuries, together with their voluntary European allies.

Again, how, or in what conceivable sense could the application of any funds whatsoever to the purposes of English education, be interpreted as tantamount to an attempt to annihilate all the languages of India, vernacular and classical? As well, surely, might we assert that endowments for encouraging the study of Latin and Greek in the island of Great Britain were destined to exterminate the language which Shakespeare, and Milton, and Addison, had rendered classical, with all its provincial dialects! Or, let us refer to a contemporaneous case somewhat parallel. The British Government, at the present time, deem it proper to vote an annual grant of money for the cultivation of Popish literature in the college of Maynooth. Now, the same government may, for good reasons, afterwards find it expedient to withdraw this grant, and devote the sum so withdrawn to the encouragement of general English education. Should it actually resolve thus to retrace its steps, could such an act of withdrawal and appropriation, we ask, be designated, with any semblance of propriety, an act for the abolition of all Popish institutions—for the extinction of all Popish literature—and for the extermination of the Latin and Irish languages? Stript of all adventitious colourings, and presented in this simple light, the proposition seems too ludicrously absurd to be for a moment entertained. Yet such, and none other in spirit and in letter was the proposition which some of our great Orientalists were so prodigal of their strength in attempting to establish. And think you, my Lord, that the successors of such men as H. H. Wilson, Esq. and the late lamented Mr. Prinsep and Dr. Tytler, are likely to manifest more discretion and display greater acuteness and practical sagacity than they, in distinguishing the things that differ, and in cleaving to the things that are really most excellent?

Still, though the charges of "extermination," "extirpation," and "destruction" may thus be shewn to be contemptibly ridiculous, many of the Oriental fraternity, unwilling to be baffled, and ready, like drowning men, to cleave to a floating straw, turn about, and, occupying new ground, rally round a new standard. With the Sanskrit professor of Oxford they eagerly join; and, adopting his *patriotic* language, exultingly ask, Has not Native Literature rightful claims on a government which has "usurped the power and absorbed the revenues of those who were its natural guardians?"

Now, in all such scornful taunts and criminative upbraidings there is still predominant the same confusion of ideas respecting the patronage of Oriental Literature and the Education of Native youth, as well as not a little mis-statement of historical facts. If it be insinuated that the resources of the natives have been *so* crippled by our Government, that their own institutions must droop and languish from inability to support them, nothing can be more wide of the truth. There have been all along native Colleges in great abundance, in which the classical languages of India, particularly Sanskrit, have been cultivated in the highest perfection. These, in many instances at least, are as flourishing now, as they have been for centuries past—rendering the establishment of similar institutions on the part of the British Government, not only a work of rivalry, but of perfect supererogation. "Government colleges," remarked the Editor of the *Friend of India* some years ago, with equal precision and truth, "in comparison with the indigenous colleges, are as a pool of stagnant water, compared with the flowing stream of the Ganges. The country needs not the support of Government to keep alive a knowledge of this sacred tongue, (Sanskrit.) The patronage under which it flourishes, is not the smile or the gold of a foreign government, but the high dignity and distinction with which classical reputation is rewarded, in the wide circle of native society. That encouragement has hitherto been more efficacious in producing great scholars, than the patronage of the British Government, and for many years to come, this is likely to be the case."

Again, if it be asserted that native literature has claims on the patronage of the Government, and then *assumed* that the *only* way of meeting these claims is to support colleges where the study of it may be *exclusively* prosecuted by numbers of *the privileged classes of native youth;* and if this assertion and assumption be held to be correlative, in so much that, if the latter is not, the former cannot be;—then must we, while admitting the validity of the assertion, utterly negative that of the assumption.

There are two objects essentially distinct, the one from the other, viz. the patronage of native literature, and the education of native youth. These objects, though clearly distinguishable, are by no means incompatible. A liberal and patriotic Government may, in certain respects, without inconsistency and without collision, extend its countenance to both. That Government should decline employing native literature as the primary instrument of imparting knowledge in the education of native youth, is no reason why, separately and for other ends, it might not effectually patronise it.

To illustrate what has now been advanced, let us suppose that our ancient Scottish literature has rightful claims on the patronage of the home government. Well, Sir Walter Scott has collected and published some volumes of border songs and ballads; and Mr. McPherson some volumes of the traditionary remains of Celtic poetry. Now, might not Government legitimately extend its patronage to our ancient literature, by conferring honorary titles, or bestowing pecuniary largesses on those who devoted their time and their talents to the work of rescuing from premature decay its most curious relics? But, might not the same Government justly object to the application of any portion of the revenue, to the endowment of seminaries on the Tweed or on the Tay, for the purpose of furnishing an education to hundreds of youths, in which the *staple article* consisted *exclusively* of *border legends* and *Ossianic tales?* So in India. Government may deem it expedient, to a certain extent, and for specific purposes, to patronise native literature; while, for valid reasons it ought to demur at the support of institutions for the *exclusive* cultivation of it, in the *tuition* of hundreds of *native youth.* Government, in order to cherish and gratify the spirit of literary research, may supply the means of publishing correct editions of standard classical works; it may encourage translations of these into the English language; it may, by honorary titles or pecuniary rewards, stimulate researches into the history, the philosophy, the religion, and the antiquities of Hindustán. All this the Government may do, and much more. To the encouragement of such pursuits within moderate limits, even Mr. Ward, with all his horror of Hinduism, would not object. He, himself, in substance, proposed that a society should be formed either at Calcutta or London, for improving our knowledge of the history, literature, and mythology of the Hindus,—that a pantheon should be erected for receiving the images of the gods, cut in marble; a museum also, to receive all the curiosities of India, and a library to perpetuate its literature,—that either individuals should be employed in translations from the Sanskrit, or suitable rewards offered for the best translation of the most important Hindu books.

Now there is already in existence a Society founded by that prince of Orientalists, Sir William Jones, in Calcutta, for the realization of these very objects. "Let Government, therefore," said the friends of *genuine* education, *six* or even *ten years ago,*—"let Government, if it will, constitute this venerable patriarch of all our Literary Institutions, its official Almoner for dispensing its patronage of Oriental Literature; and let a portion of the public revenue be appropriated to this special and commendable end." For such an *ulterior* arrangement Lord W. Bentinck's enactment paved the way. And nought in the Dilhi minute has afforded us greater pleasure than to learn that the Court of Directors have now made "a separate grant for the publication of works of interest in the ancient literature of the country to be disbursed through the appropriate channel of the Asiatic Society." This is as it should be. Many and interesting are the purposes to which carefully collated and revised editions of such works may be subservient. If philology be an object of pursuit;—where can be found the superior of the Sanskrit,—said to be the most copious, and certainly the most elaborately refined of all languages, living or dead? If antiquities;—are there not monumental remains and cavern temples scarcely less stupendous than those of Egypt—and ancient sculptures which, if inferior in majesty and expression, in richness and variety of ornamental tracery, almost rival those of Greece;—and over the design and purport of these what can be expected to throw some glimmerings of light, if not the ancient Indian records of story and of song? If the intellectual, the moral, and the social history of man;—are there not ample stores of poetic effusion and extraordinary legend, with whole masses of subtile speculation and fantastic philosophies and prodigious mythologies, exhibiting infinitely varied and unparaleled developments of every principle of action that has characterized fallen degraded humanity? If an outlet for the exercise of philanthropy;—what field on the surface of the globe can be compared to Hindustán, stretching from the Indus to the Ganges and from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin, in point of *magnitude and accessibility combined*, and *peculiarity* of claims on the *sons of Britain*—the claims of not less than a hundred and thirty millions of fellow-subjects, sunk beneath a load of the most debasing superstitions and the cruelest idolatries that ever polluted the surface of earth or brutalized the nature of man?—and in order to reach most effectually the heads and the hearts of these multitudes with a view to their improvement, what more necessary than to become acquainted with the subject-matter or contents of those works which are the real and original sources of all their prevailing systems, opinions, and observances, sacred, civil and social? Thus it is that, in the hands of men of superior principle and superior enlightenment—the Antiquarian, the Linguist, the Philosopher, the Philanthropist—the stores of Oriental Literature may be made to subserve a variety of purposes fraught with interest and profit to mankind at large, and especially to the people of India. What friend of man, therefore, would not rejoice in any measure which tended to bring these stores more availably within the reach of those who have the wisdom and the will to turn them all to their legitimate uses? Well, then, and truly has your Lordship described the liberality of the Hon'ble Court towards the Asiatic Society in this matter as a manifestation of Legislative munificence which has been "hailed with universal satisfaction." Yea, my Lord, so far am I, or the thousands who think with me, from being opposed to the cultivation of Oriental Literature by qualified persons and for useful ends, that we should hail with still greater satisfaction, the intelligence that you had consigned the whole *lakh and a half*—now worse than uselessly expended in indoctrinating the minds of numbers of native youth with errors, and *lies against the truth of history, the truth of science, and the truth* *of God*—into the hands of the Asiatic Society. From such a fund, that noble Society might maintain at Calcutta, Benares, and Dilhi, Colleges of a dozen learned Pandits and Maulavis, chosen and appointed on account of their superior acquirements, for the express purpose of bringing to light, collating, editing, and publishing authoritative editions of every work of note in Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian. From such a fund, they might maintain two or three European Superintendents of eminent scholarship, like H. H. Wilson, or the late Dr. Tytler or Mr. J. Prinsep, for the express purpose of being employed in counselling the native *savans* in their critical and editorial labours; or in furnishing translations or summaries of native works into the English language; or in traversing the country, with a view to decipher and collect the somewhat hieroglyphic inscriptions on the rocks, and columns, and ancient edifices of India. Such an application of the funds might well be hailed as conferring an inestimable boon not on India only, but on the whole literary, scientific, and religious world.

But, my Lord, there is another and a totally different object, which the Indian Government professes to have sincerely at heart; and that is, *the education of native youth.* For the more effective superintendence of its schemes in this most important of all departments in the State, the Committee of Public Instruction was duly organized. "Let the Government, then," said the friends of *genuine* native education, "let the Government, if it will, still continue to repose its confidence in this Committee, as the sole depository and distributer of its bounties, in diffusing the blessings of *sound and useful knowledge* throughout the land." Now this was precisely one of the leading objects which Lord W. Bentinck's enactment so conclusively effected. By this enactment, the connection of the members of the Public Instruction Committee, in their united corporate capacity, with the cause of Oriental Literature was wholly severed; their gregarious wanderings into its boundless and pathless domains were wholly arrested; and their official functions, as its patrons and cultivators, wholly suspended. By this enactment, the Committee was just recalled to its proper sphere, and restricted to its proper orbit. By this enactment, it was destined to become in reality what its name truly imports, a Committee of *Public Instruction*—a Government Committee, *not for the rearing of an inferior class of native smatterers in Oriental Literature, but* for the *instruction of the youth of India* in those branches which alone, as constituent parts of healthful tuition, ought ever to have been employed by an enlightened government in the educational development of the youthful mind, viz., the ennobling Literature and true Science of Europe, as contradistinguished from the debasing Literature and false Science of Asia. By this enactment, the two great objects, the patronage of Native Literature and the *real* Education of native youth, were designed to be kept, as they should always have been, perfectly distinct. By this enactment, it was determined that they should not, as before, be again intermingled—that each should be prosecuted, if prosecuted at all, separately and apart by itself, under its own proper designation—and that the gratification of a literary curiosity, or the prosecution of learned research, or the official countenance of Oriental Literature, however laudable, should never again be confounded with *popular education;* that is, with one of the most effective means of removing the intellectual, moral, and social degradation of a mighty people, by the replenishment of the national mind from the exhaustless reservoir of all-comprehending truth. What friend of India ought not to rejoice in the provisions of an enactment purposely designed to issue in so noble a consummation? And in proportion to our joy, must be our unfeigned sorrow in the contemplation of that fatal resolution, by which all this has been defeated, reversed, and undone! How must your Lordship's Act of restoration—that act *by which the operation of printing Oriental works, from education funds, is to be begun anew; and the decree has been passed for the re-establishment of Oriental Literature, as the main if not exclusive commodity in the education of thousands of native youth, who are thus armed with augmented power to perpetuate the reign of error and superstition,*—how must such an act tend to revive in the breasts of Orientalists the old fond delusion by which Native Literature and Native Education became inextricably interblended—and the promotion of the one was held to be equivalent to the advancement of the other! Yea, how must such an act, at the present time and in present circumstances, revive the delusion with redoubled energy; inasmuch as it tends to excite the peculiar enthusiasm that ever springs from the reconquest of a once lost but now recovered territory! Rest assured, my Lord, that when the accumulating force of public opinion in Britain shall compel some future Governor General to rescind your Lordship's ill-fated act, it will be found that your Lordship has now prepared materials out of which the whole mournful tragedy of clamours about "injustice to the rightful claims of Oriental Literature," and "acts of extermination against it," and "the sway of gothic barbarism," must be enacted over again. Then, too, will it be found, that, in the meanwhile, by so causelessly throwing down the gauntlet, your Lordship's Minute, instead of putting and end to "our Education Controversies," has just served to evoke a spirit of righteous indignation, whose fearless freedom, in the cause of God and man, must soon prove that the real battle is only beginning to be rebegun,—with this notable difference, that the principal scene of warfare may henceforward be transferred from the limited locality of an Indian province, to the mightier stage of Imperial Britain?

Leaving, for the present, this hostile theme, most gladly do I pass on to another more genial to my own mind, and more creditable to your Lordship's genius and sagacity as a statesman. Overlooking all subordinate though important questions as to *mode* and *manner* and *practical details,* the two great generic and positive measures of your Lordship's Minute are;—1st. The determination, *as regards the use of Oriental Literature in the education of the privileged classes of native youth, to restore all that your noble predecessor had with so much of sound wisdom and benevolent feeling resolved to abolish*:—2nd. The determination, *as regards the introduction of European Literature and Science through the medium of the English language, to uphold with augmented efficiency all that your noble predecessor had with such generous and enlightened policy resolved to establish.* The former of these measures I have, from the honest convictions of my own understanding and conscience, and with the fearless freedom of a Christian man and a British subject, earnestly reprobated. The latter of these measures, I am, in like manner, prepared, if need be, as conscientiously and fearlessly to vindicate in the face of any mustering array of opposition. And I do now, in my own name and that of hundreds in India and of tens of thousands in Great Britain, who have the cause of native improvement seriously at heart, tender the most unfeigned thanks to your Lordship for a decision not less distinguished for its wise statesmanship than for its capability of being converted into a fertile source of blessings to India.

But this subject, as your Lordship's Minute very distinctly indicates, does not and cannot stand by itself. It does not and cannot maintain an attitude of isolation away from the joint confederacy of other educational powers. It neither can nor ought to be separated or viewed apart from those varied measures, the combination and aggregate of which constitute a complete system of national education, any more than the key-stone can or ought to be separated and viewed apart from the other arch-stones, columns, and cornices, the combination and aggregate of which constitute a complete bridge. Intelligibly to discuss all these allied and interblended topics, would be to enter into no brief elucidation of general principles, and to furnish no meagre catalogue of statistical and other details,—in other words, would be to compose a voluminous dissertation on the wide and all-absorbing theme of national education. Such an attempt is of course wholly out of the question in a letter like the present, even if the author felt himself vastly more competent than he does, for so grand and momentous a task,—a task, compared to the *full and adequate* execution of which, the solution of the celebrated "problem of the three bodies," which for ages puzzled the brains of the greatest mathematicians, were a jest,—a task, the unravelling of all whose apparently inextricable complexities, and the sounding of all whose apparently unfathomable depths, and the adjusting of all whose apparently irreconcilable interests, would strain the noblest energies of the brightest genius—consecrated though these might be by the incense of devoutest piety, and enriched by the spoils of all experience, and stimulated by the fire of the purest, most disinterested, most Catholic philanthropy.

At present, therefore, it is not possible to do more than simply to advert to one or two leading points; and that chiefly with the view of obviating, if possible, certain prevalent *misapprehensions* regarding them. Your Lordship has very properly remarked, "that a scheme of general instruction can only be perfect, as it comprehends a regularly progressive provision for higher tuition;—that in the European states where such systems have been recently extensively matured, this principle is universally observed—there being a complete series of Universities in great towns, of Academies in provincial divisions, and of small local schools, all connected in a combined plan of instruction." This is a correct statement of the gradation of educational seminaries, essential to a complete system;—the local, village, or small urban schools embracing "primary instruction" of different grades for the mass of the people;—the Academies, grammar schools, burgher schools, or gymnasia, embracing "secondary instruction" of different grades, for the middle, or more respectable manufacturing, trading, or agricultural classes—instruction, which itself may amount to a liberal education, and include all that such classes may require; or which may prove preparatory to the more advanced requirements of the learned professions;—the Universities, embracing "higher instruction," of different grades, for the highest classes of society, as well as for all who make literature, philosophy, science, or theology a professional study. It is true also, that, in Prussia, France, and other continental kingdoms, the perfect organization of such connected parts in "a combined plan of instruction" is a matter of *recent* date. But it is not less true that in other more highly favored lands such organization is *not of recent* growth —that nearly as complete an organization of "connected parts in a combined plan of instruction," was perfected and framed in Scotland about *three hundred years ago!*—having been formally presented in 1560 "to the great Councell of Scotland now admitted to the regiment, by the providence of God, and by the common consent of the Estates thereof," and perseveringly pressed upon a reluctant parliament and a mercenary nobility till its main provisions were ultimately adopted and ratified,—though never in the perfect integrity of the great, wise, and all-comprehensive original plan. And by whom was a scheme so noble—a scheme, so greatly in advance of the general spirit and intelligence of the age—a scheme, so singularly anticipative of those measures which, after nearly three centuries of reformation and civilization, have earned for certain European nations, not so much the praise of enlightened policy, as the renown of actual invention and discovery, in the department of Educational Economics? Surely it must have been the product of the joint wisdom of far seeing statesmen and politicians!—those men of clear heads, kind hearts, and liberal principles, from whom alone has ever issued any measure of large and comprehensive policy!—Alas for the oracle which has lately opened its vacant mouth wider than usual—challenging us to forgive its flippancy and obstinacy in sheer pity of its sage-like ignorance!—The very men who opposed and resisted this ever-memorable scheme of universal national education were the leading statesmen and politicians of the realm! Who then were they, who could have been its authors? "Whoever they *might* be," replies the oracle, "it is impossible that they *could* have been *ecclesiastics* —since these, by education, creed, and habit, are sectarian and bigotted—and *all* history proves that from them no scheme of comprehensive policy has ever emanated." Alas! again, for the posthumous fame of the expiring oracle;—whoever desires to see the scheme with his own eyes—a scheme of which Scotland has greater reason to be proud (if pride in any circumstances be lawful) than of all the laurels which she hath earned in the domains of literature or philosophy, of peaceful industry or patriotic war—he has only to open "the first book of the policy and discipline" of the church of Scotland, where the scheme was primarily propounded, and the propriety or even necessity of its adoption by the estates of the realm urgently and eloquently enforced!—and to reach the climax of amazement he has only further to turn over to the title page, and there he will find it notified, that the whole was " drawn up by Mr. John Winram, Mr. John Spottiswood, John Willock, Mr. John Douglasse, Mr. John Row, and *John Knox*," the great—the leading *ecclesiastics* of the nation !

Having settled that, in order to a complete system of National Education, three kinds of seminaries in India as elsewhere—Schools, Academies, and Colleges—generically distinct, though of different powers for varying degrees of primary, secondary, and higher instruction—are indispensable ;—there are two or three fundamental questions which we are called on, *in limine*, to determine. 1st. What are to be the subjects taught in these institutions respectively? 2nd. Through what lingual media are these to be conveyed. 3rd. Are the whole to be attempted universally and simultaneously ?—if not, on which description of them should our efforts be mainly concentred and our resources mainly expended ?

1st. What *subjects* ought to be taught in the different grades of Institutions? Anxious to do justice to whatever is really good in your Lordship's Minute, I shall, at this stage of my remarks, forego the consideration of the subject of *religion* altogether, *as it finds no place in your scheme of National Education* ; though I must at once candidly confess that to devise and establish a national system of education without religion, seems to my mind much the same as to turn a majestic vessel fairly adrift on the wide ocean without a helm, or to project a planetary system into the dark void of space without a sun ! Meanwhile, however, waving that all-important point, I proceed to remark that, as regards the *subjects* to be taught, there is one principle which surely ought inflexibly to regulate all our plans for improved education, viz. *that on every subject it is our duty to convey the known and acknowledged truth ; and never any known or acknowledged error, as truth, or instead of truth.* Under the guidance of such a governing—such an ameliorating principle,—our books for *elementary* or *primary* schools, would *substantially* be the same as those employed in the best primary schools in Europe —including also extracts of such passages from Oriental works as might prove, at least harmless and unobjectionable. And surely no friend of India ought to undervalue the boon conferred by the introduction of such an improved series of elementary class books, even were no other good to accrue than the general supercession of those revolting Puranic legends and mythological tales which at present constitute the principal aliment of the youthful mind in the indigenous schools. This

I understand to be your Lordship's meaning and design from the observation that, in our common "district schools, we can draw *little, if any aid,* from *existing native literature*—that the books used in them should not only be correct and elegant in style, but should be *themselves of the most useful description*—and that the desire for the *new ideas and information* which will be imparted at them must be among the chief inducements to attendance." If this be the meaning and design, *so far as it goes,* the object is worthy of all commendation. The *secondary* or *middle* schools, or zillah station Academies, being partly perfective and terminative of the course of primary instruction, and partly preparatory to the higher curriculum of the Colleges, the subjects taught must of necessity assume the form and complexion of those materials which compose the extremes. What then should be taught in the *Colleges,* or "Seminaries of highest learning," as the alone subjects of "an advanced and thorough education?" To this your Lordship replies, in a tone of authority which is refreshing amid the quivering ballancings of other opinions, that it should be "*a complete Education in European Literature, Philosophy, and Science.*" Here at last, your Lordship has succeeded in planting your foot on a rock which neither the storms of controversy nor the floods of Orientalism will be able to shake. This was the clear-sighted resolution of your intrepid predecessor, and in simply confirming it a nobler plume has been added to your garland of honours than the laurel wreath of the conquest of Affghanistan.

2nd. The subjects to be taught being thus, in a *general* way, determined, the next grand question is, Through what *lingual media* are these to be communicated? Here too, your Lordship's judgment is *thoroughly orthodox.* Indeed,—apart from the admirably expressed caveat against over-sanguine expectations, and the equally admirable statement of some of the causes of partial or temporary failure inevitably incident to a new, untried, and arduous though glorious enterprise,—this is the section of the Dilhi Minute which reflects the greatest credit on your Lordship's sagacity, as a statesman and educationist. For the entire mass of *elementary* or *primary* schools, the *media of instruction* ought, beyond all debate, to be *the vernacular languages or dialects* of the different provinces. For the highest seminaries or colleges, the *medium of instruction* ought as demonstrably to be what Lord Bentinck decreed and Lord Auckland has ratified, viz. *the English language.* For the *secondary* schools or zillah Academies, that part of the studies which is completive of primary instruction in the case of those of the middle classes who proceed no farther, should certainly be conducted through the medium of the vernaculars;—while a vigorous department should be opened in each for the study of English in the case of those who are candidates for promotion to the Collegiate Institutions.

The *media* of instruction have called forth more discussion and led to far greater misconceptions than the *subjects* of instruction. The latter were originally decided by the Government Committee to be chiefly; if not wholly, Oriental. But the rebuke administered so far back as 1824 by the Court of Directors tended to assuage the Oriento-mania. "The great end," wrote the Hon'ble Court, "should *not* have been to teach *Hindu learning* or *Muhammadan learning*, but *useful learning*. In establishing seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindu or Muhammadan Literature, you bound yourselves to teach *a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous, and a small remainder indeed in which any utility was concerned!*" Then followed the striking memorial on the late celebrated Rajah Ram Mohun Roy—one of the profoundest Oriental scholars of the age. It is in the form of a solemn remonstrance *against* the establishment of the Sanskrit College of Calcutta—and was characterized by Bishop Heber at the time for "its good English, good sense, and forcible arguments." In the course of his protest he thus proceeds:—"This seminary" (Sanskrit College) "can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practical use to the possessors or to society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtilties since produced by speculative men. The Sanskrit language, so difficult that almost a lifetime is necessary for its acquisition, is well known to have been for ages a lamentable check on the diffusion of knowledge; and the learning concealed under this almost impervious veil is far from sufficient to reward the labour of acquiring it. No improvement can be expected from inducing young men to consume a dozen of years of the most valuable period of their lives in acquiring the niceties of Byakaran or Sanskrit Grammar. For instance, in learning to discuss such points as the following; *Bhad*, signifying *to eat*; *Bhaduti*, he or she or it *eats*; query, whether does *Bhaduti*, taken as a whole, convey the meaning, he, she or it eats; or are separate parts of this meaning conveyed by distinctions of the words? As if in the English language, it were asked, how much meaning is there in the *eat*; how much in the *s*? And is the whole meaning of the word conveyed by these two portions of it distinctly, or by them taken jointly? Neither can much improvement arise from such speculations as the following, which are the themes suggested by the Vedant:—In what manner is the soul absorbed into the deity? What relation does it bear to the divine essence? Nor will youths be fitted to be better members of society by the Vedantic doctrines, which teach them to believe that all visible things have no real existence; that as father, brother, &c. have no actual entity, they consequently deserve no real affection, and therefore the sooner we escape from them and leave the world the better. Again, no essential benefit can be derived by the student of the Mimangsa, from knowing what it is which makes the killer of a goat sinless on pronouncing certain passages of the Vedant, and what is the real nature and operative influence of certain passages of the Vedas, &c.? The student of the Nyaya shástra cannot be said to have improved his mind after he has learned from it into how many ideal classes the objects in the universe are divided, and what speculative relation the soul bears to the body, the body to the soul, the eye to the ear, &c. If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen, which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British Legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction; embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, with other useful sciences," &c. &c. Aroused by such united expostulations on the part of the Court of Directors, and of an influential Hindu, who was himself a bráhman, a man of learning and varied accomplishments, and who as a native could not be unduly prejudiced against the hereditary literature of his fathers—the Committee of Public Instruction resolved, through the medium of translated fragments and the instrumentality of learned Maulavis and Pandits, to graft a few scions from the European, on the Oriental stock. But the futility of the attempt to make a sickly exotic "imperfect graft of the tree of knowledge on a trunk, the heterogeneity of which, would not admit of its flourishing upon it," instead of planting "a young and flourishing tree, which might shoot out and spread its branches far and wide, while the trunk of the old system would be left to a natural and neglected decay,"—the worse than futility of the project to secure the insertion of such grafts through the agency of labourers of the old school, whose pride and reputation, self-interest and inveterate prejudices were all marshalled in hostile array against the new and improved system of educational husbandry,—the utter dementedness of all this gradually became too conspicuous to be concealed. Hence the grand struggle which terminated in the enactment of the 7th March, 1835, in favour of *European Literature and Science, through the medium of the English language*. But, this enactment had something more to recommend it than the hopeless, hapless failure of the opposite system. Again and again was it shewn, *usque ad nauseam*, how,—in every recorded instance in which an improved literature became one of the instruments of civilization to a less enlightened people—as when Athens, "the eye of Greece," became light to Rome, the mistress of the world—when the wisdom of her sages, mellowing the strong heads and rough hearts of the Saracenic hosts, converted Damascus the capital of conquest into Bagdad the principal seat of letters—when, amid the gloom of the dark ages, the Arabic fount of learning overflowed to fertilize the barren regions of Grenada and the Western world—and when the revival of ancient letters in Italy stirred up the heart of Europe, and prepared it for the out-bursting of a mighty cataract of reformation;—how, in all these and similar minor epochs of movement and advance in the general progress of society, it was by a *direct* acquaintance with the world of new ideas, through that medium of language in which they were originally moulded, fashioned, and embodied, that the reforming impulse was communicated,—and how this impulse varied in intensity and permanence, in proportion as that *direct* acquaintance was more or less profound. So that never did the Hon'ble Court express a sounder *opinion* than when it wrote, "that the higher tone and better spirit of European Literature can produce their full effect only on those who become familiar with them in the original languages." And never has a Governor General reflected greater credit on himself than when he proclaims to the world his "entire concurrence" in that opinion—adding, as the soundest of all inferences, that he would, *therefore*, "make it his principal aim to communicate, through the means of the English language, a complete education in European Literature, Philosophy, and Science, to the greatest number of students who may be found ready to accept it at our hands."

In thus allotting to the English language its proper position in the firmament of reviving letters in India, what misconceptions have arisen, what misrepresentations have been forged! "Behold," exclaim the orient sages, "behold these Anglomaniacs;—how they propose to supplant all the native dialects, and force the tongues of a hundred and thirty millions of Asiatics to vibrate with nought but the accents of English foreigners! What a chimera! What an Utopian vision!" Yea, verily:—but the chimera and the Utopianism belong not to the friends of English education. They are only the shapeless phantoms which have sprung, by spontaneous combustion, from the phrenzied and excited imaginations of its foes. Our uniform and consistent statement has ever been, that, *while the vernaculars must form the sole media of instruction to the great mass of the people of India, the English language is the most powerful instrument, for rapidly and largely transferring the higher Literature and Science of Europe into the minds of the select few, who, by their higher qualifications, are destined to exert a commanding influence over the ordinary many.* Never have we even said—though much might be said, and said to good purpose too—that, abstractedly considered, the English language is the *best* and *most perfect* instrument for effecting *even this limited end;* and never have we said that it should be *permanently* so employed.

As to *the medium of higher or collegiate instruction*, our representation has always been the following. Before us there is a *three-fold* choice:—1st. The vernacular dialects of India, which differ from each other as much, and many of them a great deal more, than French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese from each other. 2nd. The learned languages of India, Sanskrit and Arabic. 3rd. The English language. The *first* of these, or the vernacular dialects, have been declared to be inadequate even by the Orientalists themselves. One of the greatest of them, H. H. Wilson, Esq., whose opinion in such matters is held by many as altogether infallible, has recorded it as his verdict, that they are "utterly incapable of representing European ideas; they have no words wherewith to express them." But even if they had, they have no works—no books—embodying the treasures of higher and improved knowledge. Nor is there the remotest prospect of possessing these, in sufficient quantity, either in the form of original composition or translation, for generations yet to come. By common consent, then, the choice lay between the learned languages, Sanskrit and Arabic, on the one hand, and English on the other. But what, it has been asked, What! hesitate for a moment between indigenous languages and a foreign tongue, viewed as media for the impartation of knowledge? The question seems plausible, but is based on a transparent fallacy. *If* Arabic and Sanskrit were *living spoken* languages throughout India, we confess there might be some slight room for momentary hesitation. But this is not the case. These are no more living spoken languages in India than Greek and Latin are, in our day, in Western Europe. They are, in the strictest sense of the term, *dead languages;* and, as such, quite as much unknown to the vast majority of the people of India, as any *foreign tongue* that can be named. The subject is thus placed in a totally different light from that in which zealous Orientalists usually present it. This only accurate view of it proves to us that the choice lay, *not* between *two living spoken* languages and a *foreign* tongue, but between *two dead* languages and a *foreign* tongue;—that is, the choice actually lay, between *two unknown eastern* languages, and an *unknown western* language. The time and labor demanded of a native of India, whose vernacular tongue is the spoken dialect of his province, for mastering the *former* will be *equal to, if not greater* than, the time and labour required for the latter. In the case of Sanskrit, both time and labour will be prodigiously greater. For this we have the highest possible authority, even that of the accomplished scholar, the late Rajah Ram Mohun Roy:—"The Sanskrit language," says he, in the memorial already quoted, "is so difficult that *almost a lifetime* is necessary for its acquisition;" whereas, *almost a tithe* of an ordinary lifetime is in general sufficient to enable an intelligent native youth to master the English. But even supposing that the time and labour, in both cases, were the same, we should have still to ask, Which of the two, when once acquired, would answer the destined purpose best? That is, which of the two would form the most valuable instrument for the impartation of the enlightened literature and science of Europe? Here, at least, we need not pause for a reply. Let the native youth spend his time and strength in surmounting the difficulties of *Sanskrit,* and what amount of improved European knowledge will it convey to him? *Only a few scraps and fragments, which appear drooping like sickly exotics in a foreign and ungenial soil.* But let him expend only a fraction of the same time and toil in acquiring *English,* and is he not at once presented with the *very key of knowledge—all the really useful knowledge which the world contains?* Who then, will hesitate in affirming that, in *the meantime* and in *present circumstances,* Lord W. Bentinck decided wisely in appointing the English language, as the medium of communicating the *higher branches* of English Literature and Science, to the select youth of India? And who will venture to say that my Lord Auckland has acted with less wisdom in extending his guarantee to the continuance of English, as the *medium of higher instruction*, until the living spoken dialects of India become enriched by the copious infusion of expressive terms—the signs and symbols of new and improved ideas—and thereby ripened for the formation of a new and improved National Literature* ?

Another important view of this measure is that which arises from the soundness of its *policy*. The vast influence of language in moulding national feelings and habits, more especially if fraught with superior stores of knowledge, is too little attended to, and too inadequately understood. In this respect we are in the rear of nations, some of which we are apt to despise as semi-barbarous. When the Romans conquered a province, they forthwith set themselves to the task of "Romanizing" it; that is, they strove to create a taste for their own more refined language and literature, and thereby aimed at turning the song, and the romance, and the history—the thought, and the feeling, and fancy of the subjugated people, into Roman channels, which fed and augmented Roman interests. And has Rome not succeeded? Has she not saturated every vernacular dialect with which she came in contact, with terms copiously drawn from her own? Has she not thus perpetuated for ages, after her sceptre moulders in the dust, the magic influence of her character and name? Has she not stamped the impress of her own genius on the literature and the laws of almost every European kingdom, with a fixedness that has remained unchanged up to the present hour? And who can tell to what extent the strength and perpetuity of the Arabic domination is indebted to the Caliph Walid, who issued the celebrated decree that the language of the Koran should be "the universal language of the Muhammadan world, so that from the Indian Archipelago to Portugal, it actually became the language of religion, of literature, of government, and generally of common life?" And who can estimate the extent of influence exerted in India by the famous edict of Akbar,—the greatest and the wisest far of the sovereigns of the House of Timur? Of this edict, a functionary of the British Government remarked, about ten years ago: "The great Akbar established the Persian language as the language of business and of polite literature throughout his extensive dominions, and the popular tongue naturally became deeply impregnated with it. The literature and the language of the country thus became identified with the genius of this dynasty; and this has tended more than any thing else to produce a kind of intuitive veneration for the family, which has long survived even the destruction of their power; and this feeling will continue to exist until we substitute the English language for the Persian, which will dissolve the spell, and direct the ideas and the sympathies of the natives towards their present rulers."

The "until," which *ten* years ago pointed so doubtfully to the *future*, was sooner than could then have been anticipated, converted into an event of *past* history. And to Lord W. Bentinck belonged the honour of this noble achievment. He it was who first resolved to supersede the Persian, in the political department of the public service, by the substitution of the English, and laid the foundation for its becoming the language of record and correspondence in every other department, financial and judicial, as well as political. Having thus by one act created a necessity, and consequently, an increased and yearly increasing demand for English, he next consummated the great design by superadding the education enactment of the 7th March 1835, which tended to provide the requisite means for supplying the demand that had been previously

3rd. The Third question proposed was, Whether the different grades of institutions, essential to a complete system of National Education, ought to be attempted universally and simultaneously?—and if not, on which description of them should our efforts be mainly concentred and our resources mainly expended? On this wide theme my contracted limits will not permit me so much as to enter. One or two general remarks must therefore suffice. *If* there were adequate pecuniary resources and human agency, what philanthropist would not insist on the *whole* being commenced *at once* and *every where?* Hitherto, however, neither resources nor agency can be said to be, in the remotest degree, commensurate with the vastness of the undertaking. It is this which has really divided the sentiments of many of the best friends of India. The available means being utterly inadequate to the efficient advancement of all the different grades of instruction even in limited localities, individuals and Societies have been driven to the necessity of choosing one or other of these grades, as the special object of their patronage and support. Hence some have been all for elementary instruction, and others all for higher instruction—as the best and most effective mean of promoting the same ultimate end, viz. the general enlightenment of the people—according to their varying judgments of the nature and tendency and power of these diverse kinds of instruction, viewed as instruments of intellectual and moral regeneration. But which of these parties, *if* the means were within their reach, would not prefer having *the whole,* rather than *a part?* From a review of the present state of India, the lessons of past experience, and the history of all great national awakenings, I have never scrupled to avow my conviction, that, so far as education is concerned, if our resources in men and money be necessarily circumscribed, it is the part of sound wisdom not to expend these resources in spreading a thin volatile skim of mere elementary instructionism over the surface of a society that is corrupt to the very core; but rather, in increasing the density and volume of our instruction, and restricting

created. And these united acts did and do bid fair to out-rival, in importance, all the edicts of the Roman, the Arabic, and the Mogul conquerors, inasmuch as the English language is infinitely more fraught with the seeds of truth in every province of literature, science, and religion, than the languages of Italy, Arabia, or Persia, ever were. Hence it is that we venture to hazard the opinion, that Lord W. Bentinck's double act for the encouragement and diffusion of the English language and English Literature in the East, confirmed as it has now been by Lord Auckland, will, long after contemporaneous party interests, and individual jealousies, and ephemeral rivalries have sunk into oblivion, be hailed by a grateful and benefitted posterity as *the grandest master-stroke of sound policy* that has yet characterized the administration of the British Government in India.

it to a narrower sphere and a more *select* number, with the distinct view, however, of ultimately and more speedily reaching the *torpid and ignorant many* through the instrumentality of the *awakened and enlightened few.* This is substantially the scheme which your Lordship has advocated. And on one supposition, and *one alone*, may it be held to be substantially *right*, viz. that *the educational resources of Governmant cannot possibly be increased beyond the present amount—there being some plainly insuperable obstacle in the way of such increase.* This once granted, your Lordship's position is on the whole impregnable; this not granted, your Lordship's position is no more unassailable than a rampart of straw before an invasion of fire. But who *can* grant such a position? Who can admit the existence of such insuperable obstacle—such physical impossibility? Who can allow that in the Presidency of Bengal, with its revenue of *thirteen millions*, the paltry yearly pittance of *twenty-four thousand*, is all which it ought to yield to the first and greatest of national objects—the general education of the people? Who would stake the residuum of credit, which may often belong to a bankrupt character, on the distributive justice of the award, that *less than one five-hundreth part* of the revenue of an empire is a fitting proportion to be lavished in conferring the chiefest boon of civilization on the millions who, with the sweat of their brow and the labour of their hands, contribute that revenue? As things are at present constituted, money, money is the sinews of the machinery of moral not less than of physical warfare. Why then should the Indian Government not supply more adequate means, and thus raise on the plains of Asia, one monument of wise and enlightened statesmanship—more precious than whole piles of "barbaric pearl and gold," and more lasting far than all fabrics of "marble or of brass?" The amiable author of a recent "Treatise on popular education in India" suggests that—as the Government have, within the last few years, "constituted a road fund throughout the North Western Provinces, by a subscription of one per cent. on the revenue on the part of the *revenue payers*, which exempts them from ever being called on for labourers for the repair of the high roads, and the full benefit of which is secured to the payers, by a rule, that allows of no appropriation of them for works beyond the precincts of the districts in which they are collected"—so, might a permanent education fund be established, proportionate to the wealth and population of each province, by "the surrender in return of one per cent. of the revenue on the part of the *revenue receivers*, for educational purposes." Well might such a sum, or *one hundredth part* of their immense revenue, be pronounced the very *minimum* amount that India—sunk, depressed, benighted India—has a *right* to expect or demand from her rulers, for securing one main ingredient of the panacea of her intellectual, moral, and social, maladies?

You write, my Lord, and you write well about the desirableness and necessity of providing elementary and other class books as preparatory to more extended instruction; but depend upon it, that, without supplying more enlarged means, all that has been written or recommended on this head must evaporate into airy bubbles—*promises without fulfilment—resolves without execution.* You are also said to have given expression to the noble sentiment, that you "would rather conquer the jungle with the plough, plant villages where tigers have possession, and spread commerce and navigation upon waters which have hitherto been barren, than take one inch of territory from your neighbours, or sanction the march of armies, or the acquisition of kingdoms." But has it not occurred to you, that, while the great mass of the people lie steeped in the very slough of ignorance and superstition, sluggish apathy and intractable prejudice, such a glowing manifesto of your sentiments and wishes must remain but a gorgeous vision, as barren as the jungles to be ploughed, or the waters to be navigated? And has it not forced itself upon you, in your meditative and forecasting moods, that one of the most effective ways of turning the bright vision into actual realization is, to send the schoolmaster every where abroad, to scatter with no niggardly hand those seeds of new principles and ideas, which are the awakeners of latent energies, the heralds of coming change, and the precursors of a harvest of universal improvement? Often have we admired the boldness of the conception of a celebrated statesman, who, when taunted, on occasion of the last invasion of Spain by France, as to the diminution of British influence and the declension of British interests in the counsels of Europe, which that event seemed to indicate, rose up in the British Senate, and in substance made the magnificent reply:—" While others were torturing their minds on account of the supposed disturbance of the equilibrium of power among the European states, I looked at the possessions of Spain on the other side of the Atlantic; I looked at the Indies; and I called in the new world to redress the balance of the old." What is there, my Lord, to prevent you from attempting to emulate, in a much higher and nobler sense, the magnanimous spirit of this reply? The power of calling forth adequate means for the machinery of a National Education must rest somewhere. Should your Lordship be the depository thereof,—in the name of the millions that are cradled in penury, nursed in superstition, reared in ignorance, live in joylessness, and die in black despair, alike unknowing and unknown,—in the name of these unhappy millions we would implore you to exert it. Should it lodge in still higher quarters,—from the urgency and conclusiveness of your Lordship's representations might emanate the influence which alone would prove sufficiently potent to evoke it. In either case, should your Lordship fully awake, and arise, and brace on your armour, in successfully pleading the cause and establishing the means of true Indian enlightenment, to you might redound the glory of an achievment, the like of which has not yet been recorded in the annals of Asia; to you might belong the transcendant honour, in reference to the future triumphs of education in the East, of being privileged to shew, that, at a time when many were upbraiding the Parent State with the diminution of influence at home, and others were racking their ingenuity in adjusting the disturbed equilibrium of its power abroad, you looked at the vast but dark dominions of Brahma on this side the great ocean; you looked at the Indies; and called in a new empire to redress the balance of the old.

A. D.

NOTE..

It is but courteous and just to acknowledge the spontaneous and unsolicited favour of the *Courier* and the *Englishman*, in republishing my former letter; as well as in attracting the attention of their readers to the subject by their own Editorial comments. On one who possesses the "mens sibi conscia recti"—on one who is a lover of truth and not a lover of controversy,—the commendations of friends and the strictures of opponents must fail to operate with either an elevating or a depressing influence. His grand stay and support being the testimony of his own conscience, and an assured sense of the approbation of his God, he can afford to expose himself as fearlessly to the buffetings of the "pitiless storm" as to the whisperings of the playful breezes. Least of all is such a one to be moved by the criticisms of those who are *universal* critics by profession. Though their honor and respectability forbid the license and the latitude which have always been accorded to painters and to poets, still, the diversity of ends which the conductors of public journals have to pursue, the multiplicity of opposing interests which they are called upon to adjust, the boundless variety of individual and party feelings and opinions which they are expected to consult, and, if possible, to regulate;—all seem to demand the largest allowable license and latitude; and in their professional exercise thereof no one has any right to complain. Be this as it may, all truly enlightened governments have ultimately yielded and legalized "the liberty of the press," as conservative of right and repressive of wrong. And as no press ever struggled more manfully for its own liberty, than that of India, so none has, on the whole, ever less abused that liberty when conceded. In this respect the sentence of Sir J. C. Hobhouse must be regarded as downright, though perhaps in his happy ignorance of Indian affairs, unintentional calumny. As to the general average ability wherewith it is conducted no candid or capable judge can honestly say that it is beneath mediocrity ; while, from time to time, articles do issue therefrom which would not discredit the columns of the ablest journal in the British empire. On the present occasion, I have no room (as some of the friends of native improvement suppose) for complaint of trespass beyond its legtimate province. Should one journalist be found to display his eminent and versatile talents in making " the worse appear the better reason," or in inditing strains of serio-comic wit and waggery, when the subject might seem to challenge the gravest discussion ; or, should another exhibit his usual clear-headedness, not in distinguishing but in confounding things that differ, or pour forth the imbecilities of a garrulous old age where we might have expected at least a temporary hallucination of wisdom and common sense ;—still, if professional purposes are to be answered thereby, no one has a right to complain :—it is all in the way of prescriptive privilege. Should the readiest and the coarsest instruments of attack be employed,—such as the throwing of suspicion on any statement by asserting or insinuating that it is *assumed without proof*, when in reality it no more needed proof than the fact, that Calcutta is situated on the banks of the Ganges, or the axiom, that the whole is greater than a part ;—the pronouncing that to be declamation rather than reasoning, which consists in clenching still faster the nail of sound principle, which enlightened *reason* has revealed with almost the force of intuition ;—the misapplying words in calling bad things by good names, and good things by bad names—honouring the cravings of an ignorant superstitious multitude with the title of citizen rights, and the gratifying of their most suicidal wishes as justice and charity—denouncing that as heat and violence, railing and extravagance, which is really nothing more than simple zeal and earnestness in the cause of God and in the promotion of the *best* interests of man; nothing more than that " sharp rebuking" of error which the real friend of truth is bound without respect of persons to administer, and that corresponding strength of language which a holy indignation of necessity inspires ;—the glozing over what is substantially untrue with just enough of the semblance of truth to give it a plausible aspect, like the coiner who overspreads a piece of lead or copper, or any other of the baser metals, with so much of genuine silver or gold as may make the counterfeit pass ;—the admitting, that the cause is a good one and the side chosen the right one, but neutralizing the admission by the trite remark of the dull and phlegmatic, that the *tone* is not what it should have been; as if it were *rational*, to macadamize one's tone into an unvarying monotony on every subject, or *possible*, to shape one's tone into the taste and liking of every one, without ending by having no tone at all ;—the pronouncing, as the effect of prejudiced partisanship, the advocacy of any clearly defined set of doctrines, as if perfection consisted in a rational and responsible being's not having any fixed principles of his own at all, but in his coolly holding up to view the conflicting opinions of others in the balance of indifference, while to the critic belonged a royal title of exemption from the charge of partisanship in bitterly assailing the sentiments of any of the parties according to his good pleasure, and in vehemently upholding the assumed infallibility of his own ;—the skilful selecting and transposing of isolated expressions and passages, which apart from the context tend to throw a false colouring over the general views of an antagonist ;—the ingenious magnifying of one, or two, or more, very subordinate points, and the concentrating upon them, in their dilated form, the exclusive attention of the reader, as if these really embodied the main points in debate ;—the misconceiving or misrepresenting of the nature and tendency of an author's principles, as well as the scope and tenor of his statements and arguments, and the subsequent valorous demolition of such misconception or misrepresentation, as if it were really an annihilation of the principles, statements, and arguments originally so misconceived, misrepresented, or caricatured:—should any or all of these, and such like blunderbusses, from the magazine of scholastic controversy, be preferred to the more finely tempered weapons in the armoury of truth and righteousness—still, no one has a right to complain; since it is all in the discharge of a professional vocation which indisputably admits of as unlimited a resort to the arts of strategy as the profession of war.

In the present instance, I have addressed a letter to Lord Auckland condemnatory of one of his public measures,—not from any private or personal feelings of a hostile nature, as I can call God to witness that there are none such—but simply because, in my reason and conscience, I do seriously believe that that measure is *essentially wrong in principle,* and must prove *essentially injurious in practice.* There is much in the personal and official character of Lord Auckland which it is impossible not to admire—much too in his public administration which may cause his name and memory to be cherished amid the grateful thanks of a benefited posterity. But how can, how ought the admission of all this to preclude one from reprobating any special or particular measure of his, which may be seen to be fraught with mistaken complaisance, ruinous concession, and mischievous results? That the measure in question is of this description, I am more thoroughly convinced than ever from the utterly futile attempts that have been made to prove the contrary. Considerable noise and dust have, indeed been raised among some of the comparatively insignificant outworks of my position; and a cloud of darkness has thus been made to envelope it, so as *momentarily* to shroud it from the spectator's view. But the main citadel itself has not yet been touched; far less shaken or scathed; and I am bold to say it will be found unassailable by the combined attacks of all this world's artillery. Secure in the impregnable strength of that citadel I do not require to sally forth and grapple with every mere skirmishing invader on the dust-covered plains:—no; I can afford calmly to take my stand on the watch-tower of observation; and coolly to gaze at any number of allied foes expending their utmost strength and best resources on some of the petty outworks; and when they have retired, wearied and exhausted with their fruitless effort, I can descend and quietly survey my stable ramparts with a more jubilant feeling than ever of security from danger, and of thankfulness to those, the failure of whose most vigorous assaults has only furnished new proof of the indomitable strength of that security. Here, then, are the leading or salient points, in the citadel of my strength, which may now shoot out their heads more conspicuously than ever, after the dust and smoke of mere out-work gladiatorship have, by a process of self-exhaustion, vanished away.

1st. *Up to March 7th,* 1835, *the open, avowed, and leading* (though not exclusive) *object of the British Government in India was, the inculcation of Oriental Literature and Science through the media of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian, in the higher instruction of native youth belonging to the privileged and influential classes of Hindus and Muhammadans.* Who has presumed to gainsay the correctness of my statements on this head? Not one.

2nd. *The great object of Lord W. Bentinck's enactment of the 7th March,* 1835, *was to supersede the use of Oriental Literature and Science through the media of the learned languages, in the higher instruction of native youth; and to substitute European Literature and Science through the medium of the English language instead.* Who has ventured to call in question the truth of my representation on this head? Not one.

3rd. *One of the two great definite measures of Lord Auckland's minute is to rescind the abrogatory clauses of Lord W. Bentinck's enactment; and to restore Oriental Literature and Science through the media of the learned languages, in the higher education of the privileged classes of native youth, to exactly the same position of ascendancy which they occupied previous to the 7th March,* 1835. Who has dared to deny that this is a faithful announcement of the purport and design of one portion of his Lordship's Minute? Not one.

4th. *Such an act of restoration was wholly gratuitous—wholly uncalled for—either by the promptings of generosity, or the claims of justice, or the exigencies of state policy.* Who has had the hardihood fairly to grapple with, or attempt to invalidate the force of any one of the statements and arguments by which this proposition was demonstrated ? Not one.

5th. *But not only was the act of restoration passed, without any valid grounds or reasons whatsoever in its favour ; it was passed in the face and in spite of reasons of resistless cogency—reasons, the strength of which may be concentrated in* THE GRAND AND NOTORIOUS FACT, *that the Orientalism, to learn which students are hired and to teach which professors are salaried out of the revenues of the state, abounds throughout with radical errors and fatal untruths ;—that these errors and untruths—things false in history and chronology, in geography and astronomy, in logic and metaphysics, in civil and criminal law, in morals and religion—are systematically inculcated on the minds of thousands of unsuspecting youth, not as the fabling fictions of poesy or the dreams of a vain philosophy, but as truths, or absolute verities, the belief of which is enforced by the overawing influence of sages and the uncontrollable authority of the gods!* Now, who has ventured, except by the vulgar arts of evasion or abusive epithets, to impugn the substantial accuracy of this proposition? Not one. And if no one has, or dares, *then do I challenge the whole world, on any principles of reason, or justice, or goodness, or common sense, to controvert the grand inference which I deduced therefrom,* viz., THAT, FOR A GOVERNMENT, OR PUBLIC SOCIETY, OR PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS, TO EXPEND THEIR RESOURCES IN INCULCATING ON THE MINDS OF NATIVE YOUTH, AS TRUTHS—AS ABSOLUTE OR EVEN SACRED VERITIES—WHAT THEY THEMSELVES BELIEVE, AND CANNOT BUT BELIEVE, TO BE ERRORS AND LIES, IS DEGRADING, IGNOMINIOUS, SINFUL, AND CRUEL !

These then were my *original* positions ; these are my positions *still.* And out of any one of them I do again challenge the whole world to drive me by any fair weapons of argument or fact, reason or principle, justice or goodness. In settling a question involving principles of such paramount importance, to talk about deferring to the opinions of blinded multitudes, is to prattle worse than nonsense. The world is not yet so desperately depraved as to conclude, without a manly protest, that opinions are to be estimated, *not by weight or intrinsic value,* but by *number and quantity.* As one cubic inch of gold would outweigh a thousand cubic inches of froth or chaff, and in value out-balance ten thousand times ten thousand cubic inches of the latter ; so ought a *single* opinion, grounded on enlightened reason and sober experience, and substantiated by the authority of Revelation, to out-weigh, both in *weight* and *worth, all* the opinions of *all* the blinded and superstitious multitudes in the world. As to yielding to the wishes of deluded men, so as to grant them what we know, intellectually and morally and religiously, to be *poison to their souls,* it were only an exemplification, in a way far more injurious, of the kindness of the man, who would yield to the wishes of ignorant children, when demanding a phial of tempting sulphuric acid to drink from, or a groupe of gaudy speckled snakes to play with ! Verily the tender mercies of the men of expediency are cruel !

Lord Auckland's Minute on Native Education.

Letter III.

Oh! for the coming of that glorious time,
When, prizing knowledge as her noblest wealth
And best protection, this imperial realm,
While she exacts allegiance, shall admit
An obligation on her part to *teach*
Them who are born to serve her and obey;
Binding herself by statute to secure
For *all* the children whom her soil maintains,
The *rudiments of letters*; and to inform
The mind *with moral and religious truth.*

Wordsworth.

My Lord,

The age of *religious* policy is gone. Largely have most of our European statesmen imbibed and faithfully have they laboured to exemplify the principles of Machiavelli—that arch-apostle of expediency, who, according to the profound Schlegel, was "the first that introduced into modern and Christian Europe, the fashion of reasoning and deciding on politics exactly as if Christianity had had no existence, or rather as if there had been no such thing as a Deity or moral justice in the world." Was it in order to prove to India and the world that you are not, in this respect, behind the anti-theistic liberality of your compeers, that your Lordship felt impelled to produce a Minute which has been already characterized as "remarkable above all, for its education without religion, its plans without a providence, its ethics without a God?" Not only are the most precious and significant of all terms in the vocabulary of human speech,—"Religion," "Providence," "God,"—not once introduced into the body of the Minute; but the grand and sublime realities, of which these are the verbal symbols, are *not even so much as once alluded to!* If the dissertation had been one concerning the "cultivation and growth of Cotton," the omission might be pardonable; though even then, a truly noble and high-minded statesman would not feel that the soundness of his reasoning was marred, or the effect of his appeal diminished, by a passing allusion to the God of Providence. But in a treatise on National Education, whose main object and design is, or ought to be, "the moulding and shaping of human souls—those centres of infinite action and inheritors of infinite existence"—studiously and systematically to omit all reference to *God, religion*, and *providence*, is an immensely greater parallogism than, in a treatise on National Agriculture, amid notices of cattle and wages and spades and ploughs, would be the omission of all reference to the nature and capabilities of different soils, and seeds, and seasons. But all this, you may reply, is methodism—sheer methodism—ranting fanaticism—steaming from the excited brains of ecclesiastics—fit enough for the atmosphere of a conventicle or school of sectarian bigotry;—but wholly unfit for the cabinets of Princes or the policies of State. Not so fast, my Lord; not quite so fast. Before me lie certain documents on the subject of National Education. In one of these it is declared, that "undoubtedly the subject of religion is of paramount importance in education"—that "the objects to which attention should be directed were, in the first place, religious instruction; in the second, general education; in the third, moral training," &c.—and that "the most simple rules of religion and habits of morality might be taught to children." In another, that "the school is not viewed as a means of conveying useful knowledge only, but is established as a powerful auxiliary in the improvement of morals"—that the great end of all primary instruction is, "the exercise of the social and the Christian graces"—that the great design of "the improved establishments for education" is to "arrest the progress of immorality," and that "the pure principles of Christian and social virtues may, by their means, be implanted and nurtured in the hearts of future generations"—with a prayer that they "may yield, under the divine blessing, the fruits which they seem to promise!" In a third, that "the first vocation of every school is, to train up the young in such a manner as to implant in their minds a knowledge of the relation of man to God, and at the same time to excite and foster both the will and the strength to govern their lives after the spirit and the precepts of Christianity"—that "schools must early train children to piety"—that, "in every school, therefore, the occupations of the day shall begin and end with a short prayer and some pious reflections, which the master must contrive to render so varied and impressive that a moral exercise shall never degenerate into an affair of habit"—and that "all the solemnities of schools shall be interspersed with songs of a religious character!" In a fourth, that such a one is "too enlightened a statesman to think that true popular instruction can exist without moral education, or popular morality, without religion" —that "popular education ought therefore to be religious, that is to say, Christian; for there is no such thing as religion in general; in Europe, and *in our day*, religion means Christianity; let our popular schools, then, be Christian; let them be so entirely and earnestly"—that "we must lay the foundations of moral life in the souls of our young masters, and therefore we must place religious instruction, that is, to speak most distinctly, Christian instruction, in the first rank in the education of our normal schools." Who will deny that these are very strong and emphatic assertions as to the *necessity of religion forming a primary and integral part of any general system of education?* But who are the assertors?—Are they Ecclesiastics, who, by education, creed and habit, are sectarian and bigotted—constituting a narrow educational sect of their own? No such thing. The first extract is from the speech of Lord John Russel, the ministerial leader of the House of Commons, in February 1839, when propounding the views of the British Cabinet on National Education. The second, from the regulations of the Government of the Hague respecting public instruction in Holland, over which department for years presided the Baron Falck, one of the profoundest statesmen in Europe. The third, from the educational laws of the Prussian Government, chiefly compiled under the direction of the celebrated Baron Von Altenstein. The fourth, from the official recommendation of Victor Cousin, the French Commissioner of Education, to the Minister of Public Instruction. After this, who can, with any regard to reason, consistency, or historic fact, declare that those who insist on making *religion an essential part of education* form a narrow, bigotted, educational sect?—An educational sect indeed!—An educational sect, composed of the Governments of England, Holland, Prussia and France, with all in every land who love the souls of men, and desire to promote their present and everlasting welfare! If this be an educational sect, it is, beyond all doubt, the largest and most influential in the world—in strength of numbers and of principles, vastly surpassing all other educational sects put together! And why should the Governor General of India be either afraid or ashamed of being classified in the same educational category with Lord John Russel, Baron Falck, Baron Von Altenstein, or Victor Cousin, Peer of France?

On this, as on all other practical subjects, my Lord, the true Christian has a very speedy and summary method of ascertaining the path of duty. As a framer and administrator of Law, your Lordship cannot fail to understand the *rationale* of the procedure—however you may dissent from acknowledging the standard of ultimate appeal. When the Supreme Legislative power in a state has arrived at its own conclusions as to right and wrong, and has promulgated these, in the form of statutory law, what is expected to be the duty of every loyal subject? Is it not to shape his conduct and dealings in strict conformity to the law so ordained? And if, in a case of trespass, the subject pled that he did not choose to consult the statute-book; or, if he did, that he did not choose to act in accordance therewith; as he could not bring himself to approve of its provisions;—in short, that, overlooking the existence of the statute-book altogether, or disregarding its decisions, he choose to act agreeably to the dictates of his own reason and the suggestions of his own private conscience:—what would your Lordship, as the executor of law, respond to such pleading? Would you not at once say, and would not the whole of a well-ordered community applaud you for saying, that such pleading could not be listened to or sustained or tolerated for a single moment—that such conduct had in it all the germs of disloyalty and rebelliousness—and that, were every man thus to become a law unto himself, society would be convulsed, and its stateliest bulwarks whirled into the eddies of a universal anarchy? Now, my Lord, there is in our possession another and a higher code of Legislation than any which has emanated from the Princes or Rulers of earth:—It is the Bible—the statute-book of heaven—designed in mercy by God himself, not only for directing sinful men to the fount of pardon, through the death of our adorable Immanuel, but also for the regulation and guidance of their conduct in all the practical affairs of life. Does it not then follow as a resistless inference, that all who acknowledge themselves as subjects of the heavenly King are *bound* to consult, and walk conformably to, the statute-book of His revealed will and purposes? And if any refuse to do so—preferring the counsels of their own mind and the promptings of their own inclinations—must they not be denounced and condemned as rebels and anarchists in God's spiritual universe? In a question, therefore, *so essentially practical* as that of *education*, involving as it does so many of the varied interests of time and eternity, my own resolve, for my own guidance, would be to refer at once to the Bible as the standard of infallible authority. And thence should it be proved, both by precept and example, that the will of Heaven clearly and indisputably is, that "the fear of Lord" must be taught as, "the *beginning* of knowledge" —that "a child ought to be trained up in the way he should walk"—that all young persons, over whom we have any influence or control, should be "nourished in the discipline and instruction of the Lord"—that, as we would nurture their bodies by the two-fold process of applying wholesome medicine to remove what is noxious and of supplying wholesome aliment to strengthen the vital functions, so, should we nourish their souls by the two-fold process of administering wholesome discipline for the repression of the very first germinations of the latent seeds of evil in the heart, and of furnishing wholesome instruction which might develope, purify, and ennoble all the faculties:—should I thus succeed in satisfying myself as to what the revealed will of the omniscient God was, I could not feel at liberty to swerve therefrom, in order to meet the partizans of a god-less expediency,—no, not by a single hair's breadth—though the united clamours of a whole world lying in wickedness were raised up against me. With the authority of Heaven on my side, I could not help denouncing *Education without religion* as contrary to the will of God, and doing violence to the morally responsible constitution of man. I could not help repudiating an Education without religion—an Education, *not based chiefly, though not wholly,* on religion—an Education, not having religion for its *chief, though not exclusive, end*—as no real, no thorough, no proper Education at all. But I feel, my Lord, that in addressing you, I cannot adopt the same compendious and decisive course. From your Lordship's uniform extreme *reserve* on the subject of religion, as well as from the total absence of any of those *external* evidences by which men *ordinarily* authenticate to others their attachment thereto, I have no means of knowing whether the Bible be a book, to whose authority your Lordship would be disposed implicitly to defer; or, indeed, to defer at all. I have no certain means of knowing whether, if it happened to be named at the Council Board, it might not be even sneered at—or whether the very sound of the term "Christianity" might not call forth some contemptuous or scornful remark. In this case, I have no alternative but to descend to a lower platform—and to plead the desirableness and the necessity of religious instruction, as an essential part of all sound education, on grounds which admit of an appeal to principles that may be held in common.

1st. To you, as a politician and statesman, I might first appeal, on the ground of the *utter dangerousness of know-*

ledge without religion to the welfare of individuals and the stability of social order. On this subject, hear the voice of one of the most eloquent men in England:—"We admit," says Henry Melvil of Camberwell, "in all its breadth, the truth of the saying, that knowledge is power. It is power, aye, a fatal and a perilous. Neither the might of armies, nor the schemes of politicians, avails any thing against this power. The schoolmaster is the grand instrument for revolutionizing a world. Let knowledge be generally diffused, and *the fear of God be kept in the background,* and you have done the same for a country as if you laid the gun-powder under its every institution. There need but be the igniting of a match, and the land shall be strewed with the fragments of all that is glorious and venerable. But nevertheless, we would not have knowledge chained up in the college and monastery, because its arm is endowed with such sinew and nerve. We would not put forth a finger to uphold a system, which we believed based on the ignorance of the population. We only desire to see the knowledge of God advanced as the vanguard of the host of information. We are sure that an intellectual must be a mighty peasantry. But we are equally sure that an intellectual and a godless will demonstrate all their might by the ease with which they crush whatever most adorns and elevates a kingdom!" Ah, but this is the sentence of an ecclesiastic! True; but it is *based on the concurrent testimony of all history.* This, if my limits admitted of it, could readily be *proved.* Meanwhile, it may be refreshing to your Lordship to learn the verdict of men whose opinions never savoured of ecclesiasticism, far less, of methodism. That *religion* is absolutely necessary for the organization and maintenance of the fabric of Society, is a truth which almost all in every age, who have sounded the depths of the human spirit, in its varied wants, cravings and appetencies, have been constrained to proclaim. The acknowledgment of it is a concession which has often *been extorted* from the practical penetrative sagacity of men, who, in their own lives, gave fatal evidence that they would falsify it, *if they could.* "That religion," remarks Lord Bolingbroke, "is necessary to strengthen, and that it contributes to the support of government, cannot be denied without contradicting reason and experience both." Again, "to make government effectual to all the good purposes of it, there *must be* a religion; this religion must be national, and this national relgion must be maintained in reputation and reverence." The iron-hearted Robespierre, in that ever-memorable conclave which voted that there was no God, could boldly protest against the *political* inexpediency of the decision; exclaiming, "If there were no God; a wise government would invent one." Napoleon, according to the authority of a modern French statesman, was heard on one occasion to declare;—"No society can exist without morals, and there can be *no sound morals without religion.* Hence, there is no firm or durable bulwark for a state, but what *religion* constructs; let therefore *every school throughout the land assume the precepts of religion as the basis of instruction.* Experience has torn the veil from our eyes." Well might the hero of the French Revolution declare that experience had torn the veil from *wise* men's eyes; seeing that it was "knowledge without religion" which prepared that mine of combustibles that exploded with the violence of a volcano, and swept over the land with more than the desolating career of a raging hurricane. But even experience, it would seem, has failed to tear the veil from the eyes of our Eastern Politicians. On the all-important subject of religion they appear to act, as if they trembled lest they should go half as far, or admit half as much, as Bolingbroke, Robespierre, or Napoleon!

2nd. Without dwelling any further on this view of the subject at present, let us pass on to another.

In obedience to the divine command, and from a comprehensive view of the wants and necessities of man, we insist upon it that children—all children, to whom God in His Providence has given us unconstrained access—should be trained up in the knowledge of God and of salvation. Here it is that those, who, in opposition to the divine command, and from a narrow view of the wants and necessities of man, would exclude such instruction from the education of youth, loudly demur. Because we so resolutely insist on the propriety and necessity of the moral and religious part of the Educational course, they heap upon us sundry epithets from the polite pages of their complimentary vocabulary. They brand us as *short-sighted, narrow-minded, bigotted,* and, above all, *illiberal*—while to themselves they appropriate the exclusive appellations of *far-seeing, large-minded, catholic, and liberal* men. Now it requires but a grain of common sense, well exercised, to perceive the fallacy of all this. Represented in its proper light, it must at once be seen that the charge ought to be reciprocated, the statement reversed. Instead of being sectarian or illiberal, we must maintain that in its highest and best sense, the advocates of moral and religious instruction, and these alone, are truly catholic—truly liberal. We must, conversely, maintain that, in its bitterest and severest sense, these oppositionists, and these alone, are truly sectarian—truly illiberal. Now for the proof:—The subject before us is *the education of the young.* Without dwelling on a *name,* the very sound of which has magic charms for some, and the very echo of whose sound is like the hoarse murmur of some gaunt spectre in the ears of others, we may simply ask, What is the true and proper import of the term *education?* What is it, except, what its very etymology fully implies, a name for the act of *educing, bringing out,* or *drawing forth* into visible manifestation any powers or principles whatsoever that may be dormant or concealed—and the bestowing upon these, when so manifested, that direction which is suited to their nature, and to the design of their being. Applied to the mind of man, what does it, rather what ought it ever to denote? What, but an educing, a drawing out, or simultaneous development of *all* those varied powers, capacities, or susceptibilities, which characterize the soul as a spiritual being, contradistinguished from sensible or material existences; and a guiding and directing of these, when so developed, to the fulfilment of the great ends of their being.

The question then is, what are the powers, capacities, or susceptibilities of the human soul? To render the charge of partiality impossible, we ask the reader to look—not to any of those works which, by some, might be repudiated as savouring of methodism—but simply to look at the standard writings of the most approved authors on this subject, for a reply;—the writings of our greatest masters in the Baconian school of mental science—the writings of our Lockes, and Reids, and Stewarts, and Browns. How do they, on the grounds of a rigid inductive philosophy, spread out before us, the map—the geographical chart—if we may use the expression—of the human mind? Under different denomitions, such as the *understanding* and the *will,* the *intellectual* and the *active* powers, the *mental* states and the *emotions,* do they not emphatically assure us, that the powers and faculties of the mind must be divided into *two* great classes, that are not only specifically but generically distinct? For the sake of convenience, these two distinct classes may be briefly termed—the *intellectual* and the *moral.* To the former belong memory, imagination, reason, and all other *mental* powers. To the latter, belong love, joy, hope, veneration, and all other emotions, desires, and longings,—the aggregate of which constitutes the *moral and religious* nature of man. What, then, in reference to the human mind, can be meant by a full, complete and liberal *education?* What can—what ought—to be meant, except an education, which aims at *bringing out,* or developing, and regulating *all* its powers, by the systematic direction of *all* of these to their proper objects? Is this, then, the aim of those who are so vauntful in their exclusive professions of *liberality*? No; no; quite the reverse. By confining themselves wholly to *secular* instruction, they address *chiefly*, and for the most part, *only*, the *intellectual* portion of man's being. In other words, they fixedly resolve to bring out or develope only *a half*, or rather a *fraction*,—and that the least important half or fraction,—of the powers and faculties of the human soul? Call ye *this*, liberality, in its true sense of bountiful and generous fulness? Nay; it is the grossest and most ruinous illiberality. We, on the other hand, would come forward and resolve to address, not a half, not a fragmentary portion, but *the whole* of man's spiritual being? The *intellectual* powers and faculties we would resolve to develope, direct, and cultivate as thoroughly as the *merely* secular educationists ever can. We would, at the same time, resolve simultaneously to address the other and more important portion of man's spiritual being. We would resolve, in humble dependance on the divine blessing, to develope, cultivate, and regulate all the *moral* and *religious* powers and susceptibilities of man. Call ye *this*, illiberality? Nay; it is liberality in its largest, most godlike sense. The purely secular educationists, in this only just view of the subject, are demonstrably the narrow-minded, the parsimonious, the sectarian, the illiberal, because their system of education is at best but a *half* or a *fractional* system—which, under the false pretence of liberality, would rob a man of the due development and right use of the best half of his soul's capabilities. Those, on the other hand, who insist on blending secular with moral and religious instruction, are as demonstrably the large-minded, the bountiful, the catholic, the truly liberal, because their system of education is a whole, or integral system—embracing as it does, and endeavouring to develope, and direct *all* the powers and susceptibilities of the human soul. The *former*, to whatever extent followed out, never can, in the nature of things, go beyond a species of *meagre demi-education*. The *latter*, followed out to its legitimate extent, and that alone can ever constitute a *really comprehensive and complete education*—leading out all the powers of the soul so as to include, without being unduly absorbed by, the interests of time—bracing them to resist the pelting of the storms of life—and causing them to send up lively shoots towards the heaven of heavens.

3rd. Not only is the exclusively secular scheme, now impugned, partial and illiberal; but even in *perfectly* attaining its own professed objects, it must prove *utterly inefficacious*.

Let us illustrate this by a parallel representation. Suppose a large district of country, still in a wilderness state, is to be brought under cultivation. Below, are extended plains, bestrewn with marshy swamps; above, are towering eminences mantled with waving forests. The colonists, instead of simultaneously draining the marshes that stagnate beneath and clearing the forests that wave on high, direct *all* their efforts exclusively to the latter. What is the natural—the necessary result? No sooner have the sloping declivities and the elevated table lands begun to exhibit symptoms of fruitfulness calculated to inspire the most animating hopes, than the noxious exhalations borne from beneath on the wings of the wind, smite the husbandmen with pestilential fevers, and their crops with blighting mildew. Human life is thus deprived of more than half its enjoyment, and the soil denuded of more than half its fruitfulness. Whence the cause of so disastrous an issue? It is wholly attributable to the system of *half cultivation!* If the colonists, instead of exclusively confining their labours to the upper regions, had *cotemporaneously* applied their resources to the draining of the fens, bogs and marshes, in the valleys below,—they would have desiccated the reservoirs of noxious exhalation—they would have preserved the health of the labourers, and been enriched with the full,—the unblighted—produce, of the upper fields. Yea more, they would have more than doubled that produce by the rich accession of the luxuriant returns of the plains below.

Precisely parallel is the case with the husbandry, or what the great father of modern philosophy, has significantly termed "the Georgics of the mind"—the immortal soul being the soil, the skilful teacher the instrument of culture, the Father of spirits the Husbandman. Here we have to deal practically with *two* great divisions—the *intellectual* and the *moral*—bearing a striking analogy to the two great divisions of an unreclaimed territory. Sin hath entered into both. Sin has blinded the understanding and vitiated the judgment, and all kindred powers. But it is in the moral department, that sin has committed the most frightful ravages—converting that once most fertile region into an unsightly morass of evil passions, appetites, and desires,—the most loathsome and abominable. Now, how do the secular educationists set about the process of cultivation? They propose to cultivate, what they reckon the upper, the superior, or intellectual department; *and that alone.* Can they *fully* succeed in the *exclusive* attempt? Impossible. By neglecting altogether the moral, which they reckon the inferior, but which in reality is the richer and more fertile department, of the two—there will, *in most cases,* speedily ascend such noxious fumes from indulged passions, unbridled appetites, and uncurbed desires, as must becloud, darken, and paralyse all the intellectual powers—thus rendering the cultivation of them, in a great measure abortive; and the legitimate products of them, nought but a blighted harvest. Or if—in cases where the equilibrium of the mental faculties is disturbed, by the presence of some one of preponderant force,—full scope be given to the predominant power, at the expense of all the rest, they may succeed in making one, all memory; and another, all imagination—one, a great metaphysican; another, a great astronomer;—but assuredly they never will—they never can—by such unequal and disproportionate development, suceed in making, a *great man*. Failure, failure, failure, must thus be emblazoned on the standard of every enterprise in *mere* intellectual husbandry. How different *our* proposed method of procedure! Availing ourselves of *all* the instrumentalities put within our reach, whether connected with Jehovah's works or Jehovah's word, we would resolve at once, in humble reliance on His omnipotent grace, to carry on simultaneously a double process of cultivation, in the two great departments of our intellectual and moral nature. And when, through the divine blessing on the means employed, the fruits of righteousness have been made to spring forth from the reclaimed heart and purified affections, then will the intellect, no longer tainted by the foul breath of appetite and passion, expand itself, with unchecked freedom, and in the fairest and stateliest proportions—exhibiting to all around the bloom and the fruit of sanctified intelligence. This, this, is the natural, the noble result of the scheme of double culture, which, in obedience to the divine command, we would purpose to pursue—a scheme, which promises to realize, in a far higher degree, the intellectual expansion exclusively aimed at by the secular educationists; while, it equally promises to realize, by God's blessing, all the grandeur and dignity of that moral and religious culture which is aside from their aim, and utterly beyond the reach of their attainment.

4th. Suppose the *great end* of the secular educationists could be attained—as fully attained it never can be, if *exclusively* pursued—it were *comparatively* but a *poor and a drivelling end.* To aim at the *exclusive* cultivation of man's intellectual powers by the presentation of objects unconnected with morals or religion—objects, that are temporal, sensible, visible, perishable, is to treat him at once with cruelty and contempt. It is to treat him purely as a creature of time and of sense. It is to deal with him on the same physical utilitarian principle that we would with some tractable animal, or beast of burden, which we wished to rear for some humble but necessary drudgery. It is to attempt to fit him to play his part profitably on the stage of time, and then leave him to expire miserably like the brutes that perish. It is practically to shape, fashion, and handle him like any other temporary machine; as if his soul's immortality were a lie, and heaven and hell nothing better than the wildest inventions of heathenism, or the idlest fictions of the poetic muse.

Questionless, it is our bounden duty to do what we can for the *temporal* as well as the *spiritual* improvement of man. In this respect, we have always been ready to give the most unbounded credit to all who labour for the promotion of so excellent an end. If, for example, it has been found that, in this land, to the incalculable detriment of man's temporal welfare, any public revenues, have been largely expended in maintaining schools or colleges for the study of such works, as abound throughout with radical errors and fatal untruths—largely expended, in actually "hiring students to learn and professors to teach what is notorious false in history and chronology, in geography and astronomy, in logic and metaphysics, in the principles of civil and criminal jurisprudence—enforced as all these instructions have generally been, by the overawing influence of sages, and the uncontrollable authority of the gods!"—who could hesitate to defend and vindicate any resolution, with whomsoever it should originate, to dispense with such pernicious works altogether in the instruction of native youth—and the determination to substitute in their place, any others, which should be characterized by their purity of sentiment and plenitude of discovery, in every department of literary and scientific research? But highly as we do and must approve of *such* resolution, by whomsoever formed or adopted, *so far as it goes*, how can we scruple,—in justice to our own views, in justice to the noblest cause on earth, in justice to the souls of men—how dare we scruple, to express our honest conviction that it *does not go far enough?*

Truth is better than error in any department of knowledge, the humblest as well as the most exalted. Hence it is that we cannot but admire the moral intrepedity of any man, who, armed with the necessary power, would direct that in any of the leading institutions of this land, true literature and true science should be substituted instead of false literature and false science. But while we would rejoice at the substitution of the true instead of the demonstrably false in these important branches of useful knowledge, how could we but lament, should no provision whatever be made at the same time for introducing the best and noblest of all useful knowledge—the knowledge of the only true religion—Christianity—in place of the false religion which our literature and science, when successfully cultivated, must inevitably demolish? We are aware that certain plausible views of worldly expediency, and certain admitted peculiarities in our position in India, *seem* to forbid, under any modification, the *direct* communicating of a knowledge of Christianity to our native fellow subjects. Into such views however, we could never enter. Our firm belief, confirmed by growing experience is—that, whenever our own internal fears, acting as traitors, do not, by some species of metempsychosis, transform themselves into imaginary external foes—that, wherever there is the *will*, means may always be devised that would obviate *all reasonable*—all *genuinely honest*—objections. But be this as it may, we cannot—even in reference to temporal improvement—we cannot, help regarding the absence of all provision for affording, to those who might desire it, an opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of Christian truth, in any of our Indian Government institutions, as a grand omission,—a capital deficiency. If man had been destined only to "strut his little hour" on the stage of time, and then drop into a state of non-existence, it might be enough to attempt, however inadequately, to provide for the interests of time. But the case is widely different, when reason and revelation alike constrain us to view him, as destined to be an inhabitant of eternity—an inheritor of never-ending bliss or never-ending woe. Surely, in this only true view of man's destiny, it is an anomalous philanthropy after all, that can expend the whole of its energy in the attempt to bedeck and garnish him to play his part well on the stage of time; and then cast him adrift, desolate and forlorn, without shelter and without refuge, on the shoreless ocean of eternity. But we are verily persuaded, that even time can never be rightly provided for, by any measure that shuts eternity wholly out of view. So inseparably connected, in the wise ordination of providence, are the best interests of time with the best interests of eternity, that one of the surest ways of providing aright for the former, is to provide, thoroughly and well, for the latter. Our maxim, accordingly has been, is now, and ever will be this:—*Wherever, whenever, and by whomsoever, Christianity is sacrificed on the altar of worldly expediency, there and then, must the supreme good of man lie bleeding as its base!* The question then is not, Whether it be good, in any case, real or supposed, to remove so much of the rubbish which had for ages been accumulating around the temple of eternal truth, in this—superstition's own peculiar realm? No:—the real question is, Whether it is good, in *any* circumstances, to resolve to *stop* here? Whether it is good to stop, where the learner must be left blindly groping, in ignorance of the higher ends of his being, and the destiny that awaits him when time is no more? Whether it is good to resolve to leave the intellectually educated youth of India, to linger in pain and weariness around the threshold of created things, when there is a free and welcome invitation to enter the temple itself, and be enrapt in admiration of its beauteous symmetry and perfect forms; and inhale, with reviving freshness, the full breath of love and joy and goodness, direct from the countenance of him, who presides over the spacious fabric and irradiates it with all its glory? The grand question is,—seeing that man is destined to be the denizen of an eternity that must be provided for, in order to prevent its being an eternity of woe,—Whether it be good, or kind, or generous to dole out to him a scanty provision, but barely and inadequately suited even to the wants of time,—Whether it be good, or kind, or generous, thus to attempt to feed the immortal soul with nought but the garbage of *mere* secular knowledge, which has no reference whatever to the wants of a boundless duration beyond the grave? Surely, surely, this is nothing better than the vain, the foolish, the mad attempt:—

> To satisfy the ocean with a drop,
> To marry immortality to death;
> And with the unsubstantial shade of time,
> Fill up the embrace of all eternity.

Seeing, then, that the voice of reason, the voice of philosophy, the voice of experience, and the voice of God alike unite in proclaiming that moral and religious instruction, (i. e. as even Victor Cousin, Peer of France, would say, *Christianity*, since, "*in our day, religion means Christianity,*") is essential to any course of education that is *worthy* of the name, I would leave your Lordship for a moment, and address myself to all in this land who fear God and are not ashamed of glorying in the cross of Christ—as the power of God and the wisdom of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. Fellow Christians, on you, in the matter of training and educating the young, has been laid the command of your God and Saviour. How can ye, then, without an act of daring rebellion, hesitate for an instant as to the path of duty? How can ye hesitate between the obligation of yielding allegiance to the King of kings, or of yielding deference to the suggestions of his adversaries? How can ye halt between the infallible decisions of heaven, and the fluctuating maxims of a selfish carnal expediency? Amid the great herd of timorous, cowardly, world-conforming professors of the faith of Jesus in this land, surely there are some, lurking it may be in secret places, who have not formally bowed the knee to Baal. To you, dearly beloved brethren, whatever be your country, your denomination, or your colour,—to you do I now specially appeal. You *know* that the mighty and the only effectual instrument of light and liberty to a benighted and enslaved world is the Bible—the revealed—the infallible word of the living God. You know that the mighty, the only effectual Agent in bringing home that word with power into the darkened understandings, the depraved hearts, and the seared consciences of sinners, is the omnipotent Spirit of all grace. You know the plenitude of Jehovah's mercy and loving kindnesses. You know the infinite fulness and freeness of the great salvation wrought out by an Almighty Saviour. You know that, whosoever asketh shall receive, whosoever seeketh shall find, whosoever knocketh, to him shall the door be opened—yea, that whosoever *will*, is invited to come and take of the water of life freely, without money and without price. You know that in proclaiming such glad tidings of great joy which are unto all people, the Lord hath been pleased to appoint and employ the agency of *apostolic*, that is, of *pardoned*, *justified*, and *regenerated* men, qualified by natural and acquired endowments, and especially by the gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit. And you know that by their counsels, their examples, their contributions and their prayers, *all* true believers are invited to partake of the privilege of being *fellow-workers* with God himself in carrying on the mighty scheme of Redeeming Love. To share in this honour, therefore, do I now urgently invite you; to share in the greatest luxury of which pure spirits on earth can possibly partake—the luxury which the divine Redeemer so highly prized—the luxury of doing good to the souls of men. By soliciting your aid in promoting the temporal and eternal interests of your Indian fellow-subjects, we invite you to assume towards them the aspect and the attitude of a God-like philanthropy. We invite you virtually to address them, saying, "Men and brethren, our heart's desire and prayer to God for you is, that ye may be saved. Our heart's desire and prayer to God is, that we may be instrumental in furthering your temporal, and, above all, your eternal welfare. And, even if ye will persist in spurning our proffered aid; if ye will not allow us to be your friends, we are at least determined not to be your enemies, by practising upon you any cheat or imposture in the name of a hollow carnalizing expediency—by pandering to the ignorance, the vanity, or the pride of poor, sinful, degraded humanity—or by lending our countenance to schemes and projects which only tend to deceive you to your eternal undoing. No, our heart's desire is to confer upon you the largest amount of benefit of which fallen humanity is susceptible. And even if ye will violently resist, and oppose, and calumniate, we shall not be tempted, with similar weapons, to retaliate. Oh no; not having so learned Christ, we shall only be filled with pity and compassion on account of your ignorance and blindness. We shall only be driven to retire, and mourn over your infatuation and folly. Whatever interested deceivers may allege, *our* object is that of the purest, most tender benevolence. You long for worldly riches:—And since the rapidity, with which these take wings unto themselves and flee away, should convince you that there is no security *there*, we desire to point out how ye may earn true riches—spiritual treasures,—to be laid up in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, nor thieves break through to steal. You aim at earthly power:—And since the fleeting nature of its tenure should convince you that there is no stability *there*, we desire to point out how ye may obtain divine power—power, to mortify what is evil and cultivate what is good—power, to raise you from the dunghill of earth and seat you on thrones of glory for evermore. You aspire to the honours which come from men:—We desire to direct you to the acquisition of enduring honours—honours which shall ennoble you among the hosts of the celestial hierarchies. You strive to be admitted into the society and friendship of the great and the mighty of the land:—We desire to shew you, how ye may be exalted to become the companions of angels and the friends of the most high God. You labour after worldly fame and reputation which, like the breath of a vapour, soon passeth away:—We desire to shew you, how ye may obtain a name which shall outlast the grave, survive the final conflagration, and flourish amid the plaudits of eternity. Or, have you to struggle on, through the desert of life, amid hunger and thirst and toil and weariness? Yonder, are green pastures and an eternal spring. Are you buffeted with neglect and insult and contempt and scorn? Yonder, are songs of praise and triumphant hallelujahs, the very echo of which were enough to inflame the sluggish spirits of the sons of earth. Have you to encounter pains and sickness and the agonies of death? Yonder is the river of life—the river of God's pleasures—of which ye may be privileged to drink, and drink for evermore."

And if these, my fellow Christians of every name, if these constitute but a dim and faint portraiture of the rich inheritance, which, by your contributions and your prayers, we invite you to proffer in the name of your God and Saviour, to the perishing multitudes of this benighted land;—tell me, if in thus urging them to become supremely happy; and in pressing upon them the only means of attaining to the highest felicity which earth or heaven can supply;—tell me, oh tell me, if you are not in reality invited to earn for yourselves a title to be hailed, as their best, their noblest, their most disinterested benefactors?

My Lord, for the present, I have done. Throughout, I have adressed you with the freedom of a British subject, and the fearlessness of a citizen of Zion. To you, as the respected Head of the British Government in India I owe, in all things civil, an implicit, an absolute allegiance. "Honour and obey the king, as supreme," is one of the clearest and most peremptory commands in God's holy oracles. And never do I lose a favourable opportunity of enforcing, on all around me, the duty and necessity of rendering to "the powers that be" all due honour and obedience. Should the exigencies of the state ever require the services of one so feeble and unworthy, speak but the word, and the sacrifice neither of time nor of comfort, neither of health nor of life itself would for a moment be grudged or withheld. But, my Lord, there is another precept quite as clear and if possible, still more peremptory. That precept is, "Fear God and obey Him," yea, "Obey God rather than man." And it is, not in my capacity as a subject of the British Crown, but in my higher capacity as a subject of the Heavenly Kingdom, that I presume, on the present occasion, to impugn one of your Lordship's Educational measures—affecting, as that measure indisputably does, the vital interests of the latter, far more than the interests of the former. Nor is it at the bar of a godless "public opinion," or an equally godless "worldly expediency;" neither is it before the tribunal of Imperial Parliaments that I now impeach that most anti-christian measure. No! It is at the bar of universal *reason*—reason, sanctified, expanded, and illumined by the sunshine of revelation—that I boldly prefer my bill of indictment. *There*, accordingly, would I now arraign your Lordship, and your Councillors and Secretaries, and other members of the Public Instruction Committee—and *there*, would I charge you all as *spiritually* guilty in your Education Schemes;—guilty of what looks like treason against the Majesty and Sovereignty of the God of Providence—guilty of the cruelest wrong to the souls and immortal destinies of thousands of your Indian native fellow-subjects. For the substantial justice of the charge I appeal—not to the religious public of Great

Britain alone—but to the recorded verdicts of the Russels of England, the Cousins of France, the Falcks of Holland, the Altensteins of Germany; and all the greatest and most celebrated statesmen of ancient and modern times! And in conclusion I would—in the name of God, the Father of mercies, the Almighty Spirit of all grace, and the Divine Redeemer of the world—most solemnly beseech and adjure you to review and amend your fatal decision;—as you have to answer for it at the bar of final Judgment before an assembled universe,—on that dread day, when "the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, shall hide themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains; and cry to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of Him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb: for the great day of his wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?"

A. D.

NOTE.

As I do not intend to pursue the subject any farther through the present medium, a few additional remarks must bring it to a conclusion.

1st. On the subject of "citizen rights" there are afloat, in certain quarters, the strangest and most unaccountable notions. The existence of such rights in the abstract, and the title to exercise such as, by the common reason and consent of mankind, are readily acknowledged to be rights, no morally sane person has ever denied. But, should certain things be called "rights" which in reality are not "rights;" surely the repudiating of such *falsely called rights* can never be construed by any morally sane person as equivalent to the *denial of all rights whatsoever;* or to a contemptuous desparagement of such rights as are *really worthy* of that honoured name. Rights are of different kinds—natural and acquired—personal and public—and so forth. Now, I do not deny, for example, the absolute personal right which any man in Calcutta, whether European or Native, has to dispose of *his own* money in purchasing the party-coloured habiliments of a harlequin or merry-andrew; neither do I deny his absolute personal right to exhibit himself, thus arrayed, in the performance of fantastic tricks, for the amusement of his fellow-citizens. But surely, were he to come to me and *demand* of me, *as a right*, a portion of my money, to help him in making his buffoonish purchase, or in maintaining him while voluntarily devoting his time to the entertainment of idlers and loungers;—surely I should not be wrong in denying that he had *any right whatever to make such a demand at all;* I should not be wrong in denying that he had any right whatever to ask me to contribute of my resources to enable him to make himself and others greater fools than before. In like manner, I never did, never will dispute the absolute personal right (under responsibility to God) of my native fellow-subjects to teach what they please among themselves, or to learn what they please among themselves, connected with *their own* systems of Literature, Philosophy, and Religion—however foolish or frivolous, injurious or false, I might believe these systems to be. But should these come to me or to any other party away from themselves, and *demand*, as a *right*, a portion of our resources to enable *them* to teach and to learn *their own* systems

—systems utterly repugnant to the genius and spirit of *our own*—would I be wrong in denying that they had any right whatever to make the demand? Would I be wrong in smiling at the foolery of any man who might childishly fancy that any *such* right existed at all? And the *principle* of the case is not one whit affected by the hypothesis that the party on whom the demand is supposed to be made is the Government. Are not the revenues contributed for the stability of the state and the general welfare of the community? And is the Government to be deprived of all free-agency and responsibility in judging of what is most conducive to both ends? Surely not. Its duty, as the great central, regulating, arbitrating, and controlling power, is to deliberate and adjudicate in every case according to principles of reason, justice, and benevolence —always to concede to the *reasonable* wishes of its subjects, but never to yield to idle, ignorant, or prejudiced clamours—always to maintain *clear and established rights,* but never, to the injurry of all parties, to confound such rights with the figments of depraved tastes or vitiated imaginations.

2nd. It has been again and again asserted that the "majority of the natives" are crying out for the instruction conveyed in the Oriental Colleges. With far greater truth it might be said that the "majority of the people" of Great Britain are crying out for that higher education in our home universities which is conferred on candidates for the learned professions. What a delusion! As regards the Hindus—constituting the great bulk of the people—it is only *one class of them,* viz. the brahmanical, which practically has access to the Sanskrit Colleges. In Bengal, the next two classes can scarcely be said to exist. The fourth, or Sudras, and outcastes, of which *the great mass of the people* consists, have never, except in a few isolated cases, signified any desire, and possess little or no leisure for a learned Sanskrit education; or, if they did, they are, on account of their caste, by *sacred Hindu law* and *immemorial prescriptive usage, utterly precluded from attending the Sanskrit Colleges!* What arrant nonsense, then, is it to say that the majority of the people of India are clamorous for instruction in that higher species of Orientalism, with which *alone* Lord Auckland's Minute, or my letters, have to do? Of late too, not a whisper was heard, not a movement was observed, even among the *small minority* of the *privileged class,* towards the restoration of the lapsed funds on the part of Government. No :—wherever English education has had sufficient time to cause itself to be appreciated, the natives, who excel in worldly shrewdness and sagacity, begin to manifest no insignificant symptoms of their *willingness* to pass by their own, and to *naturalize* and *nationalize* the nobler Literature and Science of Europe. In this respect, Calcutta has had the longest time for the experiment. Now, in 1831, in the official report of Government, the attendance is reported as follows :—

Sanskrit College.		*Hindu (or English) College.*	
30	Pupils at (stipends of) 8 rupees.	Pay boys (5 rupees each), ...	300
70	Ditto at ditto 5 rupees.	Free ditto, ...	60
60	Free scholars.	School Society, ...	30
		Donation scholars, ...	12
160			402

At the end of 1835.

Sanskrit College.	*Hindu College.*
135,	407,
Mostly stipendiary.	Of whom 347 pay for their education.

At the end of 1838.

Sanskrit College.	*Hindu College.*
129,	474,
Of whom 49 were stipendiary, and 80 free scholars.	Of whom 56 were foundation students, and 415 pay for their education from five to seven rupees per month.

Let any man of common sense weigh this side and that—and then say to which the prevailing taste of the native inhabitants of this great metropolis decidedly leans! So much for the most unfounded saying that the majority of the natives prefer and cry out for learned, and, to them, inaccessible Orientalism!

Another test of the nature and direction of the current of native taste and feeling, founded on the School Book Society's operations, may well be appealed to. These books "are sold to any body who chooses to purchase them, and the proportions in which they are disposed of, shew the relative demands which exists for the different kinds of learning." At the close of 1839, the Society's own comparative statement of the sales of the four preceding years is as follows:—

English,	72,205	Books.
Bengáli,	20,363	
Anglo-Asiatic,	9,520	
Hindui,	9,684	
Hindustani,	7,445	
Persian,	2,869	
Uriya,	551	
Sanskrit,	620	
Arabic,	110	

This enumeration is altogether *exclusive* of the many valuable English publications that constantly issue from the fertile Press of Serampore; as well as of those sold at different private establishments in Calcutta. From the School Book Society's Depository, there issued, in the 4 years 1836-7-8-9, in the *two learned* languages of Orientalism, only 930 works!—*Arabic*, 110; *Sanskrit* (believed to be the very language of the gods) 620!—While, in the *English* language, there is a sale of 72,205!—That is, the real actual *voluntary* demand for *English* works is about A HUNDRED TIMES GREATER than the real actual voluntary demand for the works of Orientalism in *Sanskrit and Arabic united!* So much again for the luckless assertion that the majority of the natives are clamourously in favour of their own learned Orientalism!

3rd. On the subject of *religion*, Lord Auckland's Minute is not only altogether *defective* as regards *the true*, and altogether *wrong* as regards *the false;* it is wholly *inconsistent* with his Lordship's professions and avowed principles in other respects. He belongs to that school of Liberals, whose boast constantly is that of *rigid neutrality* and *strict non-interference* in matters of religion. Now, what is it, in reference to *the false and degrading religion of Orientalism*, that might be styled an attitude of *real* neutrality or non-interference? Would it not be something like this?—"You, the natives of India, shall enjoy perfect toleration in the profession of your faith; you may teach it and practise it just as you please. So long as you do not, under the mask of religion, perpetrate crimes against the peace and well-being of society, we shall let you alone. Not believing in it ourselves, we cannot on the one hand, *actively* support it by our influence or our pecuniary resources; but having no warrant, on the other, to treat it with violence, we can never employ coercive measures of any kind against it. If we interpose at all, it will only be, by dealing with you, as rational and responsible beings; it will only be by the use of the legitimate weapons of knowledge, persuasion, and argument. Thus we shall neither directly patronize or support your religion by our resources; neither shall we attach to the profession of it, any pains or penalties." Now, this would be to act towards the religion of the natives, on an intelligible and consistent principle of rigid neutrality or non-interference. But how does my Lord Auckland act? He steps forward, and in the face of the most cogent reasons, he *re-endows the religion of Orientalism* out of the revenues of the state, to the extent of the available means. He gives out money from the public treasury for teaching that religion, as an *integral part* of the Oriental system; and this *direct and active pecuniary support, accompanied by the influence and eclat of Government patronage,* is facetiously termed, on the principle of contraries, *rigid neutrality* and *strict non-interference!* Again, what would be the *lowest* attitude of a fair and reasonable neutrality, as regards the *true and ennobling religion of Christendom?* Should it not be something like this?—"To you, the natives of India, we wish to impart for your enlightenment and civilization, the Literature and Science of Europe. 'Of that Literature and Science' the root and mother' is the trne and pure religion of Europe; we are ready therefore to teach you that too, if you desire it. But in our English Colleges we shall not make the learning of the *latter* an indispensable condition of your obtaining the *former*. No; we shall leave you at perfect liberty to do as you please. Should you unhappily wish *only* European Literature and Science; such Literature and Science will be taught, without any direct or formal communication of the religion of Europe. But, should you also happily desire instruction in the latter, here is an accredited agent who, in addition to his other duties, is able and willing to instruct you. No compulsory attendance will be enacted or allowed. We exonerate our own consciences in this respect, by fairly opening up and presenting to you a favourable opportunity. But of that you are left at liberty to avail yourselves or not according to your good pleasure. You may learn or not learn precisely as your own tastes and inclinations may prompt you." This at least, would remove the stigma and the sin of the present aspect of a national disavowal of the truth of Christianity towards the natives. This too would be a real neutrality and non-interference, though of the lowest grade, towards the truth of God—the salt of the earth—the light of the world. But, how does my Lord Auckland act? In his Minute, while treating of the Literature and Science of Christendom, he passes over the religion of Christendom altogether, with as profound a silence *as if it were a non-entity* in the world. In the rules and regulations of the public Instruction Committee of which Lord Auckland must have approved, all teachers are "particularly enjoined to abstain from any communications on the subject of religion with the boys." Here, again, there is something worse than mere silence. *Here,* is a peremptory injunction, of a *prohibitory* character, laid on teachers. So that, *however willing or anxious boys might be* to learn something of the religion of Christendom, while acquiring the Literature and Science of Christendom; and, *however willing or anxious a qualified teacher might be,* to comply with their request:—*both* parties are *strictly forbidden* to hold any communications on the subject! The boys are neither allowed to learn nor the teachers to teach that which the God of heaven hath commanded, and which alone can truly enlighten and civilize, by truly regenerating the intellect and heart of man! And this *active discouragement*—this *peremptory prohibition* of the Christian faith, is again, by the rule of contraries, facetiously designated *rigid neutrality* and *strict non-interference!*

In worldly affairs how strange would such conduct appear? Suppose the British Government at home were to profess a rigid neutrality and strict non-interference on the subject of importing West and East India sugar into the British isles. What would the common sense of mankind say, were this profession to be *practically exemplified* as follows?—On the one hand, the Government say to the West India merchants, "Towards you we wish to act a neutral part; you may therefore not only import your sugar freely, without custom or other import; you may expect more. We are resolved to extend towards you active support. We are determined to grant you, out of the revenues of the State, a substantial encouragement, in the shape of a *handsome bounty* on every hundred-weight which you present for home consumption." So much for the Government interpretation of its own professed neutrality and non-interference towards the West India proprietors! On the other hand, the Government, address the East India merchants, saying, "Towards you too, we wish to maintain the attitude of an inflexible neutrality. Know therefore, and remember, that, under pains and penalties for the violation of it, there is laid upon you a stern injunction *not* to introduce a single particle of East India sugar into the home market. The prohibition is absolute. He who disregards it shall be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the law." And this is neutrality—this is non-interference—towards the East India merchants! Suppositions wild, unnatural, and incredible!—will all be ready to exclaim. And yet what are these but a perfect counterpart to the sad realities of inconsistency manifested by Lord Auckland and his coadjutors towards the false religions of the East and the true religion of the West? The former they patronize and actively support by largesses out of the public revenue! The latter they not only do not countenance at all, but actively discourage and even wholly prohibit! And yet all this egregious revolting inconsistency is perpetrated under the grossly abused designation of neutrality and non-interference! It is like the neutrality of the fountain which feeds one river; it is like the non-interference of the heat which dries up another!

4th. If any one has a doubt as to the *low grovelling ends* contemplated by the secular educationists, and the consequently *low grovelling motives* by which their exhortations are enforced, he has only carefully to peruse Lord Auckland's Minute. Throughout, it is as clear, but certainly as cold, cheerless, and barren as the nocturnal sky of an Arctic winter. Throughout, it contains not a single hearty appeal to any one noble or generous motive or principle by which the breast of man can be actuated. Throughout, it contains not a single hearty aspiration, calculated to excite one noble or generous sentiment in the human heart. The *very highest end* which it holds out to the educated youth of India is, the prospect of employment mostly in subordinate branches of the government service. The *very highest motive* to which it appeals is the ambition or desire to be qualified for such money-producing appointments. It converts the Government Institutions, in their highest estate, into so many educational foundries for casting and fabricating so many human machines to weave out the dull monotonous web of government business. It makes worldly interests, and these too of a kind not very exalted, not only the chief, but the sole end of action. It begins with earth, and ends with earth—generating for a few years vanity and secularity, the pride of learning and the pride of place—and then drops its victims into the cold arms of death without a hope, without a comfort, and without any provision for an hereafter. As men sow, so shall they reap. "He that soweth to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption." He that strives to sow or implant only low, earthly, sordid motives in the youthful mind, shall assuredly reap a harvest of what is low, earthly, and sordid in the fruits or actions of after life. From the Government scheme of education, I venture to predict that a *race* of noble, generous, high-souled, disinterested, government officers will never spring. We might as well expect to gather the most beauteous flowers from inferior seed profusely scattered in the stagnant marshes of Bengal, or on the icy summits of Himalaya. On the other hand, it must be remembered that a *comprehensive* education,—or that whose *first* object is, "to instil and cherish, in dependence on the divine blessing, true religion, both in the soul, and in the daily and hourly habits of life; and whose *second* object is to convey *general knowledge* to form the mind and manners"—that even such an education will not *necessarily*, and may not *generally*, produce the high and noble results aimed at. In a country like India, and in the present transition state of its society, a general and religious education can have no fair play. The lessons and training of the school are ever apt to be counteracted by the contrary lessons and training of home. The admonitions of the enlightened teacher are ever apt to be neutralized by the maxims and the practices of a corrupt idolatrous society. And the most irrefragable demonstrations of the Theologian are ever apt to be cavalierly tossed aside by the proud shallow-minded pedants that are reared in irreligious institutions. Besides, the best conducted religious education, under the most favourable circumstances, will not, cannot, *of itself*, make men religious, i. e. saturated with the love of God and the love of man. Neither, as has been well said, "will the preaching of the gospel make men pious. The Bible itself will not make men pious. Unless the Holy Spirit accompanies the preaching of the gospel, it will be utterly ineffectual; and unless God bless the means employed to train up children in the way they should go, these means will not produce piety. But God does cause the faithful preaching of the gospel to be effectual to the salvation of souls. And is not the promise equally explicit that, if children are trained in the way they should go, they will not depart from it?" By humbly and prayerfully employing the means of God's own appointment, we have ample reason to expect that a *fair proportion* of the young may ultimately realize the glorious results contemplated. By systematically despising or neglecting the use of these means, we have no reason whatever to expect that any of these highest results will ever be realized at all.

5th. My object, as already stated, being, *not controversy*, but *truth, goodness, and utility*, it would wholly defeat my purpose were I to step aside and act the part of a *mere* controversialist. I have no controversy with any one; I have only a controversy with some of the *principles* and *conclusions of Lord Auckland's Educational Minute.* My *main* positions have hitherto been left *untouched.* As for the arguments and reasonings by which these have been maintained, it is *far easier* simply to *assert* that they are destitute of force, than *actually to lay hold on them* and *fairly to grapple with them*, in order to expose their *assumed* weakness. This has *not yet* been done. As to the want of *evidence* of which some complain, and the assuming of my opponent to be wrong instead of proving it, the fallacy of the charge is obvious. The fundamental evidence depends on the *erroneous and noxious* character of a large proportion of what is taught, *as truth*, under the name of Orientalism. This *fact* I certainly did assume, as a GRAND AND NOTORIOUS FACT. I assumed it simply because of its being *too notorious* to be gainsayed by any competent judge. In assuming it, I only reiterated the verdict delivered many years ago by the Court of Directors; by the accomplished Oriental Scholar, Rajah Rammohun Roy; and in substance by Lord Auckland himself. The *proof* of this fact, *if* such proof were *really needed*, would consist in *extracts and details* taken from the *Oriental works* published under sanction of the Public Instruction Committee. Such extracts and details, *if the obnoxious part of their system be not abandoned*, may one day be furnished as will overwhelm not a few even of the doating Orientalists themselves with surprise and shame. But, in the meanwhile, from a desire of peace and a sense of public decorum, we shall keep the condemnatory proofs and evidence in reserve;—waiting to see what course the better feelings and the more sober reflection of the Public Instructionists may lead them to pursue. My object is purely to do good and not to gain a victory. And if *the good* be secured without any more battling or exposure, my object has been attained. As to Lord Auckland, I have *not causelessly assumed* that he is in the wrong. I have indeed assumed two things as regards his Lordship's procedure; and I ask any man to shew me that I have assumed them without a reason. I have assumed an indisputable fact, and an indisputable principle. The *indisputable fact* is one substantially admitted by Lord Auckland himself, viz. that the Oriental system abounds with "radical errors and fatal untruths." The *indisputable principle*, which every being of unsophisticated conscience, whether "saint or savage or sage," cannot help admitting, is, that *wilfully to teach or cause to be taught, as truth*, what is *allowed to be a system* abounding with *radical errors and fatal untruths*, must be denounced as *wrong*. To assume, then, that he who does this, is wrong, is only to give expression to a sentiment, which *requires no proof*, which is *antecedent to all reasoning*, and which *springs from the universal and resistless impulses of the moral nature of man*. The Editor of the Englishman is too talented a man and too learned a scholar not to know, that one of the grandest errors of the scholastic Logic, which for ages deepened the mental darkness of Europe, was, to generate the persuasion that nothing was proved and therefore nothing was certain, unless it was cast into the technical form of syllogistic reasoning—and consequently to generate the tendency of attempting to prove every thing—even axioms, or intuitive self-evident truths. One of the greatest triumphs of modern philosophy, on the other hand, has been, to assert and vindicate the assertion, that the grandest and most important of all truths are just those which need not and cannot be logically proved at all—those axioms or intuitive principles in physics and morals, the instant and universal admission of which springs resistlessly from the very constitution of our nature —and which we all believe, as Dr. Brown would express it, from the sheer impossibility of disbelieving them. That *to speak* what is *known to be false* or *injurious*, is *wrong*, must surely be held to be an *intuitively clear principle in morals.* And when I simply take for granted that to *teach* or *cause to be taught* what is *false and injurious*, must be held to be *wrong*;—do I not merely assume a principle in morals *alike* intentively clear and indisputable? There are principles which it were arrant folly to attempt to prove. And this surely is one of them. These principles must *precede* all reasoning; and without them, no reasoning at all can exist. For any reasoning that is not based on some primary intuitive principle of belief is reasoning based upon nothing. It may exhibit all the form, and structure, and parade of demonstration, but being raised on a vacuum, it is worth nothing. Whereas a few sound principles, that strike home with all the force of intuition on every well constituted mind, practically applied, will display all the power and the force of the most rigid argumentation, and produce all the effects of demonstrable reasoning, without at all assuming the technical forms of the Logic of the schools.

Further, it were vain to follow the misconceptions and erroneous representations of those opposed to me. Lord Auckland's Minute and my statements are both before the public—though it is not in India that I ever expected any thing like justice generally, on a subject like the present. Still, let the wise and the good, judge and determine between us and our principles. Most of those who are actuated by the simple desire of doing good, unmingled with insidious motives of self-interest, unaffected by the maxims of worldly expediency, and unwarped by the projects of state policy, will fully coincide with all that is essential in what I have advanced. Of this description seems to be a writer in the *Courier*, under the signature of "A Reader." Though his name and occupation be wholly unknown to me, he has fairly studied and mastered the subject. He has caught a firm hold of the leading points; and in manly yet temperate language announces his sincere adhesion to them. This writer is the *type* and *representative* of a *large class*, which requires no further argument on my part;—a class, before whose clear judgment and benevolent hearts the rubbish of controversy will be scattered, like the clouds of dust, before the breath of the North wind. There is another class of persons who, from various causes, have a *positive dislike* to the side which I have advocated. These, of course, will not be persuaded if I could reason like an angel from heaven. If in my statements they can find no *real* faults or flaws, they are sure to *make* them or to *fancy* them. What purpose would it serve to enter into a controversy with beings of this hostile mould? None whatever. Each vindication would call forth some fresh repartee bestud with stale fallacies. So that the thousandth reply would be wider from the real mark of conviction than the first. A truce, then, to all *mere* controversy, on a subject like the present, so far as I am concerned! Whatever be the verdict in India, I have no doubt as to the ultimate verdict in Great Britain. To hasten on the delivery of that verdict will henceforth be the great aim of the friends of *sound, catholic, comprehensive* education in India.

Last of all, it is but right to renew my acknowledgments to the Editor of the *Englishman* for his republication of the whole of my second letter, in his influential and widely circulated Journal. To the candid and the thoughtful it must be obvious that, in his own remarks, which are distinguished by his wonted smartness and cleverness, his leading tactics have been for the most part to *evade* the *main points* of the Educational question, to *divert* the attention of his readers to *minor concerns*, and to drag, if possible, the author of the letters into some thing like a *personal* controversy. In the two former, viz. *evasion* and *diversion*, he has succeeded with the skill of a practised scholastic of the middle ages. In the latter, he might have succeeded too, had I that itch for *mere* controversy which is *professional* with some; or had I been doomed to such utter witlessness as not to discern the folly and the fruitlessness of allowing a grave discussion about *momentous principles* to be converted into a *pro and con pugilism* about *petty paltry personalities.* Though he has in some respects made me worse, and in others, perhaps better than I really am; and though, in his remarks, there are many glaring points of divergency from the spirit and purport of my statements, which it were easy to detect and lay bare, if any really useful purpose could be answered thereby;—it must suffice to say, that, however great the entertainment which vivacity, wit and humour may afford, they ought never, in a great national question like the present, to be allowed *wholly* to supplant or take the place of sound principle or solid argument. As for him, in whose native soil leaden-paced Dullness holds her monarchy—him, who walketh forth in the twilight,—when the underived effulgence of the king of day has given way to the pale borrowed beams of the queen of night, and the external world of ill-defined *forms* seemeth by sympathy or, mayhap, by peripatetic process of sensible species, to raise up an internal world of confused ideas,—it must be recorded, whether to his credit or otherwise, that he has, throughout, demeaned himself with great and remarkable consistency. Any statements, sentiments, or principles of mine, on which, in his nocturnal perambulations, he has happened to stumble, he either would not, or could not, distinguish in their proper forms and dimensions. Consequently, as perceived by his bedimmed vision, or represented by his palsied pencil, they are either diminished, exaggerated, or distorted; that is, in his sketchings and outlines of them, they are *not mine at all; they* are *his own;* the genuine reflected images of *his own* misshapen ideas. Thus it is, that, from the first, instead of fairly grappling with what he unwittingly mistook for an antagonist, he has only been pugilizing with his own shadow. And most manfully did he encounter it. In the first onset, however, he fell prostrate in the dust. The shadow of course momentarily disappeared. What, then, more natural than to conclude that his imaginary foe was annihilated? But as he sprung up again, the fatal shadow started into being too—provoking to a fresh combat. And valiantly did he again and again renew the fight;—so that to his honour it may be rehearsed, as of the hero of Macedon, that "thrice he *slew his slain.*" But all this may seem too mystic and enigmatic. Well, let us try another illustration. From the first, then, it may be said that he threw himself, at one bound, into a thorny thicket of *wrong statements* or *still worse principles*—no matter, whether these were his own original sentiments, or merely perversions of mine In striving to effect his escape,—he only succeeded in throwing himself back again, faster than ever, into the pricking thorns of error. And as often as the attempt has been renewed to right himself, this singular process of self-extrication has been renewed too—as if he were bent on out-rivalling, amid the occasional sprightly sallies of growing decrepitude and decay, the celebrated exploit which, doubtless, in nursery rhyme, he was wont, like other babes, devoutly to attribute to the Thessalian sage:—

There was a man of Thessaly,
And he was wondrous wise;
He jumped into a quickset hedge,
And scratched out both his eyes.

And when he saw his eyes were out,
With all his might and main,
He jumped into the quickset hedge,
And scratched them in again.

P. S.—Many of the friends of Native Education having urged the *separate* publication of these Letters, the author has been induced to comply with their request. And in order to prevent the possibility of being charged with partiality, he has also resolved to prefix, *not extracts* but *the whole of Lord Auckland's Minute*, in order that the reader may have at one view the text and the comment. Copies of the Minute and Letters may be had in a few days of "Ostell and Lepage" at the "British Library," Tank Square.

APPENDIX.

The following is a list of the Oriental works which hitherto have been ordinarily employed more or less, as class books, in the Government Sanskrit and Muhammadan Colleges of Calcutta. Without any extracts at all, the bare reading of these lists will at once shew that all the grand and distinguishing peculiarities of the system of Orientalism with all its radical errors, deficiencies, and untruths, are systematically taught, at the Government expense, to the privileged classes of native youth—taught by Maulavis and Pandits who themselves intensely believe, and who inculcate on their pupils the necessity of believing, all that they teach, as indubitable, or even inspired verities! Here, are Hindu youth *laboriously initiated into the Vedantic Pantheism* which, by *identifying matter with spirit and the creature with the creator,* reflects *infinite dishonour on the One Living and True God, confounds the distinctions of right and wrong, and virtually annihilates the moral responsibility of man!* Here, too, are they taught the *leading characteristics of the gross popular Idolatry;* and the *lying, thieving, treacherous god Krishna* is held forth as *a model for their imitation!* Here the Musalmán youth, on the other hand, are systematically taught to refer to *the Koran,* as the *sole, final,* and *infallible arbiter,* in *all* questions of *Law, Philosophy,* and *Theology*—that very Koran which *most expressly* and *formally consigns all Christians to the lowest Hell, for believing in the Divinity of the Son of God—the Redeemer of the world!* And yet, there are those who still persist in declaring that it is *the duty* of a *Christian Government* to expend its precious resources on the teaching of all this to *the higher and more influential* classes of its *native subjects!* Can such persons be pronounced *morally* sane? If so, surely the *only* excuse which even the most boundless charity can devise in their behalf is, that "they know not what they do?"

A list of Oriental books chiefly used in the Government Sanskrit College of Calcutta.

GRAMMAR CLASS. ব্যাকরণাদিশাস্ত্র.

১ মুগ্ধবোধব্যাকরণ. 1. Mugdha-bodha, (The instructor of the ignorant) a Grammar.
২ ধাতুপাঠদীপিকা. 2. Dhátú páth Dipiká, (The lamp of reading the roots.)
৩ অমরকোষাভিধান. 3. Amara-kosha or Abhidhán, (a Dictionary by Amara Singh.)

SÁHITYA OR POETRY AND DRAMA. সাহিত্য অথবা কাব্যশাস্ত্র.

১ ভট্টিকাব্য. 1. Bhatti kávya, (The poem of Bhatti) on the actions of Ráma.
২ রঘুবংশ. 2. Raghu Vangsha, (The race of Raghu.)
৩ কুমারসম্ভব. *3. *Kumár Sambhab, (The birth of Kártik.)
৪ মাঘ. 4. Mágha, (The death of Shishupála.)
৫ ভারবি. 5. Bhárabi, (The adventures of the Hunter and Arjuna.)
৬ নৈষধ. 6. Naishadha, (Poem on the marriage of Raja Nala.)
৭ মৃচ্ছকটীকনাটক. 7. Mrichchhakati, (The toy of cart) a comedy.
৮ মালতীমাধব. 8. Málatimádhava, (a Drama.)
৯ বিক্রমোর্ব্বশী. 9. Vikramorvási, (ditto.)
১০ উত্তররামচরিত্র. 10. Uttararámacharitra, (The continuation of the History of Ráma.)
১১ মুদ্রারাক্ষস. 11. Mudrárákshas, (The signet of the Minister,) a Drama.
১২ রত্নাবলী. 12. Ratnávali, (The golden necklace,) ditto.
১৩ শকুন্তলা. 13. Shakuntalá, (The account of Raja Dushmunta and the daughter of an Ascetic.)
১৪ রাজতরঙ্গিণী. 14. Rájatarangini, (Chronicles of the Kings of Cashmere.)

RHETORIC. অলঙ্কার শাস্ত্র.

১ সাহিত্যদর্পণ. 1. Sáhitya darpan, (The mirror of composition.)
২ কাব্যপ্রকাশ. 2. Kávya prakásh, (The lustre of Poetry.)
৩ রসগঙ্গাধর. *3. Rasagangádhar, (a treatise on Rhetorical composition.)

LOGIC. न्यायशास्त्र.

१ भाषापरिच्छेद. 1. Bháshá parichchheda and Sid'dhánta muktávali, (The section of language and pearl necklace of demonstration) an elementary treatise on the terms of Logic with its commentary.

२ न्यायसूत्रवृत्ति. 2. Nyáya, Sutra Vritti, (Logical aphorisms of Gotama.)

३ सिद्धान्तलक्षण *3. Sid'dhánta Lakshan, (The rules of demonstration.)

THEOLOGY. वेदान्तशास्त्र.

१ वेदान्तसार. 1. Vedánta Sára, (The essence or the scope of the Vedas.)

२ पञ्चदशी. 2. Panchadashi, (Elements of Theism according to the Vedas.)

३ भगवद्गीता. 3. Bhagwat Gitá, (The dialogue between Krishna and Arjuna.)

MATHEMATICS. ज्योतिःशास्त्र.

१ लीलावती. 1. Lilávati, (Treatise of Algebra and Geometry.)

२ बीजगणित. 2. Bijganita, (Algebra.)

३ क्षेत्रतत्त्वदीपिका. 3. Khetratatwa Dipiká, (Translation of Hutton's Mathematics.)

LAW. स्मृतिशास्त्र.

१ मनुसंहिता. 1. Manu Sanghitá, (The Institutes of Manu.)

२ मिताक्षरा. 2. Mitákshará, (a compendium of Hindu Law.)

३ दायभाग. 3. Dáyabhága, (The law of inheritance.)

४ दायतत्त्व. 4. Dáya Tatwa, (Principles of inheritance.)

५ दायसंग्रह. 5. Dáyá Krama Sangraha, (a compendium of the order of inheritance.)

६ व्यवहारतत्त्व. 6. Vyávahára Tatwa, (Substance of jurisprudence.)

७ दत्तकमीमांसा. 7. Dattak mimángsá, (Rite of adoption.)

८ दत्तकचन्द्रिका. 8. Dattak chandriká, (Moonshine of adoption.)

List of Oriental Books chiefly taught in the Government Muhammadan College of Calcutta.

GRAMMAR.

ميزان	١	1.	Mízán.
منشعبة	٢	2.	Munshába.
صرف مير	٣	3.	Sarafmír.
تصريف	۴	4.	Tasríf.
زبده	٥	5.	Zubda.
اصل جمله	٦	6.	Asljumlah.
ماية عامل	٧	7.	Máyata Ámil.
شرح ماية عامل	٨	8.	Sharh i Máyata Ámil.
مصباح	٩	9.	Misbáh.
هداية النحو	١٠	10.	Hidáyatunnaho.
كافيه	١١	11.	Káfiyah.
شرح ملا	١٢	12.	Sharh Mullá.

READING BOOKS.

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عجب العجاب	٢	2.	Ájb ul Ájáb.
تاريخ تيموري	٣	3.	Táríkh i Taimúrí.
ديوان متنبي	۴	4.	Dewán i Mutanabbí.
مقامات حريري	٥	5.	Maqámát i Hirírí.

MATHEMATICS.

خلاصة الحساب	١	1.	Khulasá tul Hisáb.
اصول الجبر	٢	2.	Usul ul jabr.
تحرير اوقليدس	٣	3.	Tahrír i Uqlidus.

LAW, (THE AUTHORITATIVE STANDARD OF WHICH IS THE KORAN.)

نورالانوار	١	1.	Núr ul anwár.
هدایه	٢	2.	Hidáya.
دایرالاصول	٣	3.	Dair ul usul.
شرح وقایه	۴	4.	Sharh Viqáya.
توضیح	۵	5.	Touzíh.
تلویح	۶	6.	Talwíh.
مسلم الثبوت	٧	7.	Musullam ussabút.

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سلم العلوم	٨	8.	Sallum ul ulúm.

A CHARGE

DELIVERED TO

THE CLERGY

OF

THE DIOCESE OF CALCUTTA,

At the Fourth Ordinary Visitation,

ON FRIDAY, MAY 2ND, 1845.

38012

BY

DANIEL WILSON, D. D.

BISHOP OF CALCUTTA AND METROPOLITAN.

CALCUTTA:
BISHOP'S COLLEGE PRESS.
1845.

TO

THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON,

AND THE

REV. CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE OF CALCUTTA.

THIS CHARGE,

IS

AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

AS A

FAREWELL

TOKEN OF LOVE AND ESTEEM

ON HIS

LEAVING INDIA FOR THE RECOVERY OF HIS HEALTH, IN MAY, 1845.

BY

THE AUTHOR.

FOURTH

CHARGE,

DELIVERED FRIDAY MAY 2ND, 1845,

MY HONORED AND REVEREND BRETHREN,

I meet you now in very different circumstances from those of any former visitation. I am taking my leave of you before I repair for my health to England. My absence will not, indeed, be for a longer season, if God interposes mercifully for me, than on some former occasions, but it will be for a different purpose.

I had frequently been admonished of the probable necessity of such a step at various previous times of sickness; and a few years since I was strongly disposed to follow the advice, so soon as my ten years' residence should have expired.[1]

But latterly, on more mature consideration, I had determined not to venture on such a step, except a case of extreme illness or some other imperious duty should compel.

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[1] With this view the Bishop's Furlough Act was sued for and obtained.

Such a case has now arisen. My first severe indisposition[2] in February 1844 did not, however, shake my resolution; nor was I moved by my second more dangerous attack[3] at the close of last year. But when a third, and yet more alarming seizure, came on[4] in the beginning of this year, and my medical advisers pronounced that my constitution had received such a shock, that I could not remain in safety at Calcutta this hot season, but must immediately proceed to sea, I resolved as the only wise course at once to go home, for eighteen months of Furlough.[5] I had uniformly advised others to take the first hint when their health began clearly to fail, and I felt I was much more obliged, at my age and in my responsible office, to do the same myself; for which the Furlough act afforded me peculiar facilities.

I thank Almighty God that my strength has been gradually so far restored since January, as to enable me to perform most of the essential duties of my office in my way down to the Presidency, and to complete my third Tour of Official Inspection, so far as any thing can be said to be completed, in such a Diocese as this.[6]

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[2] At Nynee Thal on the road to Almora.

[3] At Umbala after leaving the hills.

[4] At Delhi.

[5] The hills were not considered as agreeing with me, indeed the effects of my severe illness in February 1844, were far from being removed by a subsequent residence for four or five months, at Simla. To return therefore to the Himalayahs was out of the question; and a sea voyage being my only resource, I conceived I was bound to give it the fairest and fullest trial I could, by repairing to Europe without delay.

Under the circumstances, then, in which I find myself placed, I have thought it best to go through the various duties I have been discharging these last few days, as well as to prepare a Charge and make a commencement of the solemn judicial duties of my 4th Visitation, to be resumed, if God should so permit, on my return to Calcutta at the close of next year.[6½]

The announcement, my dear Brethren, of such a series of public engagements must at first, I doubt not, have been quite startling to you, following as it did so soon after the tidings of my alarming state of health. And I confess the thought of them overwhelmed my own mind also. But when I calmly considered the great frailty of life at my advanced age, and the uncertainty of the effects of a cold climate after thirteen years' residence in India, and remembered also how many to my own knowledge, had gone home for health, and had, in point of fact, never lived to return, I thought it my duty to attempt to wind up every thing, so far as my strength would allow, before I went; and to finish my Episcopacy, if God should so appoint, however feebly and imperfectly and with some appearance of haste, by the solemnities of an ecclesiastical visitation.

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[6] I have always been compelled to omit many stations in each of my visitations of this Diocese or rather of this vast region of the globe called a Diocese. I reached in 1840, the out lying stations of Jhansi, Gwalior, Saugor and Jubbulpore, and had no hope of revisiting them this time. Mhow, Neemuch, Nusseerabad and Ajmere I have had the great advantage of consigning this visitation, as I did the last, to my brother the Lord Bishop of Bombay. The only places that I can be fairly said to leave to another occasion, are the small stations of Berhampore, Dacca, Sylhet and Chittagong;—these which I should in my ordinary course have visited next cold weather, I must now defer. At the most important Mission of Krishnaghur my Chaplain the Rev. Mr. Pratt has passed a few days, and brought me the last accounts. The Chaplain of Berhampore met me at my request at R. Bauleah.

[6½] November 1846.

It is affecting to me to think that as the first eminent prelate of this see began his third and last visitation, two or three months before his exact Triennial period was completed, and never lived to carry it on beyond Calcutta; so now, after the lapse of twenty three years from that time, I commence my 4th, two or three months also before the three years have expired, and may probably never live to finish it.[7]

And, surely, I have no reason whatever to be surprised that my Heavenly Father has seen fit to visit me, as well as others, with disabling infirmity. Chastisement is needful for us all, rather should I adore the Divine forbearance that I have not been compelled to quit India till I have entered the 14th year of my consecration.[8]

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[7] In my case, however, as the former visitations were unavoidably separated by a period of 4 years, I consider myself only as recovering a part of my lost ground, by the somewhat early period of our present Meeting.

[8] I may indeed bless God that no one of my previous attacks assumed a perilous form in such a country as India, during the course of so many years, so many thousand miles of journies and voyages, and in so many kinds of climates and seasons. My residence in India has been longer than those of my four Predecessors put together.

So soon as my duty of going home on the Furlough act was decided upon, I petitioned Her Majesty to extend the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Madras to this Diocese, according to its provisions, during my absence. It is probable, if this suit be granted, that his Lordship will come up to Calcutta, and thus be prepared to carry on, during the too probable event of the vacancy of the see, the administration of its ecclesiastical affairs, till a new appointment is made from home. But, independently of this reason, I considered it imperative on me to carry out any recent legislative provisions on the first occasion that occurred, in this new diocese, lest they should be lost by neglect. It was thus I acted with regard to my first metropolitical visitation in 1842.[8½]

Nor has there been any moment since I came into residence, when, so far as I can judge, the Bishop of Calcutta could be so well spared for a time, as the present. The Bishops of Madras and Bombay, thank God, are in their Dioceses, and have been for six or seven years. In ten years indeed from 1822 to 1832 four eminent prelates, my predecessors, were removed by sudden death; so that out of those ten years, nearly six were of vacancies in the see. But now, in the three Dioceses, no death nor absence from India has occurred for between eight and nine years, that is, from

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[8½] Which I had as nearly as possible lost; and indeed only owed its preservation to His Grace the Primate's interposition.

the unexpected demise of the beloved and saint-like Bishop of Madras, Corrie, in February 1837 after little more than a year of his holy Episcopate, to the present time.

We may humbly trust, therefore, the future to the divine mercy; and believe that our separation from each other, painful as it is, will be found to promote the good of the Diocese on the whole, and the glory of Christ.

I will now proceed to the direct business of our Meeting, and will lay before you, in the first place, *the present position of our Ecclesiastical affairs.* Then, *some circumstances of the visitation just terminated, especially as respects the cause of Missions*; and lastly, *such points of practical consolation and advice* as I may be expected to offer under the circumstances of my immediate departure to Europe.

On each I shall open my heart with more than my wonted freedom, as becomes a Father in God addressing, on an unusually solemn occasion, his younger Brethren—from the brink of eternity.

And, Oh, may the great Comforter, the "CREATOR SPIRIT," as the Hymn in our Ordination Service so sublimely terms the Holy Ghost; whose guidance and grace were promised by our Lord, when he left his disconsolate disciples, to "abide with them for ever," vouchsafe to assist us in this our most important, and probably final Meeting together upon earth, for spiritual communication and communion in Synodical assembly.

I. The position of our Ecclesiastical affairs falls under many heads, which it will be my duty to detail to you.

1. *As respects the Civil Government of Imperial British India,* it has been gradually improving, I trust, for the last seven or eight years. I have been exceedingly cautious to take no steps but such as I considered essential to the interests of real Christianity, according to the Doctrine and Discipline of our Church; and then to take them with firmness and decision. When I contrast what I had to struggle with for the first years of my Episcopate,[9] with the smoothness and harmony with which things have now been working for some years, I cannot sufficiently bless Almighty God for his goodness.

It is true, there are many anomalies still in our position as compared with an English Diocese. It is true, the inherent powers of the Bishop as recognized and defined in the Royal Letters Patent, were not duly supported in the Act for the erection of the see in 1814, by correspondent provisions.[10] It is true, the Rev. Chaplains are not

[9] Arising from the frequent vacancies of the see, the newness of the Diocese, my own inexperience, and the mutual and almost unavoidable misapprehensions of the Civil and Military authorities both at home and in India.

[10] This was pointed out to me by Bishop Corrie and admitted by Lord Metcalfe as the source of many of our difficulties, so soon almost as I arrived in 1832.

incumbents nor perpetual curates, as at home. It is true, the Bishop's License is not clearly and formally acknowledged, by the Government in their proceedings, as it should be. It is true, that the appointments to stations and the removal of Chaplains are in the Government. It is true, that impediments, as to the Bishops of Calcutta and Madras holding their Ecclesiastical Courts, have arisen.[11] It is true, that the Rev. Chaplains are still sometimes termed "Military ones."

But all these anomalies are, in practice, very much remedied. The Bishop's recommendations to appointments are acted on ;[11½] removals do not take place without his approbation and his endorsing of that approbation on the licence. All the Clergy, both Chaplains and Missionaries, are duly licensed by the Bishop and act under that licence. Notices of the licences of the Rev. Clergy are inserted in the Government Gazette; any thing disorderly in the conduct of the Chaplains is referred by Government to the Bishop, and his opinion duly supported; the Chaplains, if described "as similar to Military ones," are known and acknowledged to be described so improperly and merely in common parlance.[12]

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[11] Legal difficulties were raised by the Advocate General at Madras in the time of Bishop Middleton, and it had not been judged expedient by my Predecessors, since the demise of that eminent prelate, to re-open the Consistorial Court. In my own case, I was advised on my arrival, not to stir the question afresh; nor have I done it. At Bombay, however, the Bishop's Court has from the first always been open, without impediment; but no cases during thirty years have been brought before it. Virtually, the business of these Courts seems managed better in a private way.

[11½] In a letter dated October 30th 1844, the Hon. Court observes to the Governor General, "We desire that the Bishops may be consulted previously to the nomination of Chaplains to stations, no less with a view of promoting amicable feelings between the Civil and Ecclesiastical authorities than of securing the most suitable appointments for the vacancies; but the nomination and appointment of the Chaplains must rest with the Government."

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[12] The differences are as essential, as they are numerous.

Military Chaplains hold Military Commissions from Her Majesty; the Chaplains of the Hon'ble Company hold no such commission.

In the articles of war of Her Majesty's Army there are two articles especially relating to *Military Chaplains;* in the articles of war for the Hon'ble Company's Army these two articles are omitted.

The Chaplains of Her Majesty's Army are not immediately subject to any Diocesan, but carry on all communications with the "War Department" and receive instructions from it, through the Chaplain General, to whom also they report their proceedings; the Chaplains of the Hon'ble Company are by Her Majesty's letters Patent placed under the Bishop of the Diocese in which they reside, *and take the oath of Canonical obedience to that Bishop;* are responsible to that Bishop for a faithful discharge of their duties, and are licensed by him to officiate; and they report their proceedings to him, and not to the Chaplain General.

The Chaplains of Her Majesty's Army are attached to Regiments and march with those Regiments; the Honorable Company's Chaplains are not attached to Regiments and do not march with them, but constitute, on the contrary, the Clergy of a regular Diocese under their own proper Bishop, some doing duty at Civil and some at Military Stations, and most of them being stationed in succession at both, during the course of their residence.

Lastly, the *Military Chaplains* of Her Majesty's Army are subject to the Army Regulations and articles of war; the Company's Chaplains are not; but are solely governed by the Ecclesiastical Laws as in force at home, and as administered by their own Diocesan, for in the letters Patent the Bishop is directed to call before him or his commissaries, at such competent days, hours and places whatsoever, and so often as to him or them shall seem most meet and convenient, the aforesaid Ministers, Chaplains, Priests or Deacons in Holy Orders of the United Church of England and Ireland or any of them; and to enquire by witnesses, to be sworn in due form of law and by all other lawful ways and means by which the same may be best and most effectually done, as well concerning their morals, as their behaviour in their said offices and stations respectively.

In conformity to the above provisions, it is stated in the Honorable Court's Letter to the Supreme Government (May 23rd 1827 para. 3.) "When our Ecclesiastical Establishment was placed on the footing on which it now stands, it became a necessary arrangement that the Indian Clergy should be submitted

2. I pass on to *our ecclesiastical position as to the statistics of this Diocese.* The number of the Rev. Presbyters has been, thank God, on the increase since August 1842. Our whole number was then ninety five; it is now one hundred and six. It will be remembered that in 1838 it was only sixty nine. Our Chaplains on the establishment are fifty three, of whom two are absent at home or on sick leave. We have therefore in the fields of labor fifty one; whereas three or four years back we had but twenty four. The Honorable Court have done much for us. Twenty Chaplains were appointed in the two years 1842 and 1843; and our stations were never so nearly filled, nor any thing like it, as at present.

Eight Ordinations have been holden, of which one has been at Benares, another at Simla, a third at Cawnpore. Two, of the remainder, have given me peculiar pleasure as including the satisfactory examination and admission to Holy Orders of several Students of Bishop's College, that noble monument of Bishop Middleton's judgment and piety, and which the first Principal, Dr. Mill, during a residence of sixteen years, so remarkably adorned by his oriental attainments and profound general learning.

The young persons confirmed since August 1842, are between two and three thousand.[13]

to the general superintendence of the Bishop and rendered subject to the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction for all offences of Ecclesiastical cognizance.

[13] Of whom nearly 200 were confirmed since my return on Tuesday April, '29.

The spiritual record-books, now opened in each station, are found, as I expected they would be, of the most essential service.[14]

I must once more direct the particular attention of the Clergy to the necessity of the greatest care and punctuality in the registers of marriages, births and interments, and the transmission of them quarterly to the Registrar of the Diocese in the strictest form.[15]

We have lost, I am sorry to say, four Chaplains within the brief space of the last nine months; the early death of one of whom, Mr. Ross, a most promising young minister, in the first weeks of his residence, I could not but deeply deplore.

The removal to his heavenly rest of another, the Senior Chaplain and Clergyman of the Diocese,—the Rev. Henry Fisher, can, under the circumstances of his extreme sufferings, of his venerable age, and of his fervent hope of heaven, be no permanent subject of regret to his family or the

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[14] Without them, the Bishop is entirely in the dark as to the position, residence, state of health and general duties of the Clergy. Returns from them are to be transmitted quarterly to the Bishop's Chaplain.

[15] In my printed "Suggestions," which are constantly being revised and improved as new light is cast upon our Ecclesiastical affairs, I direct every Clergyman, to enter in his spiritual record book the day of his sending off these Documents to the Registrar. No alteration in the Marriage-Law as affecting India, has, so far as I know, taken place. It grieves me to observe that illegal marriages from time to time are celebrated, if the accounts in the public Journals are to be credited, but I am helpless. I have in my charges of 1838 and 1842, and on all occasions when applied to besides, distinctly stated the law as it now stands, and cautioned parties most seriously against any infractions of it. The cruelty to the innocent female is lamentable.

Church. His death was to him a "deliverance indeed from the miseries of this sinful world." It is a pleasing duty in me to bear testimony, after twelve years and more of intimate friendship, to the eminence of his Christian character, and the triumph, over the most acute form of disease and pain, which the grace of Christ enabled him to obtain. His life and death constitute one proof, amidst a thousand others, of the reality and blessedness of vital religion in the greatest anguish and exhaustion of nature. His history was altogether a remarkable one. He came out, at the age of forty two, with a wife and eight children; he passed thirty one years in India without once leaving it; he brought up his large family in the country, of which two cheered his heart as his fellow Chaplains for a series of years; he was able to discharge his public duties till within nine months or so of his decease, assisted by his beloved elder son; he acquired a reputation and influence at Meerut during sixteen or seventeen years, of which India has seen no other example. He labored afterwards for thirteen or fourteen years in Calcutta. His zeal for the sacred cause of Missions throughout his whole course, his knowledge of the native languages and his peculiar cheerfulness and sweetness of disposition, made him resemble in some respects Dr. Claudius Buchanan who induced him to come out, and in others, the Beloved Bishop Corrie who for twenty three years was his bosom friend in India. Finally, his strong hope of heaven and his victory by faith over the "King of Terrors" in his most formidable aspect, in his seventy third year, leaves a hovering brightness and fragrance, as it were, over his tomb, which nothing but the grace of Christ can diffuse.[16]

3. Following upon the Statistics of the Diocese, *the Additional Clergy Society* claims our particular notice. It is at present little known comparatively; but it has in it the "seeds" of immense good to India. It may possibly be one chief means, of our transition from the occasional fluctuating and unsatisfactory discharge of the offices of religion, by a few scattered Chaplains appointed from home, to an indigenous and adequate and permanent body of Clergy, with the cure of souls regularly committed to them, in duly assigned parishes or districts. Its plan is simple and effective. It is to furnish a number of Clergymen, ordained by the Bishop on Titles given by the Society, for the stations where there are no Chaplains; the local gentry finding the house, and the Society the stipend. We have had great encouragement; for, with the promised bequest of W. Gorton Esq., of 10,000 Co. Rs. we have received in the three years and a half, since our commence-

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[16] His son Captain Fisher of the Sirmoor Battalion in whose arms he expired at Mussoorie Sunday March 16th, writes to me that his last words, were, "strong in hope; strong in hope." His sufferings had been excruciating for sometime; and at last produced at times an absolute stupefaction. It was upon being raised from this, he made the above remark.

ment about 60,000 Co. Rs. of which about 50,000 Co. Rs. will be capital duly invested.[17]

The unspeakable importance of such an institution I need not dwell on, in a Diocese like that of Calcutta, in its present early state.

4. Our Ecclesiastical position *as respects Education* is gradually being ameliorated. The children, in our Native Orphan Asylums and the other Christian Schools in our Missions, are continually increasing, and now amount to between four and five thousand. Christian villages are being formed. A Normal School for training Masters and Teachers will not long be delayed. Even the Government Schools and Colleges, defective as they are in their platform of instruction, are yet loosening the hold of the external grapplings of a degraded superstition. The happy opening, of late, of all the branches of the Honorable Company's Service to Native talent, connected with moral character (for such is the express condition laid down by the present Governor General—to whom our warmest thanks are due for this, and other instances, of the interest his Excellency takes in the civilization and moral elevation of

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[17] Had we adequate monthly subscriptions, we could admit now two or three more Clergy, and, when the bequest just referred to, comes in, another, making four or five altogether, in addition to the one who is already ordained ; for the Society requires monthly subscriptions, to the amount of the salary of each individual adopted, and three years of that amount in Capital. Thus for five Clergymen, we require 5,000 Co. Rs. of monthly income, and also 45,000 Co. Rs. of Capital. The Bishop looks to this security when he accepts the titles, both for the sake of the Church and for that of the candidate himself.

India) must have a most salutary effect. Christianity favors and is aided by every kind of knowledge, if it be not poisoned in its mode of being communicated, by scepticism or infidelity. Christianity cannot but be connected with Ancient and Modern History. The Evidences and Doctrines of the true Religion must ooze out on all sides, as education is imparted, if the instructors are upright, though they may not be permitted to teach directly its immense blessings. The Gospel Morals even the Heathen admire. The character of Christ commands the involuntary admiration of mankind. Christianity is, indeed, the source of all intellectual and moral excellence in fallen man. The elements of the Universal Religion are embedded in it. And as the prejudices of the old Indians pass away, with the ignorance, the vices and infidelity on which they rested, general education will be based on its true foundation, man's relation to God in Christ Jesus.

Two or three points I venture, with all humility, to suggest, as capable of being at once added, by a paternal Government, to the system of its education.

i. *The selection of books*, in the School and College Libraries, might be materially improved. None of an immoral or infidel tendency, especially novels, biography and poetry of a loose description, should be permitted to corrupt our Native youth.

ii. *The Rest of the Christian Sabbath* should be given to our population by the suspension of public works on the Lord's Day. "The Stranger within thy Gates," includes the Heathen, as well as the professed Worshippers of Almighty God, within the circuit of blessings of the fourth commandment. Thousands also, of European and East Indian Superintendents of Native Workmen, would thus be relieved from Sunday desecration.[17½]

iii. Further, *all rites and usages which contradict the law of nature and overthrow the first principles of our common humanity* should surely be put down. The ghât murders of the aged, for example, and the debasing multiplication of family degradation and pollution, by the practice of polygamy amongst the Coolin Brahmins should share the fate, as they do the infamy, of infanticide, Suttees and the support formerly given to the Juggernauth and other horrid idolatries of India.

iv. I hardly venture to suggest a fourth particular. But I cannot myself imagine any valid objection to the appointment of a discreet person *to read Lectures in the six Colleges on the Evidences and nature of Christianity;* the attendance on them being entirely voluntary, and understood to be so. Such Lectures would merely give those

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[17½] The extent, to which the Lord's day is violated in India, is quite incredible in all departments of the public service, and without a pretence of necessity.

Scholars and Students who were so disposed, an opportunity of knowing what Christianity is, and would show a becoming sense on the part of Government of the truth and immense importance of the Religion they profess.

5. I will proceed to point out some of the *improvements, in our Ecclesiastical position, which I have most at heart at this time, and upon which I have ventured to lay* the strongest statements before the proper authorities. Nothing but the circumstance of my leaving the Diocese, perhaps for ever, would lead me to detail unaccomplished designs.

i. The erection of *a Bishoprick at Agra* with an Archdeaconry is a matter of the greatest moment. It would relieve the Bishop of Calcutta from his almost interminable journies, and would plant a Bishop at the seat of the Agra Government, eight hundred miles as it is from Calcutta.[18]

ii. The next desirable point is the rescue of *the Archdeacon of Calcutta from the oppressive burden of station duty.* The Bishop's Domestic Chaplain has no fixed station duty; and much less ought the Venerable Archdeacon. His whole time is required for consultation, correspondence, regulations in the Bishop's absence, and general help and superintendence. He should also be at liberty to fill his proper seat in the Cathedral, and to make his annual visitations between the Bishop's Triennial ones.[19] Travelling expenses should of course be allowed. So, as to the new Archdeacon of Agra.

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[18] It would also enable the Bishop of Calcutta to hold his visitation triennially, except once in five years if the Metropolitical duties should be continued; and, above all, it would allow him more time for thought, for the digesting of general designs of Ecclesiastical improvement, and for a calmer discharge of his spiritual functions.

iii. *A more adequate supply of Chaplains* is, in the next place, most desirable. The Honorable Court has only to proceed in the road it has been lately pursuing. A few more Chaplains should be added. We have now fifty three allowed on the Bengal establishment; if these were increased to sixty, and regularly kept up in the fields of labor, it would be a most important step.

iv. *The number of Rev. Chaplains on the higher allowances* might possibly be then a little enlarged, nineteen seems too few out of fifty three.[20] And nineteen out of sixty would be still more disproportionate. If they could be put at twenty five, that is, at six more than at present, the arrangement would be improved.

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[19] Archdeacon Robinson of Madras, having no station duty, always did.

[20] It places the hope of attaining that rank at the wearisome distance of nine or ten years from the commencement of a Chaplain's residence.

We should then have twenty-five on full allowances, of whom two would continue as at present, Presidency Chaplains, with higher emoluments; and thirty-five on the 500 Co's. Rs. salaries; of whom, again, two would have the straits' allowances of 800 Co's. Rs. during their duties there.

Of these sixty Rev. Chaplains, it would be a great advantage to the efficiency of the Ecclesiastical service, if a certain number, say twelve or fifteen, were by the Court placed at the nomination of the Bishop, so that two or three Chaplaincies might, each year on an average, be filled up by the Court at his recommendation; which his wide correspondence with the Clergy and Tutors of Colleges at home would enable him most satisfactorily to undertake.

v. But I am, lastly, most anxious that the Honorable Court should *open the Ecclesiastical Service, on a discreet and well considered plan, to an indigenous class of Sub-Assistant Chaplains* educated under the Episcopal eye, chiefly at Bishop's College, and to be ordained, when duly qualified as respects talents, piety, morals, attainments in Theology and general respectability, on titles granted by the Governor General. There seems to be no more objection to such a plan, than against the Uncovenanted servants of the Honorable Company in all branches of the public service. And the interference with patronage, if patronage it can be called, would not I am persuaded be for a moment thought of.[21]

Nor is there the least danger on this account of unworthy persons being admitted into the Ministry. The Presbyters, whom St. Paul directed Titus to ordain in every city of Crete, were indigenous beyond all doubt.[21½]

6. I pass on to another class of topics.

Our Ecclesiastical position *as to sacred buildings for the public worship of Almighty God* is rapidly improving. There seems a spirit[22] arising in the minds of our gentry all over India, to erect becoming Churches at their own charge,[22½] in the smaller stations where the help of Government could hardly be expected; of which, the example of Bhagulpore, deserves especial mention.[23]

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[21] If a small number, say six or twelve, were allowed as a trial, they might labor most advantageously in our larger stations under the directions of our European Chaplains, and assist in those pastoral duties which no strength of our present Clergy can fulfil.

[21½] These five particulars, a Bishop at Agra; the Archdeacon relieved from station-duty; more Chaplains; the number on the higher allowances enlarged; and uncovenanted Sub-Assistant Chaplains would constitute altogether a great step in advance in our Ecclesiastical position.

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[22] I am most anxious that the Government should encourage this fine spirit by erecting at once suitable edifices in their own large Military stations. If when lines of Barracks and Hospitals are being built, a Church should at the same time be founded, the additional expense would be comparatively trifling and the hopeless delay of years saved. This would be to act as a Christian Government.

I am thankful to say the ground plans and elevations of the new Churches at Subathoo, Kussowlie, and Umballa, have been framed by the order of Government in communication with the Bishop; which will, I trust, secure their decent Ecclesiastical appearance.

I am rejoiced to find that Calcutta is to have two new Churches one at Kidderpore, the other at Entally; of which the one is rapidly advancing; these, with the Cathedral, will raise our Metropolitan Churches to the number of twelve. No Town in England will then be better supplied with Churches and Ministers.

[22½] Aided by the admirable Church Building Fund which has raised in eleven years Co. Rs. 51,967.3.4; has contributed to the erection of thirty-five Churches, and has been in part the occasion of an outlay by Government and individuals, of Co. Rs. 2,84,849.

In the Sanataria, also, of Simla, Mussoorie and Darjeeling, the Christian Residents have built or are building their own Churches—at Simla on a noble scale under the skilful directions of Major Boileau.

[23] The Bishop knows of no example of such benevolence, zeal, skill and perseverance, as in the station of Bhagulpore, led on by the liberality and advice of G. T. Brown Esq.

The sum raised for the Clergyman of the Additional Clergy Society's support for two years was Co's. Rs. 3,600; for the Church itself Co's. Rs. 8,230, and for the Parsonage House 4,636. This is quite astonishing, considering the smallness of the station—Co's. Rs. 16,886:—altogether such exertions were worthy of a son of the Rev. David Brown, the Father of Christianity in Northern India.

The Bishop has long meditated a general scheme for Trustees or Church wardens all over the Diocese. He inserts, therefore, the plan which was adopted at Bhagulpore.

The Bishop recommended that two lay gentlemen, communicants of the Church of England, to be called Church wardens, should join with the Mi-

The New Cathedral of Calcutta is now approaching its completion, under the able and scientific direction of our eminent architect, Colonel Forbes; whose incessant personal labors and care are beyond the conception of any one not acquainted with the facts; and who, I trust, will forgive me for thus offering him again, in the name of the Christianity of India, my warmest

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nister and form a Committee of management for temporal affairs connected with the Church.

They should meet for business once a month, or oftener if necessary. All papers or references on subjects before the Committee, should be passed by both the Church Wardens, unless for special reasons to be assigned.

The Minister should, as a mark of respect due to religion in the persons of those who are called to the sacred office, preside at all Meetings of the Committee of management, and sign all proceedings and letters as President; and the Church Wardens in the order of their official rank.

Duties of the Church Wardens.

1. It shall be the duty of the Church Wardens to bring to the notice of the Bishop or his Archdeacon, at their visitation, or his Commissary, any irregularity on the part of the Minister, or just cause of complaint which may need correction.

2. They are also to assist and aid the Minister in the discharge of his duties.

Duties of the standing Committee of Management.

1. To take charge of the school and charity Funds, connected with the Church, including the Sacramental collections, which are to be disbursed according to the Rubric.

2. To see that the Church yard and Burial ground are kept in becoming order.

3. To take care of the goods of the Church.

4. To take charge of the plate.

5. To represent in the proper quarter when the Church needs repairs.

The Minister, as President, will report to the Bishop or Archdeacon, any vacancy in the office of Church Wardens, and at the same time nominate a person to fill up the appointment and receive the Bishop's confirmation.

The Bishop having consulted with the Minister, hereby begs Mr. Brown and Mr. Gouldsbury to accept the appointment of Church Wardens according to the foregoing rules.

gratitude for his unparalleled exertions. The building will constitute a modest and appropriate Mother-Church, long most urgently required for Parochial purposes in its immediate locality, and aided, in that view, and that view exclusively, by the munificence of the Honorable Company. Nothing beyond stability with the simplest and usual ornaments as prevalent, when I left home in June 1832, in our English Protestant Cathedrals, is aimed at.[24]

But, it is to the spiritual designs of the sacred Edifice, that I would chiefly bend your attention. The building is nothing in itself. Not to erect it, indeed, with becoming Ecclesiastical propriety would be a disgrace to what has been termed, "The city of Palaces." But this is a subordinate matter altogether; the glory of Christ and the salvation of souls is my object. Here, also, our prospects are inviting. The Endowment-Fund, for the support of the New Cathedral Mission, amounts to about two lacs and a half already, and the means are, I hope, secured, independently of this fund, for building two houses for Missionary Canons and Schools. The commencement of our direct work, I trust, will be made in a great Native School for one thousand children, and a Normal Institution for training Missionary teachers. Thus, a seed-plot will be laid out, for all the Missions of our Church, throughout the Diocese. The two Chaplains, also, allotted by the Honorable Court for the ordinary duties of a Parish Church will be in due time appointed; and the Cathedral will embrace, as in India a Cathedral ought, the spiritual instructions of our stated Christian flocks, and the means of conversion of our immense Heathen and Mohammedan population.[25]

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[24] The noble gift of deeply stained glass, for our Eastern window, with the scene of the Crucifixion incomparably executed by West and Jervis, will produce some resemblance between our Cathedral and New College Chapel in the University of Oxford; and will connect the name of King George 3rd (by whom the glass was given to the Dean and Chapter of Windsor in 1787, and transferred by that Body, under Her Majesty's approbation, to the Cathedral of Calcutta last year) with the most splendid possession of our great Protestant country in the Eastern Hemisphere.

The Cathedral will not of course be duly appreciated in the present age, (ignorance and indifference are too prevalent) I leave its reputation to posterity, as Lord Bacon did his Works.

7. I come in the last place, as regards, our Ecclesiastical position, to notice *the general prospects of our established Church in this country*. Here, as I am leaving you, you will excuse me for pausing a little—for we have, thank God, the Episcopal Reformed Church of England and Ireland established in India, by the laws of our Christian Government.

This is not a mere "*State Religion*," as it is sometimes invidiously termed, but the religion of Christ our Lord, as proclaimed and established by his good providence in Great Britain, in the second century, and reformed in the sixteenth by our own Bishops and Clergy, under the protection of our natural Princes, from Popish idolatry and error.

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[25] The importance we attach to our religion will thus be visibly presented to the observant eye of our sagacious but unbelieving native youth. Should I be permitted to return next year, my first delight will be to consecrate, with a heart as I hope, overflowing with gratitude, this most important Edifice to the glory of Christ.

Nor is our Church the "*Dominant Church*" in India, any more than it is at home—to advert to another calumny—but the Christian Religion wisely and mildly established by a Christian Government for the highest purposes, the honor of God and the salvation of souls; and offering its immense blessings to the poorest of our people, as well as the more affluent—with an entire freedom of conscience for those who decline the offer.

Much less is our Church a "*Sectarian body,*" as some would call it; that is, a small number of persons who have cut themselves off from the Mass of Christians by certain peculiarities; but the National Church of the Government, Nobles and people, of our religious country, at home and abroad. It is the glory of our land; the main bulwark of Christianity in Europe and Asia; and, with all its defects—for every thing human is defective, the purest in its polity, doctrines and orders of any Church now existing in the world.

Nor is an establishment, "*essential to Christianity,*" as the infidel would insinuate. For the three or four first centuries of its history prove that the Church of Christ, as a Church, can subsist independently of the State. We merely consider an establishment to be, as it is, essential to a Christian Government, which desires to discharge its highest obligations towards the people committed to its care.[26]

Such a connection, between Christianity and the rulers of a Christian country, as may be sufficient to fulfil the duty of a parent of the State to his family, is, not only expedient, but lawful, scriptural, and absolutely necessary to the very first principles of legislation.

Human power must rest on the fear of God; laws without conscience and a reference to a Supreme Arbiter, are impotent. Every nation upon earth, both before and after the appearance of Christianity, has, therefore, acknowledged the necessity of some religion, as the support of Civil Authority. Even the Heathen did this. So that we have universal consent, and the voice of conscience speaking in all ages and nations, in support of establishments.[27]

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[26] The two Rev. Chaplains of the Scotch Church in the Bengal Presidency, as we might expect, from their learning and theological attainments, have never interfered with the Church of England. They confine themselves to their own flocks.

The appointment of the two Rev. Chaplains of that communion, was not meant to weaken the claim of the Church of England to being the established religion of the country in India.

This question was set at rest as early as the year 1822 by the Court of Directors, who pronounced it to be a mistake to suppose the Kirk to be established in the same sense in which the Episcopal Church of England was established, and declared accordingly, that they could by no means consent to place St. Andrew's (the Kirk then newly erected) on the same footing with regard to the number of Clergy and Servants and various other particulars which had been solicited, as St. John's Cathedral Church. Bishop Middleton's Life Vol. 2. page 24.

The Kings and Princes of the Old Testament are commended, by Almighty God, in proportion to their zeal in maintaining the national piety. This they did, not as a part of the Ceremonial Law, but as the Governors of a people favored with a Divine Revelation; and, therefore, a just example to us.

This places, as it seems to us, the duty on a Divine Authority as its basis.

By the conversion of Constantine, and the laws of Theodosius the Great, Christianity was established in the 4th century, and has continued established ever since, as the true religion has spread. America is too recent a case for an exception. We have therefore an unbroken prescription in our favor.

If mistakes are made by the Supreme power of a State, in the mode of supporting Christianity, those mistakes are to be corrected peaceably and wisely. A father is bound to instruct his children; and it is no proof to the contrary that many parents have instructed their children amiss.

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[27] The learned and reflecting form their opinions on such grounds as such persons ought to form them.

The less inquiring receive them from an authority, which those whom Providence dooms to live on trust, need not be ashamed to rely on.

These two sorts of men move in the same direction though in a different place. They both move with the order of the universe. They take this tenet of the head and heart from the common nature and common relation of men. [Burke.]

He ought to correct his mistakes when duly admonished; but the general duty stands. Thus the most plausible objection to establishments dissolves of itself.

The principle of self-preservation induces nations to guard against the anger of any neighboring power which might destroy it. Much more then should a Christian Government fear that infinitely powerful and glorious Sovereign, whose authority rules the Universe, and who commands nations to acknowledge him in their public and corporate capacity, as well as individually, by *consecrating* their Government;[27‡] i. e. by the establishment of religion.

The care of the souls of men is no more to be left to the chances of a voluntary system than the care of their bodies or their property. As medical appointments and laws generally are formed in every state, so much more should religious establishments. For, in the corruption of our nature, the supply here will not be created as in matters of this world, by the necessity; the necessity being least felt where it is in truth the most deplorable. A paternal Government must, therefore, provide the supply beforehand; but still in so discreet a manner, that ample room may be left for the salutary operation of individual effort, as it is, and no persecution ever attempted or thought of.

One of the fine expressions of Mr. Burke.

Where a Church is already established, and is confessedly scriptural in its main outlines, as in our own country,[28] questions about patronage, or for, or against establishments, or about the less or greater measure of the Divine Blessing resting upon its Ministers from time to time, or concerning the rise of temporary delusions, are out of place. To overturn a national system which has been inwrought into the very soul of our laws and institutions for sixteen or seventeen centuries, involves a responsibility which no wise man would incur, especially after the fearful experiment of the great rebellion two centuries since, and the recent revolution of France. At all events, before the work of demolition begins, let us know what is to be substituted; that we may form a calm judgment on the whole case.[29]

I speak unto "wise" and religious "men;" I speak to those who fear God and have a regard for the peace and morals of future ages. I speak to those who have read with intelligence the pages of History, Civil and Ecclesiastical, and who know the almost infinite miseries of revolution and anarchy, and the depth of human depravity. With others I am not arguing.[29½]

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[28] All Christian Protestant Churches abroad, and all Orthodox dissentient Bodies at home confess this, and always have from the earliest days of the Reformation to the present hour.

[29] The incomparable Mr. Burke works up this idea in his usual masterly manner in his "Reflections;" published, I may just add, in 1790, of which 30,000 copies were sold in the first twelve months, and which, after 50 or 60 years, stands by universal consent as one of our first English Classics for profound Philosophical views and brilliancy of imagination.

And if these arguments preponderate in favor of Church establishments in Christian Europe, how much more strongly do they apply to the scattered flocks in Heathen India. Here the simple command, "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature," seems a sufficient warrant for us. Here the fluctuating nature of our society requires an establishment for any thing like the permanent Worship of God. Here, our feeble native converts need to be sustained with a certain Church Polity and Discipline, and with fixed and edifying Articles, Liturgies, and Offices of Devotion, whatever may be the case in Europe.

Accordingly, I rejoice to see that our Church is taking firmer and firmer root in the minds of thoughtful men in this country. Nor have I any fears for it, unless it should provoke the displeasure of Almighty God by incurable errors and dissensions. Then indeed our "candlestick might be removed from its place," and perhaps in a moment; as in the cases of the seven Churches in Asia.[30] I leave it, however, full of hope; and if I return, should God spare me to return, I doubt not I shall have to rejoice with you in its improved position and augmented numbers and strength.

[29½] It is only the preponderance of arguments we need or claim in such a case.

[30] Bishop Horsley has thundered out this startling truth in his own strong manner.

II. But I proceed to notice, as I proposed, as the second main division of this address, *some circumstances of my first Metropolitical and third ordinary Visitation, especially as connected with the cause of Missions.*

I embarked, as you may remember, for Moulmein and the straits of Malacca, immediately after the delivery of my last Charge in August 1842. Thence, I proceeded to Madras, where I landed in the November of that year, and had the unspeakable satisfaction of making the personal acquaintance of my honored Brother, the Lord Bishop of that Diocese, whose ardent zeal for supporting the Christian Missions of the South of India, as well as general anxiety in the discharge of his other arduous duties, had long endeared him to my very heart.

And, perhaps, I may testify to you on this occasion without impropriety, as he may possibly have the care of this Diocese, for some time, during my absence, that he will deserve and obtain your love as you become known to him, and he to you. His talents, his learning, his piety, his devotion to his Master's cause cannot fail of attaching your regard and esteem.

At Madras I passed rather more than a fortnight, and then proceeded with the Bishop to Negapatam where he left me to go on to Ceylon on his own Triennial visitation. After being refreshed, with the sight of the Negapatam Mission and the converse of the Rev. Propagation

Missionary there, I went on to Tanjore and Trichinopoly, to embrace, once more, the aged and Apostolic Kohlhoff, whose matured piety and holy warmth of love at the age of more than eighty, edified and consoled me. He is now gone to his rest. He was one of the many Missionaries of the Incorporated Society for Propagating the Gospel who was in the orders of our Sister Lutheran Church.

After passing through these ancient fields of Swartz's evangelical labors, I hastened to meet again, for a few days, the Bishop of Madras in Ceylon, and then proceeded to make my long desired visit to Tinnevelly, which, it will be perhaps remembered, I was unable to reach in 1834. There my soul indeed was comforted with the amazing progress which the Rev. the Propagation Missionaries, and those of the Church Missionary Society, had made in the conversion of the Heathen. Thirty-five thousand altogether were reported to me as having been gathered to Christ. In several large villages a considerable proportion, and in some, a majority of the inhabitants, were Christian—a numerous body of Rev. Clergy, some of them educated at Bishop's College, Calcutta, and ordained by myself,—were working in harmony with others of that and the Church Missionary Society, who came from England, in the same glorious cause.[31]

[31] Since the period of this visit (about sixteen months since) still more copious blessings have been vouchsafed. The Rev. Mr. Pope of Sawyerpooram

This is a blessed repetition, and upon a larger scale, of the success we have had in our own Diocese in Krishnaghur under the Church Missionary Society. And such tidings should surely bind our hearts to both the great bodies which God honors for such purposes. I need not here repeat, what I noticed with so much delight and thankfulness in my last Charge, that these two Institutions are now equally under the patronage of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. Errors may, and will, prevail from time to time in any large Society based on the broad footing of a National Church; and these particular failings may be avoided for a season, by a new and more select institution. But so long as no change is made in the fixed Articles, Homilies and Liturgies of our Reformed Church, on which each proceeds, and whilst many holy men are laboring in both Societies, (like Mr. Pope of Sawyerpooram) in every quarter of the world, and are crowned with the divine blessing in so striking a manner, we are surely called upon

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states that the addition to his numbers during the six months from February to August 1844, was one thousand men, women and children ; and that he could receive more if he had more assistants. The religious movement is, he thinks, only commencing. It appears from a printed Report of January, 1845, that five thousand additional converts altogether, have been, within a short space of time, turned from dumb idols to serve the living God ; destroying or giving up to the Missionaries their temples, and their former objects of worship, and evincing the most satisfactory evidence of their sincerity. The Bishop of Madras himself wrote lately to the Propagation Board at home in these terms ; "It is my firm persuasion that with an adequate body of equally devoted Missionaries" (as Mr. Pope) "the Heathen would come to Christ by thousands; and that in a few years, if we are not thwarted by the powers of this world, it will become a Christian Province."

to give them our cordial support. Some may prefer one, of the two Societies for a time, and some the other. For myself, I have been a constant Member of both from the time of my entering Holy Orders in 1801, and was accustomed when at home to attend their Meetings; and I rejoice in recommending them once more, as I have often before done, with my whole heart and soul, to my Diocese, on the plain, intelligible ground of the immense good effected by them on the whole, and the capacity which they possess for diffusing still wider blessings in future.

From Tinnevelly I proceeded to Cotyam and visited the Syrian Mission of the Church Missionary Society. Thence, I went on to the Diocese of Bombay, where, after being "filled somewhat with the company" of my dear Brother Bishop, whom I had met there as Archdeacon in 1835, I returned to Calcutta, much broken in health, in May 1843. I recovered, however, after a considerable lapse of time, by God's goodness; and resumed in October 1843, my Ordinary Visitation, which had been suspended from the time when I left Malacca.

It is from this long journey, in the N. W. Provinces, of nearly five thousand miles and occupying a period of above a year and a half, that I am now come back with completely debilitated health, and under the mournful necessity—for mournful to me it truly is, and entirely contrary to my intentions and wishes—of leaving you again for a season.

I have thus made a Tour, since 1842, through almost all the Mission Fields in the three Dioceses.[32]

At Chunar, in coming down the country, I missed the excellent and laborious Rev. W. Bowley of the Church Missionary Society, who had been snatched away, sometime before, from his large and successful circle of duties. He was a disciple and friend of Bishop Corrie—and a singular example of what piety, diligence, and love for his work, conjoined with an acute and sagacious mind, and a thorough knowledge of the colloquial Native tongues, can effect, in the course of years, under the blessing of Christ our Lord.[33]

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[32] I have, in the course of this visitation of the N. W. Provinces, seen almost all the Mission Stations, of the two great Societies, in those parts. At Cawnpore I had much delight in meeting the Propagation Society's Missionaries; and at Benares, Jaunpore, Goruckpore, Chunar, and Agra, those of the Church Missionary Society.

Kotegurh in the Himalayahs I was not able reach myself; nor Krishnaghur—Nuddea near Berhampore; but I have received full accounts of them by means of my Rev. Chaplain.

The Missions of the two Societies in and near Calcutta, I had visited before I left the Presidency.

[33] To him we owe an excellent translation of the Holy Bible into the Hindee. He translated also the Pilgrim's Progress. The first Hindoostanee Hymn Book, again, and a variety of Religious Tracts were amongst the fruits of his indefatigable labors. He was quite unique in his line of talents. The Hindoostanee Hymn Book is a great curiosity.

His death was instantaneous from disease of the heart—the crowd of Natives, both Christians and Heathens, who voluntarily pressed around his funeral—more than two thousand altogether, and many of them in tears, was quite unprecedented in India. But "precious in the sight of the Lord,"—and honorable also before men, when he pleases—" is the death of his Saints."

Of all the Missions I rejoice to be able to say that the prospects are most favorable. The platform of future good is soundly and widely laid. The preparatory work is in a state of great advance. I bless God especially that all the accounts of Krishnaghur and other Missions, are fully borne out by the facts, as I at first stated them in my public letters.[33½]

I have only further to mention, on this head, that the following are the general Statistics, of the Propagation and Church Missionary Societies, in this Diocese. The whole number of stations is

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[33½] Subsidiary aids, also, are by degrees being obtained for their stability and usefulness. Authentic translations of the Holy Scriptures and the Book of Common Prayer into the Hindoostanee and Bengalee, such as the Bishop could properly authorize are much required. The Rev. Propagation Missionaries at Cawnpore complained that there were actually six discordant, and most of them unsatisfactory, versions of the New Testament now in circulation in that neighborhood.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge have, however, been good enough, at my recommendation, to undertake the expenses of printing at the C. M. Orphan Press at Agra, an improved version of the Prayer Book in the Hindoostanee, under the Superintendance of the Rev. Mr. Smith our pious and learned Hindoostanee C. M. Scholar at Benares, aided by all the Missionaries of both Societies in the N. W. Provinces.

The able Bengalee version of the Prayer-Book which has been for sometime printing at Bishop's College Press, under the care of the learned Syndicate, is also now nearly completed; this version is aided by all our Bengalee Missionaries. This is also at the cost of the Translation Committee of the Ven. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

The Clergy and laity of India will be glad to learn that the Rev. Mr. Coley Chaplain of Cawnpore has undertaken at my request, the office of Secretary of this Society for the N. W. Provinces. He will have a large depôt of the Society's Publications constantly in store; and will, with the Rev. the Junior Chaplain of the Old Church, who succeeds the Archdeacon, now about to be overpressed with his sacred and peculiar functions, in the duties of Bengal Secretary, give a new impetus, as I trust, to the operations of this excellent Institution throughout India.

twenty three in Bengal and the N. W. Provinces. The native Christians amount to six thousand, one hundred and fifty six; the Communicants at the Holy Table of the Lord, to one thousand seven hundred and forty three; and the children in the schools to four thousand two hundred and ten. These numbers do not include the numerous and frequently attentive bodies of regular hearers in the bazaars.

Blessed be God for such first fruits of the coming harvest. Could the early friends and Founders of our Societies, now with God, have foreseen forty or fifty years since, that such would be the result, of the seed sown by their laborious efforts and prayers, after comparatively so short a time, they would have rejoiced indeed in the prospect. Thank God they have "labored, and we have entered into their labors." Nor will the time be long, before "he that has reaped shall have received wages and gathered fruit unto Life Eternal" so that both "he that sowed, and he that reaped may rejoice together." Yes, my Brethren, we may "lift up our eyes even now and look on the fields; for they are white already unto the harvest;" and we have only to pray the great Lord of it to raise up and send forth more laborers into the fields; and to support them in the "heat and burden of the day" as they gather in the precious grain.*

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* John iv. 35-38. Matt. ix. 36-38.

Two beloved friends I have lost in England since last we met. On the memory of one I will not dwell, because, I have already recorded my view of his character, in the funeral discourse delivered at Bishop's College, in June 1843. I mention his name only now, The Rev. John Natt, in order to state that his nearest relation and executor, having found a loose paper after his death containing apparently rough instructions for a will, but unsigned, and superseded also by a regular testament duly signed and executed, still determined, with a rare delicacy of feeling, to carry out the revoked purpose—for in his will no mention of it was made—and gave accordingly 10,000£ to promote the cause of the Gospel; 6,000£ to the Church Missionary Society for the commencement of a Mission in China, and 4,000£ with 300 volumes from his Library, for the Mission connected with the New Cathedral of St. Paul's, Calcutta.[34]

On the memory of the other friend I must beg your permission to dwell at more length. You will not wonder that I could not receive, without deep emotion, the tidings of the decease of the Rev. Josiah Pratt, though at the mature age of seventy-six, and without great bodily suffering; when I inform you, that he was the affectionate tutor who guided my youth, and prepared me for the University in 1798, and had continued my bosom friend from that time to the moment of his death.[35]

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[34] This was a noble addition to the gift of 1,000£ to Bishops's College and 100£ to the Cathedral Endowment Fund, made by the same benefactor during his life, and will be an example, I trust, to many many others, especially in Testamentary Bequests.

He was a man indeed. Few ever equalled him, as I think, in two respects; in exactly knowing his particular line of talents, and in employing those talents for the most important purpose,[36]—two of the very highest points of commendation that can be bestowed on a Servant of Christ.

He had all the general preparation most necessary for the work to which he was ultimately called, excellent abilities, good learning, deeply-seated piety, a sound judgment, extensive knowledge of History Civil and Ecclesiastical, and wise, and therefore very moderate, views on the inscrutable subjects of the divine purposes and the questions allied with them.[36½]

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[35] I owe indeed, under God, to him and two or three other eminent men, the entire guidance of my mind when I first entered seriously on the care of my salvation and the earnest study of Theology. The Rev. Thomas Scott the Commentator from 1796 to 1798—then in 1798 the Rev. Josiah Pratt—next, at St. Edmond's Hall Oxford, the Rev. Isaac Crouch—and lastly in my first Curacy from 1801 to 1803, the Rev. Richard Cecil. These continued uninterruptedly my most intimate friends till their several deaths. But to no one was I more attached than to him, who was spared to me and to the Church the longest, my late honored Brother whom we have just lost.

[36] The marshalling the Mission array of our Church at a most critical moment.

[36½] A man who speaks rashly and dogmatically on these awful subjects convinces me that he does not understand the terms he uses—to say the very least.

It is one favorable symptom of the present times, that heats on these matters are almost extinct.

Besides this general fitness, he possessed also, many special qualifications for the position God designed him to fill. He had an enterprizing mind, a fondness for planning schemes of usefulness, and great tact in framing designations and rules for new Societies or on sudden emergencies.

Then his business-like habits, acquired in early life under his pious father a merchant at Birmingham, and his incredible powers of application, gave him the most abundant use of all his abilities; sustained, as they were, with an Herculean strength of constitution during the greater portion of a long life.[37]

Further than this, his firm and most decided attachment to the United Church of England and Ireland was commingled, with such a sound judgment, such a freedom from party spirit, that he was especially suited to the post he had to fulfil—for which, indeed, the want of these particular qualities would have unfitted him.

Then, his very place of residence and his literary taste, connecting him with the public press in London, enabled him to prepare designs for the public eye, and superintend their progress with a promptitude and skill, which contributed essentially to their success, and in which no one else could have stood in his place.

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[37] And yet he had only one useful eye during life, and that one often affected by sympathy—nineteen weeks of pain, and seclusion in a dark room occurred at one time some years since, perhaps ten or twelve—the pressure of acute suffering was extreme.

Add, to these qualifications, a singular union of meekness with firmness of purpose in his character. There was no man like him that I was ever acquainted with, for firmness of mind, a fixed conscientious determination, which nothing could turn aside, and which no doubt sometimes verged towards excess; and yet for meekness, so that I verily believe he never had an enemy.[38]

He had not a particle of what we understand by assumption and forwardness. He was willing to work under-ground, and let others stand prominently forth, when he thought the end in view would be better attained. He understood when to retire from particular offices and stations as life advanced. The exact propriety of his character in this way was conspicuous. All was in keeping; he did every thing that was fit and becoming for him to perform, and nothing more.[39]

Consistency in the various parts of the Christian character was the result of all this. This was a peculiar ornament of his whole long and valuable course. His friends have nothing to conceal or excuse in his history: he was a wise and downright Christian in every thing. He was the excellent pastor of a flock and the laborious Parish Priest, at the same time that he was the devout and dignified head of a well regulated family, " having his children in subjection under him with all gravity." He was the affectionate husband, and the faithful, tender-hearted friend, as well as the indefatigable councillor and wise leader in every good public undertaking.

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[38] His father was also remarkable for the same meekness united with activity and firmness. Mr. Cecil, an excellent judge, said of him, he was the most *Christ-like* person he ever knew"—what a poignant commendation, and from such a man!

[39] In this he resembled the amiable and Holy Corrie—"I know my defects, my dear Brethren," he used to say to those around him; "I cannot undertake such and such things; you can."

No wonder, then, that in early life he was chosen as Treasurer and Secretary of a Clerical Society, the Eclectic, at St. John's Vestry; that he was Editor for a time of the admirable " Christian Observer;[40] that he collected, for the first time, and published the valuable works of Bishop Hall and Bishop Hopkins, both of sterling merit, and Bishop Hall, inferior to none of our greatest English divines, whether as a spiritual and practical Writer or as a Theologian and Controversialist; that he had prepared the way for the publication of the Polyglott Bible and other works of that class by Mr. Baxter and Dr. Adam Clarke,[41] and that later in life, he found time, by incredible diligence, to publish the works of the Rev. Richard Cecil, containing those incomparable " Remains," which are only second to the works of Lord Bacon,

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[40] Still maintaining its high reputation ; and during the last twelve years a Bulwark of our Church. I esteem the 44 and 45 Vols. of the work as not the least valuable amongst my large collection.

[41] When I went to him as a pupil in 1798, he was full of a plan for a Polyglott Bible of which he published a specimen about that time.

Pascal and Bishop Butler on like subjects,[42] and that, lastly, he was the Author and Editor, to the very close of life, of the well known and most excellent Missionary Register.

But it was as Founder, and Secretary, for twenty one years, of the Church Missionary Society, that my friend was best known. Here he found employment for all his particular talents, and spent his best years. How he discharged this arduous office and worked up the Society to the state of prosperity, in which he resigned the labors of it to younger men, without resigning the care and anxiety and counsel which he could not, and did not, cast off till the hour of his death, I need not say.[43]

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[42] Had Mr. Pratt done nothing else of a public nature but collect those "Remains," he would not have lived in vain.

[43] I will mention only one or two circumstances which mark his fine spirit. In the year 1819 when a Royal letter was issued on behalf of the Ven. Propagation Society, he drew up and published an able Abstract of the Sermons delivered, during more than a hundred years, by the Annual Preachers and of the chief proceedings of that great Institution. This he published in a Volume entitled "Propaganda." It instantly became a Manual; and contributed not a little to the immense extension of that, and of the Church Missionary Society. The whole Church welcomed the gift.

Again, in 1820 and 1821 when Bishop Middleton's letter, on the subject of Bishop's College Calcutta, filled all England with joy, he was the principal supporter of the noble grant of £5000, and of three Annual grants of £1,000 each, by the Church Missionary Society, to that fine Missionary Foundation.

Never shall I forget with what earnestness and largeness of heart he exhorted me, when I was first coming out to India in June 1832, to follow in the steps of my great Predecessors, Bishops Middleton, Heber, James, and Turner, (each of whom he considered peculiarly qualified, in his time and order, for the work of the Diocese) and to bend all my strength to support and invigorate the Propagation and Christian Knowledge Institutions, together with those, which he knew I should continue especially to love, the Church Missionary and British and Foreign Bible Societies.

Such was the man in life; and, in the approach of death, his principles shone forth mildly and sweetly, in all that penitence and humiliation for sin, all that meek and firm faith in the Great Redeemer's merits, and all that holy repose, without particular joy or triumph, on his omnipotent and gracious Saviour and Intercessor, when descending into "the valley of the shadow of death," which were in exact harmony with the whole fifty years of his previous course.

Nor do I doubt that when future generations, in India and other parts of our Missions, shall enquire, as they will, who were amongst the first Founders and Helpers, in those great institutions which planted the Gospel amongst them, the very youngest Native children in the Mission Schools, will lisp out the beloved name of JOSIAH PRATT.

III. But I turn to the topics, as I proposed, *of encouragement and advice, of a practical nature,* which I may be expected to offer before I leave you.

I commence with what we all peculiarly need in this depressing country, encouragement, and especially when we are about to separate from each other after twelve or thirteen years of the Christian intercommunications of love and duty. Most truly do I continue to sympathize with you, and remember you in my prayers night and day. Health, spirits, strength, power of application, family comforts and the support of friends, all are at a low ebb in India. Hope is often in danger of failing, as well as faith. Let me remind you, then, of two or three grand topics of consolation.

1. Remember, I pray you, *the glory and greatness of Christ*, the "Apostle and High Priest of our profession." We, poor travellers are, indeed, in the wilderness, and our souls are often "discouraged because of the way;" yet we are not alone; "the angel of God's presence" is with us. Christ the Lord is "the same yesterday, to-day and for ever." He has shed his most precious blood as a sacrifice for sin; he has "brought in Eternal Redemption for us;" he has risen triumphantly from the dead, "having spoiled principalities and powers and made a shew of them openly;" He is now our ever prevailing Advocate and Intercessor at the right hand of the Father. He is our Head, our High Priest, our Forerunner, our only Mediator and King. Consider his unspeakable dignity, majesty and dominion. "All power is given him in heaven and earth." The wheels of Providence are under his guidance. The hearts of men are in his hands. He is in the vessel in which we sail. Nothing can escape his eye, nothing resist his will, nothing defeat his purpose. With such a Pilot, the waves may beat horribly, the winds threaten, and our hearts faint within us; whilst our Master may seem at times to be asleep; but if, like the disciples, we cry unto him when the storm is at its greatest

fury, "Lord, save us, we perish," he will "arise and rebuke," in time and measure as he sees best, "the winds and the waves, and there shall be a great calm."

2. Consider, further, *the tenderness and sympathy* of this Almighty Saviour. He is as gracious, as he is powerful. He feels with all the pity of his human, as well as helps with all the omnipotence of his Divine, nature. Repose your distracted, weary heads on his bosom. "Cast your burden," however, heavy it may be, "upon the Lord, and he will sustain you." "We have not an High Priest that cannot be touched with a feeling of our infirmities." His peculiar character, as delineated in the word of promise, is; "the bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench, until he bring forth judgment unto victory; and the isles shall wait for his law;" or as the Evangelist interprets it, "in him shall the Gentiles trust." Let us then be assured with St. Paul that his "grace will be sufficient for us, and his strength made perfect in weakness;" and let each of us, in our measure, resolve with him, "most gladly therefore will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me."

3. Lastly, be encouraged, my beloved Brethren, *by calling to mind "the sure word of Prophecy;"* "whereunto we shall do well, if we take heed," as St. Peter teaches us, "as unto a light shining

in a dark place, until the day dawn and the day star arise in our hearts." We must not presume, indeed, on our views of the details of the prophetic word, nor hastily adopt new interpretations, nor dive too deeply into what we have good reason to think is the unfulfilled part of God's Will. But, "blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of these Prophecies for "the time is at hand." And one purpose, for which our Divine Redeemer has opened the roll of the future sufferings and glory of the Church, was, doubtless, to console the faithful in their efforts and prayers during the long, dark, dreary night of their "wilderness" state. Here allow me to dwell a little. The topic is delightful, and continually illustrated by new events of Providence.

Three considerations may, as it seems to me, fill us with hope that "our Redemption draweth nigh."

i. From the predictions of "the seed of the woman," in the third chapter of Genesis, to those of the fall of the New Testament Babylon, and the universal triumph of the Gospel in the last chapter of the Revelations, one purpose of grace is unfolded and only one; and one, and one only, issue of things assured, to which all must be moving on. Here we plant our foot. In this we cannot be mistaken. The Jew shall "look to him whom he hath pierced;" the "fulness of the Gentiles shall come in;" "Satan shall be bound, and deceive the nations no more;" "the kingdoms of the world shall become the kingdoms of our God and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever." What a joyful prospect!

ii. Again, the interposing hindrances to this blessed consummation are foretold—thus another sure step may be taken. We see our way. The rise, duration and close, of the two great Apostacies of the west and the east, Mohammedanism and Popery, are the subjects of repeated prophecies, or rather series of prophecies. Nothing is unforeseen. This explains every thing in our present position, the triumph of the wicked, the confusion in the Church, the narrow limits of spiritual Religion, the slow progress of Missions, the retrograde steps of the cause of Christianity in certain spots for a time, the usurpations and "strong delusions," of the "old serpent," all, all are laid down in the map of Prophecy. All are described as about to precede, in the mysteries of Providence, the final triumph of the Gospel. And the very means of this triumph are intimated; for the faithful are to "overcome by the blood of the Lamb, and the word of their testimony, and by not loving their lives unto the death." Surely this carries us on a great way.

iii. But a crisis appears to be approaching. Here we must speak with much more reserve. Every thing, however, seems to indicate the possibly speedy winding up of the great scheme of Providence. The Jews are moving towards their long lost land; a Christian Bishop of our own Church is in Jerusalem; the ten tribes appear to have been at last discovered—at least the probability is strong. The copies of the blessed Scriptures, by the instrumentality of the magnificent and yet simple British and Foreign Bible Society and other Institutions, are being scattered, and have been for forty and more years, as seeds of life, by the hands of our holy Missionaries and others, up and down the dead wildernesses of the world. The fierceness of Mohammedan persecution is, for a time at least, curbed by the determined and joint interposition of all the Christian powers. Popery abates nothing of her absurd doctrines, and abominable Idolatries, but exposes her nakedness to the gaze of Christendom more and more filled with knowledge. She totters therefore in her power. The Bible is insensibly sapping her very foundations. Spain and Bavaria and the Hungarian states are verging to reformation. She seems to retain her leaden grasp of Italy, chiefly, by means of the Austrian arms. Ireland appears as if she was heaving to reject the Popish yoke; and the attempt to re-impose that yoke on Protestant England has signally failed. At any moment the nations may rise with one mind, and reject her secular dominion, and no longer "give their power to the beast," as the prophetic word expresses it. The intercommunication of the nations is, in the mean time, being almost miraculously accelerated; and European Education, Commerce, Jurisprudence, Medicine, Agriculture &c., are joining with the new facilities for multiplying by the press the means of knowledge. All these are harbingers of the Gospel all over the world. British India is in the heart and centre of Asiatic Heathenism. Christian Bishopricks are established in Hindoostan, and in the other Colonial possessions and Dependencies of the Crown. Our Eastern Princes and merchants will soon begin to cross over in companies to our western regions and see and judge for themselves; and the moment, we may be allowed to hope, is approaching, when God will pour out his Spirit and raise up fit instruments to guide the nations (as by a pillar of fire and cloud) into a second promised land.

These are surely extraordinary encouragements to us, Dear Brethren, to bear up against depression, and occupy diligently with our talents, each one in his station of duty and service, till the Lord come.

And this leads me to suggest *some points of advice, both as to the paramount duties which touch upon our own salvation and that of our flocks; and as to those external ones, which, though subordinate, are not without their importance.*

I begin, as you will expect, with the paramount topics.

1. Allow me to entreat you to *let love and union* prevail amongst you, whilst I am absent. God is the God of love. Christ's immeasurable love brought him from heaven to earth; the Holy Spirit descends as a Dove on the Sons of peace. To be "rooted and grounded in love" is the highest Christian attainment as to PRINCIPLE; and to "walk in love," the highest as to PRACTICE. Without love, indeed, we are "as a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal," and nothing more. Especially, when a great controversy has been agitating the Church—the greatest beyond all question since the glorious period of the Reformation—is there need of wisdom and love to avoid the asperities, the suspicions, the false rumors, the personalities, and the mournful and injurious exaggeration, which such a controversy is sure to generate. The truth of the Gospel, indeed, as we apprehend it, must never be for a moment sacrificed, or we betray Christ. Indifference and cowardice are not charity. And, my Brethren throughout India know the stand I have been compelled to make, in every way in my power, as Bishop, now for seven years against fatal error. For this I humbly bless Almighty God. The reflection was a comfort to me on the brink of the grave. It has not been possible to prevent the facts of the case, as publicly avowed and gloried in by the leaders, from being known. The guilt, of the fearful consequences which have followed and may follow

lies at the door of the troublers of our Israel who "must bear their judgment," as the Apostle speaks, "whoever they be."

But this is gone by; the evil, in the three Dioceses of India, has been nipped in the bud. In 1843, I earnestly recommended a spirit of love and peace, I do the same now. There is a discretion, a wisdom, a gentle and unassuming temper, a "time to be silent as well as a time to speak," and a sincere and heartfelt charity in speaking, which marks the peaceful Minister; and which I again most earnestly recommend to you. Let us remember that there always will be subordinate differences, even when no controversies are afloat, amongst those who hold the true Grace of God in which our Church stands. There are various casts of mind, various talents, various measures of wisdom and knowledge. The effects of education, habit, early courses of reading, and even of familiar modes of expression, will have an unperceived influence. The vessel once imbued with a particular flavor, long retains its taste. Now, a time of earnest controversy magnifies these differences. In such a moment, we can scarcely be too tender, therefore, towards each other, and too abstinent of hasty judgments. "So far as we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule; let us mind the same thing; and if in any thing we be otherwise minded;" or as Bishop

Horsely renders it, "variously minded;" "God will reveal even this unto you."

If there were no differences of judgment, even amongst the best of men, and upon important subjects, charity would have less field for her operations. Every thing in this world is imperfect. Individuals, Families, Churches, Presbyters, Bishops, Societies, Committees, Missions, Exercises of Discipline, Bishop's Charges, Determinations of new questions, Controversial Writings,—all, all are full of human infirmity.

As to myself, I pray you now, as I did before I left you in 1843, to forgive me all that I have done amiss, or that you think I have done amiss, in the administration of this Diocese in this critical conjuncture.

2. In order that the streams of charity may flow out abundantly, the source whence they spring must be clear and copious; and that is, *the interior power of Christ in our own hearts.* Life or death will pervade our Ministry, as life or death pervade our own minds. Our studies, our sermons, and our views of the nature and importance of the Gospel, cannot rise higher than the level of our personal religion. We may use the words, but we shall want the truth of a piety, which we don't experience and therefore cannot understand.

My Beloved Brethren, let us ever remember, that there is a reality in vital Christianity; there is such a thing as the "life of God in the soul of man;" there is such a thing as "Christ dwelling in the heart;" there is such a thing as true repentance for sin, as living faith in the atoning blood of Calvary, as the sanctifying grace of the Holy Ghost, as Communion with the Father of Spirits, as love to God and Man, as delight in the Holy Scriptures, as support in affliction and growth in grace. These, and such things as these, constitute the spiritual life; and are as distinctly to be known by their proper fruits, as the animal and rational life severally are.

Let us seek, then, for more and more of holy affections in religion; and let us pray that the blessed influences of the Spirit may thus be in us, as our Lord speaks, "as a well of water springing up to everlasting life;" and then love will flow out, spontaneously as it were, from this fountain, and bless and fertilize all around.

3. Let me intreat you, in the next place, to guard your flocks and your own hearts *from declines from God.* The danger is extreme in India. We all feel it continually; or if we do not, our peril is increased by our ignorance of our state. Most of the seven Churches of Asia, though highly commended in some respects, are yet reproved by the heart-searching Saviour in others, and in the most piercing terms, "Thou hast a name to live, but art dead"—"Thou hast left thy first love"—"Thou art lukewarm, and neither cold

nor hot"—"Remember from whence thou art fallen."

Let us then look back, each of us, and remember what we once were, what we felt in former years; what we professed, and thought of the vanities of this world. Let us remember our former simplicity of faith; the fervor of our prayers, perhaps in our early life, or in times of sickness; our diligence and delight in reading the Holy Scriptures, and our love to the Brethren; and let us be "zealous and repent."

I can only say that never have I felt myself in such danger of a gradual, benumbing coldness, and a falling away from God, as since I came to India. I was not aware at home how much of my Christian profession for thirty-five years had been factitious—no; not factitious—that word is too strong—but dependant on the persons and circumstances around me, and not supported purely by internal principle. I have learned this by sad experience. Now that I am repairing to England for health, I hope, amongst other things, to drink in and be refreshed with full draughts of the communion of Saints, and to recover something of holy affections.

One method of guarding ourselves from declines from God, is to know well the earliest symptoms of such a state, and watch against them.

i. It generally shows itself first, and for a long time, in an increasing disinclination to secret prayer and languor in it, known chiefly to the heart-searching God.

ii. Then, there commonly comes on a love of finding fault with warm-hearted Christians for defects of manner, or appearance, and subordinate differences of judgment. It is a bad sign when we begin to look on our religious acquaintance with prejudice—a captious spirit is a declining one.

iii. Next, a discontent with the station in which Providence has placed us; a hankering after something greater, higher, richer and more conspicuous than we possess, comes on, like a fever, upon the soul.

iv. Irritation under reproof and even the tenderest admonitions soon follows. We shrink from the disturbing light of truth, and the faithful warnings of friendship. This is one of the worst marks of falling from God.

v. Lastly, some new invention in religion, or old plausible error on the side of superstition or enthusiasm; something, which will flatter a declining heart, carries off the unhappy backslider. Or, if not, he sinks into a dead, self-indulgent, common place sort of Christianity, orthodox but cold: till at last, perhaps, he becomes gradually a scorner of the spiritual life which he once honored, and a despiser of those who persevere in that holy love to Christ, which he has so deplorably forsaken.

4. To prevent these declines from God, we should especially guard against *the root of them*

all, pride and conceit, in ourselves and our flocks. Brokenness of heart is the only soil in which Christianity will grow. Pride is the besetting sin of every child of Adam. Satan fell by pride. The grace of the Holy Spirit appears in humility,—the humility of the understanding, of the affections, of the words, dress, carriage, deportment. The true disciple takes the lowest room in the family, the College, the School, the Church, the world. A positive, conceited, forward person is ready for any of Satan's temptations; can learn nothing, bear with nothing and forgive nothing; whereas all things come right to the lowly in heart.

The present circumstances of our Missions must and do, in the nature of things, create a peculiar danger in this respect as to our converts. The Church of the west is here laboring in the eastern world—Japhet is in the tents of Shem—those who are considered, a part of the Governors of a country, amongst its prostrate population—Missionaries who were brought up in some degree of European learning, sciences and arts, planted amongst a people who have only had the training of Heathen Oriental Customs—European instructions in Christian morals, and social habits, raising the Indian Neophyte above the millions of his race—all this must tend to conceit, and an over estimate of themselves, in the young converts; it must lead them insensibly to imitate the dress, diet, abodes and manners of their European Missionaries and School-Masters—it must generate a secret attempt to make Christianity a stepping-stone, first to secular knowledge and then to worldly advancement. I speak of our Missions; but in truth the young of all classes are in danger. Pride and secularity are the predisposing causes to all declines from God. Coldness of heart follows, than which nothing is so hateful to Christ—"because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth"*

This danger, dear Brethren, must be met, not by harshness, not by invidious distinctions, not by reflections on India as India, not by prejudice, not by unreasonable instances of authority; but by a wise, appropriate, steady management of the youthful mind from the beginning; by repressing the buddings of conceit; by opening to them the dangers of pride and declines from God; and shewing them in our doctrine and example the genuine nature of Christian humility. Nothing hurts an educated convert's mind more than airs of superiority in his European Instructor.[44]

I call therefore on all the young Chaplains, Missionaries, Catechists, School-masters, Students at Bishop's College and Enquirers whom I may be addressing; and entreat them, as a Father, to cultivate from the first, humility and brokenness of heart before God and man. The conceit of the young is the ruin of our Missions.

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* Rev. iii. 16.

[44] It is God's Providence that makes the difference in nations; and it is to Him only we must ascribe the glory, if the Eastern World brought salvation to us in the far West, at the promulgation of the Gospel; and if Britain is in circumstances to return the blessing now, after eighteen centuries, by communicating to the East, the truth she first received from that quarter herself.

5. To remedy this great evil, let us maintain a just view of *the manner in which the doctrine of Christ penetrates every part of Christianity*. There can be no love and forbearance, no cultivation of the spiritual religion of the heart, no watching against declines from God, no steady repression of the source of them, conceit and pride, without a full view of the glory of Christ and of the place He holds, as the sun of the Christian system, the source of light, warmth and fertility.

I speak not of a set of terms crudely learned, without reality of feeling; nor do I speak of systematic Theology, however accurate, if a matter of cold theory chiefly; much less do I speak of any scheme of instruction which so dwells on certain parts of the doctrine of Christ, as not to comprehend in its circuit every division of Holy Scripture, in its due relation to Him.

But I mean what St. Paul evidently does, when he describes Christ as emphatically "the sure foundation;" the "hope of glory," He "that dwells in our hearts by faith," He "in whom we are complete;" in whom are "hid," as to us, "all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge," in whom "dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily;" and who is our "Wisdom, Righteousness, Sanctification and Redemption." What an amplitude of terms, and force of meaning, are here. If words have any sense at all, we cannot rightly think of Christ, unless we contemplate him in all these respects; unless we regard him, not only as a distant, glorious, Almighty Saviour and Intercessor, but as near to us and "strengthening us with might" continually "by his Spirit in the inner man," as aiding us in every prayer, every sorrow, every joy; unless we view Him as the heavenly Manna, the rock that follows us with its streams, the day-spring from on high, the Angel of the covenant, the "Jehovah Jireh," who will provide; the "Jehovah Nissi," who will be our banner; the "Jehovah Tsidkenu," our Righteousness; the "Jehovah Shallum," "The Lord is there;" unless Christ is our consolation in trouble, our strength in weakness, our support in the "valley of the shadow of death," our heaven, our all. This is a gradual discovery, indeed, as the Divine Spirit "glorifies" Christ, and "takes of the things which are his, and shows them unto us," as our Lord promised. But thus and thus only, can we enter into the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, so to speak, of Christianity. Thus and thus only can we understand the language of St. Paul, "I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me; and the life which I live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself up for me."

6. If we thus appreciate the Lord Christ, and see the manner in which His doctrine is to penetrate every part of our Religion, then we shall *make this all-sufficient Saviour as prominent in our public instructions, as we now find him to be necessary to our own comfort, hope and obedience.* This is a capital point. Allow me now to address especially my younger Brethren, and with the solemn thought upon my mind, that I am never likely to see your faces again in the flesh.

Let us remember that our office is to "preach Christ," to "preach the Gospel," to "preach the word instantly, in season and out of season," to enter into the spirit of St. Paul when he said, "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel," and to determine with him, to "know nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified." Preaching is God's ordained instrument for awakening souls. It is the "word" and "ministry of reconciliation;" it is the living voice, in each age, which is to give efficacy and power by God's appointment to the letter of Scripture. The Reformation was effected by the preaching of the Gospel. Human laws followed, but did not precede, this grand instrument of evangelical truth. Popery knows little of preaching. The Protestant Churches read publicly, and preach in all their assemblies, the holy Gospel—it is their glory and their safety.

Other means of instruction and edification are on this account in no way neglected, as is sometimes said—Public prayers, Catechizing, preparation for Confirmation, visits to the sick and well, administration of the blessed Sacraments &c. In fact, these are amongst the ends in view in the ministry of the word. The due use of all these is dependant on that instruction which opens and enforces their nature and importance; but the preaching and proclaiming of the Gospel of Christ is the peculiar duty of the "Ministers of Christ and Stewards of the mysteries of God.[45]

And here allow me to suggest a thought as to what a Sermon, in discharge of this Ministry, ought to be. It should consist, not in "excellency of speech, or of wisdom;" not in oratorical display; not in abstruse arguments and laborious discussions; not in something new and unheard of before; not in what may be the easiest for us to prepare, or the most pleasing and attractive for the audience to receive—all this is preaching ourselves, and not Christ Jesus the Lord; as the Apostle acutely observes.

A Sermon should be the simple utterance of the preacher's heart; an affectionate address to his flock, embedded in all the tenderest feelings of the

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[45] Thank God, I delivered one thousand four hundred Sermons, Lectures, Addresses, Charges &c. &c. between my Consecration April 1832, and my seizure at Umbala in November 1844.—Since that time I have not opened my lips.

Father and Friend; following upon the pastoral labors of the preceding week, and preparing for those of the following one, and being evidently a part of those labors. It should be a plain, intelligible exposition of the way of salvation to a lost world, with a pressing application to men to receive it, and bring forth the appropriate fruits. The preacher should be a John Baptist calling to "repentance" first, and to "works meet for repentance;" and then pointing, as it were, with his finger, "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." He should be a St. Paul preaching "Christ the hope of glory;" and then "warning every man and teaching every man in all wisdom, that he may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus."

For such discourses neither great learning, nor great talents, nor elaborate study are necessarily required; but diligence, prayer, love to Christ, and a ripe knowledge of Holy Scriptures, with the best efforts of the whole soul simply put forth in the discharge of the message. Whatever abilities God has blessed us with, we are bound to employ; and the Gospel is so glorious a theme, as to surpass the powers even of an Angel; but artificial aids are not essential to success; and God often most largely penetrates with his unction, the simple labors of the humblest Minister.

I am supposing in all this, that we compose habitually our own discourses week by week, except when hindered for a time by sickness, or scholastic offices, or journies, or over-pressure of other Ecclesiastical duties. The Chaplain, who indolently copies out the printed or manuscript Sermons of others, or goes on repeating frequently his old discourses, or those of others, and idly imagines he cannot, or need not compose new ones of his own, is beyond the right view of my present advice. I am addressing the serious, laborious, anxious, awakened young Minister, who earnestly desires to fulfil the vows of his Ordination and save souls, and not the careless worldling, who dishonors a profession for which he has no heart—and who, "alas," as Bishop Burnet says, "carries a shoal down with him, of "those who have perished in ignorance through "his neglect; or of those who have been harden-"ed in sin through his ill example."

And here I would beg to recommend generally that our discourses should be framed,[46] *upon particular texts of Scripture, and not on Topics.* The inspired words of the Holy Ghost, followed out clause by clause, will of themselves guide us to the matter or series of matters to be insisted on. Whereas a separate Topic culled out by ourselves, to which the text is only a Motto, will be more likely to leave us in our own low previous views and attainments.

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[46] This is the true secret for acquiring ease in the composition of Sermons, as well as for avoiding sameness and repetitions in our Discourses, and for growing and advancing in our tone of Theology as life and experience go on. It is astonishing how soon ease is attained,—a current style—on this plan.

I would also strongly advise *a lucid order and division of your Sermon;* its main points laid out from the first; and such main points well supported by explicit and appropriate quotations, in the words themselves of Holy Writ. These go straight to the conscience; and, in a well-arranged discourse, reach the heart of the hearer far more surely than a desultory Essay. The prejudice against lucidness of arrangement seems to be most unaccountable; nor can it possess long the faithful Minister's breast.

Courses of Sermons, also, have their use, from time to time, for one part of the Sunday—an Epistle, for instance, or a few Penitential Psalms, or a portion of the Prophet Isaiah, or the History of Jacob or Daniel, in ten or twelve discourses. These interest the hearers, relieve the Minister from loss of time in determining on his subject, and lead him to study more maturely, and in its connection, the particular part of Scripture upon which he is to treat, and to consult the best authorities ancient and modern.

It is an essential rule, again, to compose every third or fourth Sermon, when not in a course, *expressly and distinctly on some part of the person and work of Christ,* and the way of a sinner's salvation by him, besides the continual references to him which every discourse should contain. I mean, that after two or three Sermons on such subjects as repentance, the holiness of the law, or the misery of a worldly life, a fourth should follow on the glorious salvation of Christ; and so throughout the year, the festivals in addition bringing their own directly evangelical themes with them.

All our Sermons, moreover, *should be Christian addresses*, and not obscure and ambiguous ones with mere allusions to the Gospel, that is, they should proceed, not on subordinate matters, taken from the historical books or the book of Proverbs; but on the mysteries of Christ as unfolded in the Epistles, together with the order of topics, the courses of reasoning, the motives to love and obedience, the "exceeding great and precious promises," as the Apostle terms them, which are contained in this last and finishing portion of the entire revelation of the Bible, after the descent and illumination of the Holy Ghost had been vouchsafed. This is a point of the last importance. We are not to stop short, under the Gospel, in the views of truth as presented in the preparatory dispensations of the Old Testament, nor even in the Narratives of our Lord's holy life in the New. This would be to neglect the last discoveries of truth in the Epistles, which are the key to the whole gradually unfolded scheme of Divine Mercy. This would be to continue a disciple of Moses under the light of Christ; to remain in the darkness of shadows when the sun of righteousness has arisen; and to contemn the wisdom of God in the method of his revelation of redemption to his fallen creatures.

I would therefore entreat you to let all your discourses of every kind and on every subject *centre boldly amd manifestly, in some part of them or other, in Christ.* Many of your Instructions will be preparatory to the Gospel in its strictest sense; others will explain in its several bearings that Gospel itself; whilst others will follow upon the Gospel and enforce the appropriate fruits which it should produce. The advice I am now offering is to let all these evidently be a part of a whole, manifestly belong to the doctrine of a crucified Saviour; and not be isolated and estranged topics remotely connected with Christ and the scheme of the Gospel.

Thus, discourses on such subjects as the evil of sin; the fall; the impotency of man to spiritual good; the nature and necessity of repentance; the nature and office of faith; the person and work of the Holy Spirit; the doctrine of the Trinity; the duty of prayer; human responsibility; eternal judgment; heaven and hell; and a thousand other topics, should all point to the way of salvation in the Redemption of Christ's blood, and be connected with it—in some part or other—and that distinctly and clearly.

In like manner, all the subsequent exhortations which you will have to compose on the duties of relative life, the mortification of sin, separation from the vanities of the world, support in trouble, preparation for death &c., should be shown manifestly to centre in Christ, to flow from his grace, and to constitute a part of "the fruits of faith which follow after justification."

This is preaching the Gospel in the sense of St. Paul. Any other method is not preaching the Gospel, whatever else it may be. To fulfil our first duty as Ministers of Christ, the grand prominent object of that Ministry must meet the ear and nourish the faith of the pious hearer, and tend, under God's blessing, to instruct and awaken the careless and ungodly. This is the preaching which God will bless, however humble the natural talents or acquired qualifications of the Minister.

I beg forgiveness for throwing out these hints, but I am leaving you, and perhaps closing my Episcopacy; and Sermon composition cannot be thoroughly understood by my younger Brethren.

7. I will advert to only one more branch of our paramount duties which will go to make all the preceding ones practicable and effective; *Preach and live, Brethren, as on the brink of eternity.* This is taught us all, as it has been taught me, in times of sickness and infirmity, and when death and separation hang over us. Never shall we study, nor compose Sermons, nor Catechize, nor prepare youth for Confirmation, nor administer

the Sacraments aright, but as men of another world. If we discharge these duties as men of this world, the impression will be faint. We shall act our part awkwardly. We shall preach and labor merely as a barrister pleads a cause, or as a servant goes through his task, or as a merchant toils for gain; whilst our warmest affections will be given to earth in one form or another. We can never excite a sympathy, which we do not feel. All will fall from us dead and formal.

But if, on the contrary, each one speaks and acts as a Minister under this impression, "I may be called to the bar of God to-morrow;" "this night my soul may be required of me;" "the midnight cry" may at any moment be uttered, "behold, the Bridegroom cometh;" "my life is but a vapour," a "dream," a "tale that is told;" my "three score years and ten" even if I attain them, will be carried rapidly down the ceaseless stream of time, as those of the generations before me; and then Eternity,—Eternity—an endless Eternity—succeeds. If each of us speaks and acts under these impressions, we shall find our pastoral duties delightful; the heart will be engaged; the Sermon will be a vivid address to the conscience; Christ will fill the scene; and real effective good will be done in the salvation of souls.

And surely in India, if any where, we should be men, not of time but of Eternity. How startling are the sudden deaths which continually rend our hearts! How secret and yet rapid the developments of disease. How insidiously and ferociously doth the Bengal sun seize on us with a tiger's grasp. Let us remember, when we read with surprize the daily tidings of death in our public Journals, or the periodical funeral lists from home, that others will read the same kind of lists ere long with each of our names recorded amongst the dead—and with the like surprize.

But I pass from these spiritual topics *to matters external and subordinate*, but which still have their necessary importance with such a feeble creature as man, placed in a system of means by an all-wise Creator.

1. *Avoid then, I pray you, precipitation in judgment.* Next to want of faithfulness to Christ and souls, for which nothing can compensate, precipitation is perhaps most to be guarded against in a Diocese like India, where we, in the midst of anomalies, are separated from each other by immense distances, and from the Bishop by yet wider ones. Make yourselves, I pray you, well acquainted with your position, before you commit yourselves. The accounts you have received from friends at home, though not intentionally mistaken, yet are in point of fact erroneous to the last degree. People who have left India forget, or those who receive their advice, misunderstand them, and this perpetually and in the commonest matters.

I need not say, also, that rumours in this country, exaggerated in our public Journals or in private letters, should be rejected altogether and at once. They should never rest in our minds for a moment. Believe nothing of this nature in such a country as India. The mistakes continually made, not only as to facts and intentions, but as to the ordinary rules and usages of our Church, are incredible; and thus quarrels arise.

The injury, also, done at home, as well as in India, by the babble of letter-writing, especially anonymous letters, surpasses all belief. Europe itself is filled with rumors against the most faithful Chaplains or Missionaries by careless letters ungenerously inserted in our English Journals; and for which, you will observe, no redress can be obtained—none.

A Minister of Christ should be a year and a half in the country before he forms a judgment, on any one thing, which does not fall under his own immediate eye and affect his instant duties.

2. *Determine to do your very best in every part of your ministry.* Do not listen to the Syren voice of indolence on your first arrival as Chaplains. Do not think because you are strangers in a new scene, that you are not to put forth all your powers. Do not imagine, from the difference between your congregations at home and in this country, that you need not take pains, but may proceed, quietly and easily on your stock of mat-

ter brought out from England. Nothing can be a greater mistake. India demands your whole soul, all your labor, all your anxiety, all your resources. You must cast about to see how you can do every thing in the best possible manner; and as a "wise householder" bring out of "your treasury things old and new."

And I may add that the secret of health in this country lies in diligence, a mind animated with a high object, the whole man engaged in a worthy pursuit, the healthy and regular exercise of the powers of soul and body.

3. *Prepare yourselves, from the first, to take your part in the whole cause of Christ amongst us.* Acquire in your earliest days some one of the native languages.[46½] Keep up a course of reading in our Divines and Ecclesiastical Historians.[47] To these let me advise you to add the Hebrew, the most curious and fascinating, the most accessible now that the fountains of Arabic are opened, and, let me not conceal, the most difficult in its various details of Grammar and Interpretation, of all languages, and yet the most important, as

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[46½] They are never learnt unless they are learnt at first—I hardly know why; but so it is.

[47] Facilities are now afforded for this in the new and cheap Editions of our most valuable Divines—by The Delegates of The Clarendon Press, and by various private Editors—of Cranmer, Hooker, Jewel, Hall, Jackson, Davenant Pearson, Stillingfleet, South, Strype, Leighton &c. All the works of the Parker Society may be added also to the list.

the only repository of inspiration for four thousand years.[48]

No additions of moment, that I am aware of, have been made of late years to our works on the Holy Scriptures. From the practical comment of the great Thomas Scott (by far the first Divine and Expositor of Scripture of our day, as, in another generation or two, he will be universally confessed to be) we must go back as far as the Reformers for any thing like a work of equal originality and force of mind, united with equal soundness in the faith and composed under equal difficulties. It is in truth a wonderful production, taking[49] in all its circumstances.

With a studious and well-informed mind, you will not be isolated or inactive; without it, nothing will interest you in India. A vacant mind is its own avenger. It is the diligent, studious Minister, who is the happy and successful one. He soon takes a lively interest in the conversion of the heathen population around him. He assists with all his heart, as his judgment may incline, the different designs for the diffusion of the

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[48] If you have a taste for Oriental Literature, look by all means into the Sanscrit, which is only second in interest to the Hebrew, being the Mother of the Japhetic or Indo-European tongues, as Hebrew is of the Semitic.

[49] Numerous faults in detail of course there are ; I speak of the work as a whole. Calvin's justly celebrated comments are the only ones I know of that can be compared for a moment with Thomas Scott's. And Calvin is not so thoroughly moderate, wise, and safe. Of course he had not, three centuries back, many of Scott's advantages, though he had others which Scott wanted.

Gospel;[50] and puts himself in communication with men of like feeling. He thus learns to tread in the steps of our great chaplains of a former age, David Brown, Claudius Buchanan, Henry Martyn, Thomas Thomason, and the other Master-minds, who laid the foundation of Christianity in this Diocese—and he leaves a fragrant name behind him, when he quits India.

4. *Walk in charity and holy wisdom, towards the different bodies of Christians not of our own Church.* The less we are drawn, into either familiarity or controversy with any of them, the better. Our interest and duty is to go on steadily and quietly in our own way, with charity and love towards all who we may hope "love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity"—and with silence as to others. But we must do this with wisdom, so as neither to compromise our own principles by consorting with them, nor needlessly to irritate their feelings by any bitterness or neglect.

As regards the Protestant Missionaries around us of various classes, I am not aware that any peculiar circumstances have of late arisen. I hear, indeed, that a good deal of sourness has appeared in some periodical works. But I have not seen them, nor do I wish to see them. I most earnestly enjoin on you that no harshness nor contempt be shown in return. The mere repetition of worn-out objections against our Church, which is the glory of Christianity and the bulwark of the Gospel, now in the eastern, (as it has long been in the western world), need not disturb us. We must go on our way. Proselytism I have constantly discouraged in our Missions, nor is any thing of the kind attempted. The charge of having violated a supposed pledge of the late holy Bishop Corrie has been so satisfactorily refuted, that I need not say a word on the subject.[51]

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[50] Such as the Propagation Society, the Soc. for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Church Missionary Society, the British and Foreign Bible, Jews' Conversion, Calcutta Additional Clergy, Church Building, European Orphan Asylum, Native Orphan Schools, the New Cathedral Endowment Fund and other like Institutions.

Keep your people, my Rev. Brethren, about you. Be ever amongst them. Discourage all fickleness of mind. Let them feel the excellency and sufficiency of the means of grace, in the Apostolical Church of our Reformers and Martyrs of the sixteenth century. Preach plainly and affectionately the Gospel, and live accordingly. Thus will unity and peace be preserved, and the salvation of souls promoted.

As to the fearful onslaught, which is being made on our Protestant Established Church by *the emissaries of the Roman Apostacy,* I may be expected to say a few words. Our prosperous Missions seem especially the object of their rapacity; and our Indo-Briton population in Calcutta, Agra, and other large stations, of their craft.[52] From such a foe, with all the cunning and recklessness, as to means which Rome allows, we are no doubt in great danger in India, especially as to the Neophytes amongst our Converts and our uninstructed and ungrounded East Indian flocks, who are soon led away by flattery, noise, glitter, bells, music, incense, and splendid dresses and processions; and who do not see through the plausible pretext, of a Christian education offered with the promises of cheapness, and non-interference with religion.

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[51] The last and conclusive papers on this appeared in the excellent little Periodical (established by Bishop Corrie, and the only one in our Church here,) "*The Christian Intelligencer.*" And no time had been lost in preparing them, the Archdeacon being at Ceylon, and myself on visitation. No notice of these has been taken. The accusations had done their work, in the Newspapers and in speeches at Calcutta, and at home, and even on the continent of Europe.

Our remedy is a thorough understanding of the Romish System, and a diligent use of the weapons which Rome cannot withstand, the Holy Scriptures, and the simple preaching of Christ Crucified.

The gulf between the two systems of the Bible and Popery is impassable, and Rome knows it well. Her trust therefore is on Jesuits, the Fathers, Traditions, the fascination of the senses, and appeals to secular power; and then she brings in her besotting Idolatry, to rivet her fetters on her people, whom it bewitches and blinds, whilst it enslaves.

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[52] In like manner, our Church at home is assaulted on all hands. Britain is the greatest of the Nations, and the most purely Protestant; and Rome eyes her with a proportionate fear and hatred.

Our reliance, on the contrary, is on the Holy Scriptures, and the sole and most glorious mediation of Christ. Rome is an irreconcilable foe to this. She and Protestantism support antagonist principles on every vital point, in the application of Redemption. Here is the jet of the question. She is in this altogether right, or altogether wrong. She is either, in this, the infallible Church, and Protestants are rebels and heretics, and out of the pale of salvation; or she is nothing and worse than nothing—she is the "Antichrist,"[53] the "man of sin," the "Lawless one," the "Harlot" and "Babylon" of the word of prophecy—there is no medium. She overturns the mediation of Christ our Lord, and substitutes the Idolatrous Worship of Angels and Saints.

Understand this thoroughly, my dear Brethren; and with Christ, and the inspired Scriptures on your side you have nothing to fear. Use your appropriate weapons, and victory is your's.

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[53] "There is so much of the true Church in the present Romish visible Church, as a man cannot say it is no Church at all; so much true doctrine in it as sufficeth to support the title of Antichrist, and to make it the very seat of all Abominations." "The Idolatry of the Romish Church is so much more than the Idolatry of the Heathens, by how much that Church's general belief of one God, of the glorious Trinity, and of the redemption of mankind, is better than the Heathen's belief or knowledge of the same points."

"When it is said that Antichrist is to sit in the temple of God, it is not meant only that he should sit in the present visible Church, but that he should be an usurper of that chair, which sometimes had been the seat of God's saints, and be an intruder into that Church, which had been Holy and Catholic before his intrusion, and which still retains the roots and stems of Catholic faith." [Dr. Thomas Jackson, Oxford Edition 1844, Vol. xii. p. 152.]

5. *Upon the subject of Rubrical Observances*, I thank God, I have little to say. The solemn and affectionate entreaties of His Grace, the Lord Primate, in his letter of last January, will be observed, I am sure, by all the Clergy in India. My rule for the twelve or thirteen years of my administration of this Diocese, has been, *the general order and usages of our Church at home sanctioned for a century or more,*[54] *by the approval of the Archbishops and Bishops, and prevailing without dispute when I left England in June* 1832. To this intelligible and practicable standard it has been, and is, my object to bring up our Church in India, as rapidly, as the extraordinary differences of climate and other circumstances will allow. Where any neglect of this order has crept in, I have urged, and would urge again most earnestly a return to it, wisely, but without delay. A strict and conscientious observance of the Rubrics, Canons and Usages of our Church, should be our delight, as it is our interest and duty—and I believe it to be esteemed such throughout the Diocese.

I am not without my fears, however, lest a re-action should take place (for human nature is always in extremes,) and Church order be depreciated, now that the extravagant regard to it has been put down at home. If any tendency to such a relaxation should appear, I would affectionately entreat you, not to yield for a moment to the impulse, but to stand firm and unmoved in your obedience to your Ordination Vows. Teach your people, European and Native, especially the young, to live and die in the faith and love of Christ, as consistent, enlightened Members of our beloved, Protestant, Episcopal, Reformed Church.

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[54] i.e. From the glorious Revolution of 1688.

I know not that I need add that I prohibit altogether Stone-altars, Credence Tables and other Popish usages in this Diocese.

6. *On the Tractarian errors*—I have, also, thank God, scarcely a word to say. They have been developed at home during the last three years, in a most disgraceful manner, before the eyes of an indignant Church. All the fears I expressed seven years since have been more than verified by the event. My arraignment of that system from the first was, that it cast contempt on the sufficiency of the inspired Scriptures, sapped the foundation of the glorious doctrine of our justification by faith in the alone merits of Christ; and led straightway to the bog of Romish Idolatry. And I can only express, for one, my deep regret that this ground was not more boldly taken by the defenders of our Church, at the earliest moment. It would have more honored Christ, and ensured more fully, I firmly believe, our success. But I say no more. Tractarianism in the nineteenth century I consider to have passed away, as Arianism and Pelagianism, in the fourth and fifth.

Probably open Popery, in league with infidelity and lawlessness, its natural allies, will be our next assailant.

I need hardly say, that any Clergyman, in this Diocese, preaching and teaching on the footing and in the spirit of Tract No. 90, will be liable, in my judgment, to have his license instantly withdrawn.

Finally, Brethren, farewell. I leave you with the Lord Bishop of Madras, if her Majesty should extend his jurisdiction to this Diocese. I leave you, at all events, with the dear and warm-hearted and most excellent Archdeacon, your old and tried friend, whose activity, zeal, faithfulness to the Gospel, sound Churchmanship, and kindness to the sick and distressed, are too well known for me to do more than allude to them. His attachment, also, to myself personally ever since I came out, and the aid he has rendered me, for nearly ten years, as my most able Archdeacon and Representative, have won my heart.

But I leave you, in a far higher sense, with the Almighty and compassionate "Head of His Body, the Church," who will not fail to provide for your guidance and consolation, whether I return to you or not.

My purpose, however, is, you may be assured, to lay all my plans at home for the recovery of my health—to abstain from Visits, Societies, Meetings, Committees, Sermons, every thing that would excite my feeble frame, and to prepare for rejoining you in India in the autumn of next year, and die in my beloved Diocese, where I have prepared a vault under the Holy Table of the new Cathedral.

What little strength I can safely employ, will be devoted to the refreshment of my own soul in Christ; to consultation with His Grace the Archbishop, the Honorable Court, and our great Societies, about the affairs of the Diocese, and to the helping on the various designs, to which I referred early in this address. Amongst other things, I trust I may be able to send you out, towards the close of the present year, the Lectures on the Epistle to the Colossians so long promised.

I hope to hear fully and at length from the dear and Venerable Archdeacon, my bosom friend, once a month during my absence, and I shall not fail to reply to him, and through him to you, Rev. Brethren, if life and health be continued.

But all this is with God, to whom let us never cease to commend each other in our prayers night and day. Thus will a close and endearing bond of intercourse between us be preserved—a mutual channel of blessings kept open—the Communion of Saints cultivated—the Holy Ghost honored—our souls comforted under separation—and our sorrows and troubles sanctified and relieved.

I hope it is, and has been, and will be to the last moment of my life, my desire and prayer, "as long as I am in this tabernacle" to "stir up your pure minds by way of remembrance," as Saint Peter teaches us; "knowing that shortly"—and how shortly I know not—"I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ," by the voice of sickness, "hath showed me;" and to "endeavor," moreover, in some little measure, "that you may be able after my decease" "to have these things always in rememberance."

And now, Brethren, "I go bound in the Spirit,"—not to Jerusalem indeed, but to England, if I may adopt without presumption the language of St. Paul; "not knowing the things that shall befal me there; save that the Holy Ghost testifieth, in every city, that afflictions and trials await me," as well as others. "But none of these things," as I humbly trust, "move me; neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of the grace of God."

And I would earnestly pray God that in my last moments my reason may be continued to me, and that I may die, saying, from the bottom of my heart, with the publican, Ὁ θεὸς ἱλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ and with the martyred Stephen, Κύριε Ἰησοῦ, δέξαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου.

HINDU HOLIDAYS,

THE

FESTIVALS OF "DEVIL-WORSHIP;"

OUGHT CHRISTIANS TO OBSERVE THEM?

"I SPEAK AS TO WISE MEN: JUDGE YE WHAT I SAY."

INCONSIDERATENESS, in matters of the highest moment, whilst it is one of the commonest habits of mind, is also one of the most prolific sources of evil. How often are even Christians heard to say, regarding some fault of which they have been convicted, "*I never thought of that before*:—is it not strange that it should never have so occurred to me?—I now see that such a practice is decidedly wrong:—but, who could have supposed it?"—They do not seem to know, or to consider, that they are bound to investigate and determine upon the nature of every thing they do, or encourage to be done—to "prove all things and hold fast that which is good." The immediate spring of this thoughtlessness may be, in some, a mental indolence which makes them unwilling to give themselves any (as they consider it) unnecessary trouble about matters merely of practice; or it may be a cold indifference, which indicates what we can only call a total *dead-heartedness* to all that is truly spiritual and divine: or, it may be the result of selfish partiality towards an evil, because of some supposed or secret self-interest involved in the continuance of that evil: but whatever the source, the effect is still the same, that much evil is practised, continued, and even established, through want of consideration (to assign no worse reason) on the part of Christian men.

This inconsiderateness of practice is usually found connected with evils of long standing, and with which men first became associated at a time when they were not accustomed to think seriously of any thing: or, it is found conjoined with evils that run through the very frame-work of surrounding society, involving all the influence of multitude and popularity. It requires no small effort to shake off the power of such associations as these, and to think rightly and speak plainly of things as they really are; so that but few persons are willing to make so thankless an effort. It remains that others must, in the first instance, think for them; and presenting them with the results of their reflections, endeavour to make them also think in their turn, so that in the end *all* may be reasonably and willingly led to the knowledge and practice of their duty.

Now, there is ONE EVIL, of great and serious magnitude, practiced by our people in this country, concerning which we would have our fellow-Christians, (whether in authority, or under authority) first to think, and then to act:—and it is this—THE CHRISTIAN OBSERVANCE OF HEATHEN FESTIVALS—or, as they are usually termed, "*Hindu Holidays.*"

That Christians do observe such days;—that Christian authorities do appoint and acknowledge them by official act and deed;—and that Christian subjects do keep them, by cessation from business and in other ways no less real and evident:—this, all this, must be readily admitted as mere matter of fact; and with the *fact* alone, not with reasons assigned for it, have we now to do. Such being the case, we have this enquiry to propose, and we propose it as a very serious enquiry, Ought it *so* to be?—Ought Christians to shew the least regard to Heathen Holidays?—Ought they, either by public authority, or private example, to grant them any or the least recognition?

We are quite aware of the pleas of necessity or of expediency, which are or may be urged in defence of the custom to which we have just referred: but we ask our readers, for the present to waive the pleas in extenuation, and take the case on its own simple merits. This course is safer, and we think also more equitable, in all matters which may involve high and holy principle: and it will soon appear that the highest and the holiest principles in the universe are involved in the seemingly common-place affair of keeping Heathen Holidays: and if so, then all minor considerations must ultimately and ought immediately to give way.

I.

"FLEE FROM IDOLATRY:—THE THINGS WHICH THE GENTILES SACRIFICE, THEY SACRIFICE TO DEVILS AND NOT TO GOD."

Now the principle which we lay down is this, that *Idol-worship is Devil-worship*—that *Idols' Feast-days are Devils' Feast-days*: and therefore, that the authoritative or influential encouragement of these, in any such way as connecting with them any special pleasure or advantage, involves in it *participation in the Idolatry* or *devil-worship* practised on those days set apart and kept for that purpose: so that, in the observance of these festivals, we may actually be found in the sight of God, and by fair construction of our conduct, participating in the worship of devils: that is, in scripture language, having "fellowship with devils."

Now these premises are not mere assertion, but we derive, hold, and will maintain them from the infallible WORD OF God, and that not merely by way of inference, but by direct application of an original passage; such as will be found in

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS, TENTH CHAPTER.

"Wherefore, my dearly beloved, flee from idolatry. I speak as to wise men; judge ye what I say. The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? the bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? For we, being many, are one bread, and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread. Behold Israel after the flesh. Are not they which eat of the sacrifices partakers of the altar? What say I then? that the idol is any thing? or that which is offered in sacrifice to idols is any thing? But I say, that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God: and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils. Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils: ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils. Do we provoke the Lord to jealousy? are we stronger than He?"

What is the bearing of this very plain and unmistakeable passage? It is evidently this:—The Corinthian Christians were surrounded by Idolatrous friends and connexions, who frequently asked them to partake, not in the direct worship of their idols, but of the FEASTS made on occasion of the worship rendered at certains seasons to those Idols: and it appears that some of these believers did comply with such invitations, much to the detriment of Christianty, and the strengthening of Heathenism. The Apostle having heard of this sad inconsistency, takes up the consideration of the subject in this chapter, as well as elsewhere:—and having laid down as a first principle, that they must "*flee from Idolatry,*" he goes on to apply this to the case of Christians participating in IDOL-FEASTS; which he asserts to be as much an act of *fellowship with* Devils, as participating of the bread and wine in the Feast of the Lord's Supper is an act of *communion with the* LORD JESUS CHRIST! And this assertion he clothes in these very emphatic words—"The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to Devils and not to God! And I would not that ye should have fellowship with DEVILS!"

The Scripture, on this as on all other occasions, makes every reasonable admission, so as not unnecessarily to limit the privilege of Christian liberty. Thus it says, that if men go to the market-place to purchase meat, they are under no obligation to enquire whether it has been offered to Idols or no; but may simply and without questions buy whatever is offered for sale: that if a Heathen neighbour ask a Christian to partake of any ordinary feast with him, he is at liberty (if he so please) to go and to partake of whatever is set before him, unless the master of the house should say to him, that the meat before him has been offered to idols, in which case he must not eat any more: it concedes also, that so far as a Christian's own conscience is concerned, nothing need be morally unclean to him; but that for the sake of *others* he must not do what he might do himself; and that to a Christian an Idol is nothing whatever, so that in his estimation meat offered to an Idol may be meat offered to nonentity itself ——: But, notwithstanding all these concessions made so readily, the Scripture maintains that in this matter we are to be guided by the REALITIES of the case as existing amongst the *Heathen*, and by the evident *bearing* of such conduct on the system of Idolatry.—Now, what is the *reality* of this case? and what is the spiritual *bearing* of the conduct referred to upon the system of Idolatry? In few and plain terms the Scripture says—*Idol worship is Devil-worship: and participation in an Idol feast is fellowship with Devils:* for, "The things which the Gentiles sacrifice they sacrifice to devils, and not to God; and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils."

Consider seriously this startling proposition, so direct and so universal in its terms—"The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice *to devils,* and NOT TO GOD." The original Greek word here rendered "Devils" is that which is almost universally in the New Testament applied to those *demons* or *evil spirits* who took possession of the bodies of men, and whom our Lord and His Apostles cast out; and whom we commonly term "devils." And the intensity of antithesis in this passage demands that the term be interpreted in the *worst* sense. There is an evident and awful contrast presented between the object of Christian and of Heathen worship—as on the one hand, GOD, and on the other hand, *Devils;*—as also between the object of Christian communion and the objects of Heathen communion, as the " cup of CHRIST" and the " cup of *Devils.*"

Nor is this statement that Devils were ultimately and really the objects of all Heathen worship, unsupported by the rest of scripture. The Bible contains other direct assertions, of the strongest kind, to the same effect. Thus, in the book of Leviticus

xvii. 7, it is said to Israel after coming out of Egypt, so famed for its idolatry, "And they shall no more offer their sacrifices unto DEVILS, after whom they have gone a-whoring." Still more explicitly in the book of Deuteronomy (xxxii. 16, 17) it is declared that the gods of the heathen, those gods whom the Israelites were tempted to worship, were *devils*—"They provoked him to jealousy with strange gods; with abominations provoked they him to anger: they sacrificed unto DEVILS, *not to God;* to gods whom they knew not, to new gods that came newly up, whom your fathers feared not."—So too is it recorded of Jeroboam, who introduced image-worship under the form of the Golden Calves, amongst the revolted tribes of Israel, "He ordained him priests for the high places, and for the DEVILS, and for the calves which he had made." (II Chron. xi. 15.) And in that retrospect of the history of God's ancient people which we find in the 106th Psalm, it is said emphatically (v. 36.) "They served the idols of the Heathen, which were a snare unto them: yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto DEVILS." And who can forget the very remarkable fact recorded in the Gospels, that HE who said to the Son of God himself, "Fall down and *worship me!*" was *Satan*, that devil who is the Prince of Devils? thus actually in person claiming what we here ascribe to him and to his angels!

But the same proposition, that *Idol-worship* is DEVIL-WORSHIP, thus placed beyond doubt by the direct assertions of divine inspiration, might also be brought out by other and inferential trains of reasoning. On these we do not mean to enter here, further than simply to indicate their direction and bearing.

Thus: if the idol deities of the Heathens have any existence at all, they must be *spirits*, being invisible, and being supposed capable of entering images, and possessing them as their abodes. But they must also be *evil* spirits: for, any beings beneath God, that can be supposed capable of accepting the worship or tribute that is due only to God, must be considered as rivals of God and rebels against him:—they are therefore *evil* in the highest possible degree, and guilty of what is ascribed to the fallen angels. But they are also spirits, as we have already seen;—they are therefore evil spirits, that is **Devils**.

Again, the ascription made to Devils, that they receive and accept the worship of almighty God, is in perfect keeping with what we know concerning those evil spirits, from the only source of information on this subject, the word of God. For, in the scriptures, Satan is called the "Prince of this world," (John xiv. 30.) and "The god of this world" (2 Cor. iv. 4.), and the Great Dragon that exercised the power of ancient Heathen Rome (Rev. xii.) And as we have already seen, this Prince of devils was so daringly idolatrous as to propose to the Son of God, for a reward, to fall down and worship *him* (the Devil)! And are not the multitude of his angels described in characters of malignity, cunning, enmity to God, pride, boldness, and unscrupulous ambition, sufficient to qualify them for any course however wicked and presumptuous, that would tend in the highest possible degree to the dishonour of God, and to the ruin of man!—and what course can more certainly result in such an issue than inducing *men* to worship DEVILS? All that we can learn then regarding those malignant beings, leads us to the inference, that, if hatred of God, jealousy of man, or the pride of self could either have invented the idea originated the practice, occupied the shrines, or appropriated the honours of Idolatry, then there is the highest possible probability that Devils would become, and actually have become, the real although unrecognized deities of Hinduism and of every other form of Heathenism: a probability which Scripture, as we have seen, turns into absolute certainty.

But, again, observe, that as if to prevent all possible mistake on this subject, and as if to take away even the shadow of uncharitableness from the charge which now we make against Heathenism, the very *character* which Idolaters themselves have ascribed to their gods, is universally that which by the word of God is ascribed to devils. That character may be considered as it belongs either to beings who themselves delight in certain sins, or to beings whose delight it is to tempt others to sin: and however modified or altered those forms of sin may be by alledged *incarnations*, which seemed to *humanize* as it were that which would otherwise have been *spiritual* evil; still there remains this clear and outstanding result, that such beings must (if they exist at all) be spirits of hell:—for, they are evil in those attributes and actions which their votaries delight to recognize and avow in them—and the character in which they are made to appear, whether as sinners or as tempters, is that of which we know by divine revelation, that it leads infallibly and immediately to Hell. The Heathens having thus stamped their Idols with the character of evil, by their own hand, *we* need feel no relentings in saying, that "the things which these Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to Devils and not to God:"—and should there be any apparent exceptions of character in regard to any of these idol-deities, (such as that some of them may seem more benignant, &c., than others,) let it be remembered, that they all receive, or are supposed to receive, the worship due to God, and therefore are they, by that very act alone, constituted rebellious spirits, that is DEVILS.

Thus might we come, by a train of fair inferential reasoning, to the same conclusion to which we have already been shut up by the direct assertion of God's Word—that Idol worship is Devil worship—that Idol-festivals are Devils' festivals—days kept in honour of Devils, not of God. This is a sad and painful issue of our argument: but how, as believers of the Bible, and spectators of Heathenism, can we resist so undeniable and unavoidable a conclusion?

Here we cannot neglect the occasion presented to us, of making one or two serious reflections, connected with this painfully interesting subject, and calculated, we think, to arrest in their course of inconsiderateness those Christians who are accustomed to think and speak lightly of the Idolatry by which they are in this country surrounded. We simply throw out these reflections, and leave our readers to ponder and mature them in their own minds.

How awful and revolting is the *insult* which Heathenism casts upon the Creator and Sovereign and Exemplar of the Universe, in substituting *Devils* for Him; or in presuming to represent him by the character of those very beings whom He himself cast out of Heaven with his curse upon them, and whom he has justly and irrevocably doomed to the punitive torments of everlasting fire—"Everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels!" Surely such a system is "the abominable thing which God hateth."

How *mighty* is the system of Heathenism, supported thus by the untold multitudes of fallen spirits that haunt and infest this world of ours! How little need we wonder at the obstinacy with which it holds out in the midst of all that seems calculated to overcome and destroy it, seeing it is the interest of Satan and his innumerable host of angels to perpetuate it for their own glory and aggrandizement!

How *pitiable* is the condition of those idolaters, who are every day worshipping as gods, those beings whom God abhors, and on whom he has pronounced his holy and just sentence of eternal wrath!—who, at their every festival, are offering sacrifices unto *devils* and not unto God; thus insulting and offending the Almighty in the highest possible degree, whilst they imagine that they are performing acceptable and proper worship! And how much is the pitiableness of their condition increased by the fact, that they are necessarily accountable for such conduct—accountable for not knowing, by reason and by nature alone, that the Great God cannot be like those vile and malignant and treacherous beings to whom, if living as *men* in their immediate neighbourhoods, they know that they dare not entrust their property, their character, their life; nor leave within their reach their sisters, their daughters or their wives!

May we not add, how *mistaken*, how ignorant, are those persons who talk and write of Heathenism as if it were one of many acceptable forms of natural religion—one of the many ways in which the offspring of God may come and worship him alike as "*Jehovah, Jove, or Lord,*" either investing him, as the Hindu does, with the character of all the most detestable crimes in the Universe, or ascribing to Him, as the Christian believer does, all that is pure and lovely, excellent and glorious in Jesus Christ himself? How ignorant are such persons of the character of God, even although He be their own Maker and Judge: how mistaken as to his clear and explicit will, revealed in the Bible of truth! What contempt is poured upon all their irrational and sickly sentimentalism, by this one sentence of Inspiration—"But I say, that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, *they sacrifice to Devils*, NOT TO GOD; and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils."

We are aware that it is very easy and very natural for some minds to urge a number of petty cavils against such views and statements as those which we have submitted to our readers: —but, as we have now to do, not with avowed infidels, but with professed believers in the Bible, it were sufficient to request our readers to weigh the Scripture evidence on the subject *first*: and then see whether it be not better to rest the mind, from all trifling cavilling suggestions regarding any clearly revealed truth, on the sure and everlasting foundation of "Thus saith the Lord God." Yet, when we have thus established our faith, we may venture forth without fear against all the cavils of men on this subject. Thus, should any man say, "The Hindus worship the river Ganges, and the Tulsí plant—are these *devils?*" —We should reply, No; rivers and plants cannot be devils: —but, devils can and do preside over all idolatry, and therefore over that of rivers and plants. Besides, surely, the objector ought to know, in regard to all such inanimate objects as are worshipped by the Heathen, that they are understood to be haunted, inhabited or presided over, by certain invisible beings, who are considered as *identified* with those objects, in such a way, that the name of the one is transferred to the other, and the worship presented to the tree or stream is intended for the beings or spirits who have made them their own. Such objects of worship, Hinduism calls *gods;* but the Christian Bible calls them, DEVILS. Thus he who worships the deities of the Gangá river and of the Tulsí plant, worships the Devils who preside over such idol-worship; and he that swears an oath by them, swears that oath by *Devils* and not by God. Nay, on premises so sure as these, we hesitate not to declare, that the idolatrous oaths administered in our Supreme and other courts of Justice, are (although not intentionally) oaths by Devils and not by God! For, surely, if to worship idols be (as the Scriptures declare) to worship devils: then to swear by the same, must be to swear by devils too! Where can we halt between our premises and our conclusion?

Strange and repulsive as may seem to many the principle for which we are now contending, when stated thus in didactic and prosaic terms, or when made to bear on personal interests, and social habits of enjoyment; yet, doubtless, many of our readers have frequently perused, and as frequently admired, the embodiment of the *same* principle, in the splendid diction and overwhelming imagery of England's greatest Poet. Who has not read Paradise Lost? and who that has read it, can forget the description, with which it opens, of that awful conclave which assembled on the surface of the burning lake—Satan and the heads of all his host—to consider how best their undone fortunes might be retrieved?—And who can have overlooked, that the Poet characterises the great leaders of that Hellish multitude, as the future *deities* of old Phenicia and of classic Greece and Rome?—Thus—

> "Forthwith from ev'ry squadron and each band,
> The heads and leaders thither haste where stood
> Their great commander; Godlike shapes and forms
> Excelling human, princely dignities,
> And Pow'rs that erst in Heaven sat on thrones;
> Though of their names in heav'nly records now
> Be no memorial, blotted out and rased
> By their rebellion from the books of life.
> Nor had they yet among the sons of Eve
> Got them new names, till wand'ring o'er the earth,
> Thro' God's high suff'rance for the trial of man,
> By falsities and lies the greatest part
> Of mankind they corrupted, to forsake
> God their Creator, and th' invisible

Glory of him that made them, to transform
Oft to the image of a brute, adorn'd
With gay religions full of pomp and gold,
And *Devils* to adore for Deities :
Then were they known to men by various names,
And various idols through the Heathen world.
Say, Muse, their names then known, who first, who last
Roused from the slumber, on that fiery couch,
At their great emp'ror's call, as next in worth
Came singly where he stood on the bare strand,
While the promiscuous crowd stood yet aloof.
The chief were those who from the pit of Hell
Roaming to seek their prey on earth, durst fix
Their seats long after next the seat of God,
Their altars by his altar, Gods adored
Among the nations round, and durst abide
Jehovah thund'ring out of Sion, throned
Between the Cherubim ; yea, often placed
Within his sanctuary itself their shrines,
Abominations ; and with cursed things
His holy rites and solemn feasts profaned,
And with their darkness durst affront his light.
First *Moloch*, horrid king, besmear'd with blood
Of human sacrifice."

Next, "Chemos, the obscene dread of Moab's sons:"—"With these came Baälim and Astaroth, those male, these feminine:"—"With these in troop came Astaroth, Astartè, queen of heaven :"—"Thammuz came next behind :"—"Next came one—Dagon his name, sea-monster :"—"Him followed Rimmon, whose delightful seat was fair Damascus :"—"After these appeared a crew, Osiris, Iris, Orus and their train :"—"Belial came last, than whom a spirit more lewd fell not from Heaven :"—"The rest were long to tell, though far renowned, the *Ionian Gods*"—that is the CLASSIC deities of GREECE and ROME, whom Milton thus describes—

"Titan, Heav'n's first-born,
With his enormous brood, and birthright seized
By younger Saturn : he from mightier Jove,
His own and Rhea's son, like measure found ;
So Jove usurping reign'd : these first in Crete
And Ida known, thence on the snowy top

Of cold Olympus, ruled the middle air,
Their highest heav'n; or on the Delphian cliff
Or in Dodona, and through all the bounds
Of Doric land; or who with Saturn old
Fled over Adria to th' Hesperian fields,
And o'er the Celtic roam'd the utmost isles."

Such is the tremendous havoc which our great poet most scripturally makes in the splendidly vile mythology of even classic Greece and Rome—transforming the Olympic deities of Hesiod, of Homer and of Virgil, into the *devils* that issue from Hell and that infest this upper world: and we have only to enquire, why it is that some men can admire as a poetical picture, whilst they spurn as a divine declaration, the solemn and affecting truth, that "The things which Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice TO DEVILS, and NOT TO GOD!"

II.

"AND I WOULD NOT THAT YE SHOULD HAVE FELLOWSHIP WITH DEVILS."

These words, just quoted from inspiration, may well form the application of our argument. Since Heathenism is DEVIL-WORSHIP, and so therefore the highest possible insult to God, and the greatest possible disgrace to man, we would not have our fellow-christians to hold any fellowship with it. An Apostle of Christ was obliged so to write to one of the primitive apostolic churches on this subject: and is it any wonder, is it any thing strange, that there should *now* exist a necessity for a similar appeal? Is there not the same spirit of inconsiderateness, and is there not the same influence of temptation, and is there not the same religious weakness, *now*, as there was then? May not persons in *our* circumstances, as certainly yet thoughtlessly, fall into the sin of fellowship with idolatry, that is with devil-worship, in India as in Greece, in idolatrous Calcutta, as in ancient heathen Corinth? May not men do evil under the eyes of ordinary ministers of the Gospel, as they did when superintended by Apostles and apostolic evangelists? Alas, the fact is but too evident, that the Christian name, in India, has been polluted, and still is degraded, by such participations in Hindu Heathenism as can only be called "fellowship with devils!"

1. It is quite well known how much our Rulers and public authorities in time past identified themselves with the idolatrous ceremonies of this Heathen country: how in certain cases, they reaped the gains, or heightened the profits of the demon-gods of the land:—and how to this day,—under considerations of political or other expediency (as by their resumption regulations) they support certain shrines, so long as these are popular, that is, thoroughly idolatrous:—all this and much more is well known; and in all these things, either as they existed in times past, or as they exist now, our Government and its representatives, partaking officially and avowedly in the support, practices, gains, of idol-worship, must to that extent, have been partakers in the worship of devils. No explanation of the reasons can alter the reality of the fact.—If men did not consider what they did, they ought to have considered:—and if they did consider, and thought they had reasons for what they did, that could not alter the character of Heathenism, or prevent Hindu idolatry from being what God declares it to be, and what therefore it really is. The only result of such consideration, as to the participators, would be, that for *reasons* of their own, they *chose* to participate in that which the Word of God explicitly defines to be "fellowship with devils." If for certain reasons we have furnished cloth, "purple or scarlet or fine linen" to *Jugannáth,* that arch-fiend of Hindustán, would not the antient prophets (if now they rose up) tell us, that we had arrayed Moloch, and patronized a Devil? Let them that know the Bible, judge!—But we are glad to think that this official fellowship with idolatry is rapidly passing away; and we trust that the last vestige of it will speedily disappear: yet, whilst a shred of it remains, it is a shred that implicates the state in the fellowship of Devils; and therefore the servants and people of the most High must never

be silent concerning the evil, the guilt, the shame which it involves. May the Lord God mercifully influence our Government and all its servants, no more to "touch that unclean thing," which has been the very plague-spot of demon-possessed India; and so to complete the reform which has been already begun!

2. It is also but too well known, that many of those who bear the Christian name in this country, have been in the habit of visiting, for enjoyment and amusement, some of the chief scenes of Idolatrous Worship, on occasion of some of the great festivals; and of partaking freely and openly of the viands spread out, on such occasions, in honour of the idol of the day. Thus, in regard to the *Durgá Pújá*, what can be more notorious than that it has been hitherto, and still is regarded, as the grand season when Heathen entertainers may receive *Christian* guests to their houses, and annually have the pleasure of seeing the disciples of JESUS CHRIST eat, drink and make merry, in the very house where the orgies of heathenism are being conducted, and often in sight of the image of that DEVIL-GOD, for whose express honour the whole of this scene is enacted! Now, shall a man sit down to eat and drink with murderers, whilst the blood is yet warm upon their hands, and not feel within him a sense of horror or dread? Shall a man join in carousal with traitors, whilst they are yet whetting their blades, or preparing their "infernal machines," for the murder of their king, and not have within him a sense of doing evil and a dread of impending wrath? And shall a Christian go to the house of a Heathen man, at the very time when his God is most insulted, and Devils most worshipped, in order to eat, drink, and make merry, in presence of *that* which, if but an image, is a foul caricature of HIM who made us, the God and Father of us all, and whom most we love; —and if *more* than an image, is but the home or resting place of a foul DEMON on leave from hell! Shall a Christian man or woman do all this, and yet shall there not be found in all this any fellowship with evil, any participation in what they have witnessed with so much complacency, eagerness and merriment? Is not complacency in evil, participation in evil? But as we

have already seen, the word of God speaks very plainly and directly on this point;—it declares that he who intelligently and wilfully partakes of an Idol-Feast, has the same participation with the table and cup of Devils, which believers have with the table and the cup of Christ at the sacrament of the Supper: in other and plain words, the Christian who goes to the scene of Idol-worship to *partake* of the festivities of the Durgá (or any other) Pújá, becomes a *communicant with devils*, and not with Christ;—for, has he not partaken of a demon's Sacrament? These are but the words of inspiration. Who will gainsay them?

3. And what shall we say of those Christian men who choose to draw their gains directly and intentionally from the foul source of Heathen Worship—who can contemplate and rejoice in the profits that will result from supplying the annual wants and requirements of those Idol-festivals, which, judged by the Christian standard, are but the Feasts of Devils? What shall we say to gains sought and obtained by our merchants and tradesmen, furnishing the equipments of those domestic demon shrines, in order that they may shine out in all the blaze of splendour worthy of the god and his worshippers? What shall we say to profits drawn from spreading forth, with rich and delicate provisions, tables that are openly associated with the honour and glory of demon-worship, tables spread specially and alone for those *Christian* friends who readily, and in troops, assemble in virtue of a *Durgá Pújá "card"—a devil-worship invitation?* What shall we say to the conduct of another class, of actors and of actresses, of musicians and of singers, of rope-dancers and other such performers, who hire themselves out with Christian names, for the day or for the evening, to the rich heads of Heathenism, in order to heighten the attractions and increase the eclàt of a festival dedicated to the orgies of devil-worship? What shall we say of these and all such like mercantile and gainful participation in the Holiday-work of Hindu Heathenism, but that it is one and the same with partaking of the *idol-feast* itself; which we have already seen to be but "fellowship with Devils."

He who for money illustrates the idol-shrine, may just as well go and enjoy the idol-blaze:—he who spreads the table and furnishes the viands for idol-honour, may just as well, sit down and partake of the idol-feast; and he who in his own person or personal services, administers a portion of the Idol's festive entertainment, may just as well be himself entertained by all the movements of the idol-scene. What is all this then, but mercenary fellowship with devils?

4. But we now come to a case less apparent, it may be, to some Christian minds, than those grosser ones which have just been mentioned--but a case not really more difficult to decide upon, by the same unerring standard and on the same principle of application. We have now, on the same premises, to ask our readers—Whether the general observance of Hindu Holidays, as at present practised in this country, do not involve in it, Christian *participation* in the idolatry or devil-worship of the country?

Consider the facts of the case. In our Indian Calendar there are about thirty-five days which are set down as HINDU HOLIDAYS, and which bear the names of those Idols to which they are, by the Heathen people, dedicated. These days are appointed to be observed in all Government offices, as days of cessation from ordinary official business: and arrangements are beforehand made and announced for meeting all claims of a financial or other kind which may fall due on those days. The Banks are closed; and the Mercantile body generally, falling in with the stream of official example and influence, close also their houses of business: so that as a general rule, with a few exceptions, the Christian Community of India is in a state of mercantile and official stagnation on those days of Hindu Idol-worship. Indeed, many of these heathen Holidays possess all the privileges, and some of them more than the honours, of the Lord's Sabbath: for, we know, that there is in some Christian houses, a more entire cessation from business during the Durgá Pújá recess, than on any Lord's-day throughout the whole year.

Now, what really are these *Hindu Holidays*, which we, as a people, thus distinguish by a sort of Sabbath-observance? They are days set apart as the HIGH-DAYS of IDOL-WORSHIP: Days on which Hindu Idolaters declare the existence, celebrate the exploits, consecrate the images, invoke the presence, offer the sacrifices, perform the worship, and enrich the priesthood of their *demon-gods:* Days in which these worshippers, after the example of those foul beings whom they honour, usually give themselves up to all manner of sensuality, licentiousness, prostitution, ribaldry, and base abominations, that cannot be named:—Days which thus, above all others whatever, tend to establish and perpetuate idolatry, by the seductive pleasures and the overwhelming bribes which they successively and continually present:—They are days in which the LORD our GOD is openly and utterly denied, and in which are installed and proclaimed, with songs and dances, and sport and merriment, all those abominable Substitutes for Him, which insult reason, degrade the affections, destroy conscience, inflame the passions, and mortally corrupt the whole soul of the shameless worshippers:—Days on which the pure and heavenly kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus is most specially arrested, and the gospel of salvation is most peculiarly hated and repelled:—They are, in short, days in which Hell preeminently triumphs, for on them most preeminently do our Hindu Gentiles sacrifice to Evil Spirits and not to God!—They are thus the Festivals, the Holidays, of DEVILS, and not of CHRIST or of GOD! This language may seem strong, but it is truthful: and for the literal truthfulness of it we appeal to every Christian man in this country who believes the Bible, knows popular Hinduism, and is capable of thinking seriously, and of speaking as he thinks.—We are practically not unacquainted with our subject, we trust: and we give it as a deliberate opinion, the result of some painful thought and continued observation, that the *Festivals* of Hinduism are now the *chief* strength and bulwark of its popularity; that whatever weakens and discourages the observance of those festivals, will precipitate the downful of the whole system; and that whatever tends to strengthen and encourage these, tends immediately to maintain and perpetuate the whole frame-work of Hindu Heathenism.

Now there is no difficulty in shewing, that the *official and public observance of Hindu Holidays* has the direct tendency and evident effect, of encouraging, strengthening and perpetuating these bulwarks of Hindu Heathenism. Thus,—(1.) Our recognition of the mean and low festivals of Heathenism, has the effect of giving them (so to speak) an air of *respectability*, which otherwise they never could have reached. They have obtained from us a name and recognized place in society:—vile as they are, they stand out in the midst of all that is decent and pure in christianity, or that is fair and worthy amongst the institutes of secular civilization: and who can tell how much we thus have raised, instead of sinking, the Festivals of Heathenism by our social and universal recognition of their names and objects, and that, even in the minds of the Heathen themselves?

(2.)—The granting of Heathen Festivals as business *Holidays* on the part of Christians, associates the idea of *pleasure* and a boon with the festivals of Heathenism. It induces and habituates the minds of those who expect cessation from labour, and retirement from the cares of business on those days, to look forward with desire and expectation to the time when the demons of Hinduism, as Káli and Durgá and Krishna and Shiv, shall specially be worshipped: so that the thought of those festivals becomes associated, by our act, with pleasurable and happy sensations. And, is it easy for men to become indifferent to a boon which ministers to their physical enjoyment, even though it should tend to their spiritual destruction? Is it easy for Christian men themselves, who are like others incessantly occupied in the labours of this life, to think freely and candidly of those HEATHEN *Holidays* which at present constitute (with the exception of the christian sabbath) their only relaxation from the cares and toils of the cabinet, the desk, or the counter? Thus are we strengthening the evil, and weakening the good, by connecting authoritatively, holiday pleasure with days of demon-worship. Reverse the process, and how speedily would a different result be manifest!

(3.)—Is there not of necessity involved in this constant official recognition and announcement of Heathen Holidays, what may be considered as a virtual and subordinate establishment of Hinduism, as *a* Religion of the state? For its great days of religious worship are announced by the authorities of the state, as days on which *official* business shall be suspended, from year to year:—and if this go on from year to year, (for the feast days of each year are agreed upon and announced in the year that precedes it) when will Hinduism cease to exist? By our careful anticipation and constant recognition of these Pújás, are we not stereotyping, holding together and perpetuating a system, which if left to its own present tendencies, would by little and little drop away? "On a certain day," say the Heathen, "we will worship our idols."—"Then on *that* day," says the State, "we will require no work (although we might), and will declare our offices to be closed; this we proclaim under our seal."—"To this we all *agree*," say the Christian people!—Is there no fellowship with Heathenism in this? if not, we understand not the meaning of the term "fellowship."

4.—May we not further ask whether a voluntary and *gratuitous gift of time*, be not morally as real an *offering* to idolatry, as is a gift of gold, of incense, or of victims, to be sacrificed on a Heathen altar? It may be well to permit, or not to hinder, what yet it may be sinful to offer or to give. God permits idolatry, or tolerates it, that is, does not hinder it; but he never *gives* aught to it, *as such*; he never makes gifts to it to facilitate its operations. So in like manner, it may be, and it is our duty, to *tolerate* Hindu Heathenism, that is to permit the free and full exercise of its rites, so far as they may be consistent with humanity; but it is quite another thing to come forward and say to the Heathen "We make you a free gift of those *thirty days* of the year in which you delight to honour your Idol gods: on those days we require nothing from you, and will pay you your wages for those days of idleness, as if they had been days of labour and toil !" Surely *this* is a gift and an offering of no mean order! Do not men of the world say, "*Time is money*;"—and do not Christians say," *Redeem time*," because it is most precious; and yet we freely present, as a gift out of our claims and our business, a tenth part, or *tythes*, of every year, to enable those who worship Devils and not God, to do so, not merely without loss or discomfort, but with positive pleasure and much gain!—Is there, in all this readiness to serve Heathenism, no moral or spiritual participation, or no tendency to participation, in the awful and foul sin of demon worship?—Is there not in all this an actual *bonus* on the worship of Devils?

But all this argument, or its application, will probably be met with the bare reply in *extenuation*—"The observance of Heathen Holidays, on the part of the state and of the public generally, is simply a matter of *necessity*; for during the festivals of Heathenism, it would be *impossible* to obtain any such attendance of native agents, as would suffice in order to execute the public work:—and thus although our offices might be open, no business could possibly be performed!"

Now, specious and plausible as this reply may seem, we admit not one shred of it, either as just in itself, or in the least degree worthy of the importance of the subject before us. For, first; supposing all this to be true, and to be as here asserted, would not the open offices and counting-houses of Christian men, deserted as they might be, and desolate as they might seem, be but so many noble and disinterested witnesses of Christian attachment to the honour and glory of the living God, in opposition to the thronged temples of the vile demon-gods of the Heathen?—Would not such a state of things shew, that our people would rather themselves suffer grievous loss, than do any thing that seemed to involve a compromise with the worship of devils, so dishonouring to their God? Secondly: The supposed answer of the opponent is but a mere assertion, based upon no experiment, and which cannot be proved—an assertion which we utterly doubt. We feel assured that abundance of other agency would be found in this city and country, agency that would need no such waste of time as that referred to: and we also have no doubt, were firm but kindly measures adopted, for keeping *all* public offices open on every Heathen Holiday in the year, that in a short time a very unexpected but gratifying revolution would be found to take place in the rising race of Hindus, who are prepared to fall in with any thing that will please their superiors and advance their own interests, and who care little for any thing in Hinduism that would interfere with these ends. Thirdly,—All who believe in the good and wise providence of Almighty God, may rest assured, that if any such step were taken, as the obliteration of Heathen Holidays for His sake, from our common calendar, the Supreme Governor of the Universe would favour such a national act; and that He, "in whose hands are the hearts of all men as streams of water," would soon make manifest how baseless are all suppositions or pretexts of impossibility, in matters that tend to fulfil his law, and to exalt His character. "To him that believeth, all things are possible." Fourthly: The alleged impossibility would prove at the utmost but a simple *difficulty*;—a temporary difficulty too;—and a difficulty most honourable in its character, and which therefore we should think every Christian mind would rise up and long to encounter! Who expects any thing great, or good, or lasting, to be accomplished in this world, without difficulty? See what God did, when there was a difficulty in the way of our Salvation! "God so loved the world, that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish but have everlasting life!" And shall *we* now talk of difficulties in His service, as impossibilities?

Thus then we utterly deny all necessity, all impossibilities, in this matter. Even the difficulty is only a supposed one:—and shall we allow a mere supposition, a probable difficulty, to hinder or prevent the commencement of a work so evidently pure, righteous, and good, as the mere ceasing to recognize or observe in our Calendars, the Holidays of Heathenism, the Festivals of Devil-worship! If there be amongst us but general concert, firm decision, simultaneous effort, and sincere reliance on the Providence of God, with the prayers of those who know the power of prayer, the work might soon be done, and men would afterwards say, "How easily done, when once in earnest!"—Nor would there be any thing *intolerant* in all this, as some may alledge. If there would, why is it that do we not grant to our Muhammadan, and Popish, and other fellow subjects, the same privilege of having *all their Festivals* owned and honoured by us? Surely Toleration is not a thing of numbers; and yet the Hindus only have this full privilege. There can be nothing intolerant in not giving that, which Toleration never required us to bestow. We have already seen the difference between *permitting* idol-worship, that is (as God does) tolerating its existence; and *favouring* it by special grants, as of money or of time, gratuitously conferred—which is not toleration, but patronage. This plea, then, will avail nothing. Let our Sabbath day's rest, to which even French Revolutionists, after a counter-experiment, were compelled to recur, and which belongs to Hindus as well as to us, be universally, honestly and entirely bestowed and kept; and let all the impure anniversaries of Idolatry and of Devil-worship be for ever obliterated from the calendar of Christian civilization in British India! And if required, let others and new Holidays be substituted for them; days simply of *relaxation and of rest,* wisely and seasonably selected.

We may now be permitted to conclude our present task, however imperfectly we have executed it, (and we know and feel that it has been most imperfectly done) with a few reflections which we had previously recorded elsewhere, on occasion of *one,* and the principal one, of those Heathen Festivals, against the observance, or civil recognition, of which, we have been contending in this paper: for the subject is not new to us; and if we have written strongly, we have at least not written rashly.—That same Festival of demon-worship will soon again be amongst us, in all its spiritual horrors to some, but with all its physical allurements to others. Oh that we might hope, as we do pray, that this next may be the last DURGA-PUJA, that shall be socially recognized by the visible Church of the Living GOD, in this awfully vast empire of one hundred and twenty millions of idolators and unbelievers!

"The Durgá Pújá Holidays are now over; and glad we are, that they are gone for another year:—would they were gone for ever! There is something peculiarly sickening in these yearly Heathen-holidays, identified as they are with the very worst type of pagan apostacy from God, and with the vilest accompaniments of Hindu idolatry, itself supremely bad; day after day of this public vacation, as it drags along, disclosing to us, by the cessation of all civil business, by the stagnation of all social activity, by the interruption of every work of usefulness, how intense is the hold which DEVIL-WORSHIP has of this land, and how irresistibly popular in this metropolis of Hinduism, is the denial of the living and the true God, and the substitution of Demons for HIM. Alas! alas! how little of actual Christian result, in this the most favoured city of Heathenism in the world, has yet been accomplished!

" But if the soul be sickened by looking on this as a paramount specimen of idolatrous celebration, it is also pained by another and different view of the same subject—that the *Festivals of Idolatry are the Holidays of Christians.* Partly from political deference to the reigning superstition of the country, and partly from the expediency of mere convenience in conducting its civil business, our British authorities have made the grand days of Idolatry to be the chief seasons of relaxation and enjoyment to their christian servants and subjects. The mercantile heads of Society, following in the same train, but (as *they* say) from the force of necessity, have set their hand to this Government deed: and so, by common consent, for one whole week at a time, all Calcutta seems under the sway of the Idol Durgá;—commerce is suspended—business is closed—churches are thinned—shrines are set up—nautches are multiplied—Hindus are worshipping or surfeiting, Muhammadans sauntering or partaking, Christians reposing in their homes or fled to the river for health and pleasure! Such is the state of things outwardly and seemingly.

Have we overstated or caricatured it? Now, what is *painful* to us in this state of things is, that, whilst relaxation from business, for a time, is to all men most desirable and needful, the *special season* of such relaxation should stand connected with IDOL-WORSHIP; so as the enjoyment of the one on the part of Christians, should be made dependent on the observance of the other on the part of Heathens; so that this physical enjoyment of the Christian is made to hang upon the continuance of this idolatrous abomination of the Heathen. The effect of such co-incidence or rather dependence is, that the believer in Jesus is induced or rather unconsciously seduced, to look forward with pleasure, even with *desire*, to the arrival of certain days in which he will be relieved, by general consent, from the toils of business; and those the very days which are made holidays, *because* on them there is the longest and intensest idol-worship of the whole year—that is those very days when the living and true God is more sadly and painfully blasphemed by the people of the land than at any other season whatever. To us there seems a moral conjunction of a very painful sort, in this apparently mere co-incidence of opposite things. Individual Christians may have little or no power in this matter, it is true; they cannot singly and alone prevent the Durgá Pújá recess, nor any such publicly constituted Heathen-holydays;—but, they have power to think over, to consider, to follow up the matter in all its elements, circumstances, consequents: and they have power to stir up others to do the same with themselves:—and is this *nothing?* Who can tell what the result might ultimately be, if every man brought his convictions to the point of *action*? Are we not at present virtually and constructively honouring all the demons of Paganism, by honouring the anniversary days of their worship? and can there be any doubt, that by this alone, Heathenism is prodigiously strengthened, and by our very selves its downfall is retarded? We have rightfully given to our heathen clerks and servants *fifty-two* clear holidays, even our *Sabbaths*, which to them are simple and pure Holidays, open for recreation and without temptation to evil;—these fifty-two days are a clear gift to them, as well as benefit to ourselves: Can we then do nothing as men, as citizens, as Christians, to rectify the evil, of enacting and perpetuating as civil holidays, the ruinous anniversaries of the Demons of Heathenism? Let the serious reader ask himself, are these fit holidays for Christians, in which to *rejoice?* ought they not rather to FAST?—We doubt not that if a number of believers did but agree to spend each successive Durgá recess in humiliation and prayer before God—the insulted God of India and of the Universe—Durgá like Dagon would soon fall upon the threshold."

Does the question now arise, *What is to be done? What ought I, or, what ought we, to do?*—Let every one *bethink* himself; and let every man *act*, according to his sphere of duty or influence, inducing also friends to think and act with him—and much will soon be found, that ALL *can do.* Let the bishops and chaplains, who are, or ought to be, spiritual advisers of the Authorities of State, and of the servants of our Government—let them consider, and give counsel, as they ought, and as they can, for the honour of their God and for the good of those over whom they are appointed: Let the pastors of congregations declare the whole counsel of the Lord's word on this subject to the flocks over whom they preside, in the midst of surrounding Heathenism and all its bewildering snares, warning them against all individual fellowship with Festivals, which, in the sight of God, are but devil-worship: Let Christian official men who may be in power, and *can* put forth influence for that which is good, exert that influence forthwith, wisely yet determinedly, for the devising of measures to be afterwards employed, in the proper place and at the proper time, for the honour of their GOD, and the performance of their own duty:—Let all men of private station who feel interested in the matter, combine their individual efforts—first, in order to influence, in a legitimate and respectful manner, our Government to take steps for abolishing this national sin, this corporate evil—and secondly, to make mutual arrangements for carrying out amongst themselves, in full detail, the principle which they thus call upon their rulers to recognize: And let all christian men and women, who love to *pray*, supplicate the Lord of Heaven and of Earth, to forward a work having for its object, to put an end in this country to even the very *appearance* of CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP (whether political, social or individual,) WITH THE WORSHIP OF DEVILS. Let all this, or but a little of all this, in each department, be done, and soon the names of demon-gods will scarcely need to be mentioned amongst US;—save when a pious master warns his servants against the sinfulness of honouring idols, or the Christian missionary publicly calls on the Heathen to repent of worshipping DEVILS instead of God!

ALMIGHTY GOD, hasten this result, by thy HOLY SPIRIT, for JESUS CHRIST'S sake!

J. M. D.

CALCUTTA:
PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS.
1846.

THE

AUBID:

AN EASTERN TALE.

BY

JAMES ATKINSON, ESQ.

'O, LET HIM PASS! HE HATES HIM,
THAT WOULD UPON THE RACK OF THIS TOUGH WORLD,
STRETCH HIM OUT LONGER.

SHAKESPEARE.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR BLACK, KINGSBURY, PARBURY, AND ALLEN,
LEADENHALL STREET.
1819.

J. F. Dove, Printer, St. John's Square.

TO THE

REVEREND M. PARRINGTON,

RECTOR OF BIRKBY,

THIS POEM

IS AFFECTIONATELY

INSCRIBED BY THE

AUTHOR.

CALCUTTA,
June 20th, 1818.

THE AUBID.

A che pugnar col Fato? à che lo sdegno
Dunque irritar de la Celeste Corte?

TASSO.

I.

THE Musjid walls are bright—the lamps in rows
Of various hue, a glittering scene disclose;
Round the carved dome and minarets they gleam,
Dimming with fiercer light the Moon's pale beam:
And why this splendour? 'Tis a night of prayer—
'Tis SHUBIRAUT[1]—ABDULLAH will be there,

The Arab Chief, who seldom holds the rite
Marked by the Faithful—*he* will pray to-night.
His palace too is decked in pomp, and shines
With many a star refulgent—lamp entwines
With lamp, festooned from every arch and tree,—
The garden blazes—all burns gorgeously.—
And now he moves to prayer—the Moollahs read
The solemn ritual by the law decreed;
And as they pause—each, bending down his head,
Invokes the sainted spirit of the dead;
Son, father, brother,—incense breathes around,
And pious offerings strew the holy ground.

II.

Within the Harem there was one, whose mind
Refused all comfort, could not be resigned;
While others felt, or seemed with glistening eye,
To share delight, she still was heard to sigh.

And as exposed the dewy Lotus-flower,
Trembles and folds its petals from the shower,
She drooping bore misfortune's chilling blast,
And silent wept o'er joys for ever past.
No song could charm, unless its mournful tone
Spoke of a grief congenial with her own.
Her polished forehead, exquisitely fair,
Shewed not a line, ere sorrow placed it there:
And her pale cheek and soft expressive mien
Told half her tale—how beauteous she had been.
This weeping partner of a tyrant's bed,
With saddest feelings sorrowed o'er the dead;
But only saw through a protecting screen
The pageantry of grief—the splendid scene,
Where thousand torches threw their glare on high,
And spread a crimson radiance o'er the sky;
Yet was her eye undimmed—untired her ear—
Still eager, still resolved to see and hear,

III.

Before the Court a wandering AUBID[2] came,
Gloomy in aspect, but of noble frame;
Austere his gaze—rapt with mysterious views—
Wild as a maniac's dream, or poet's muse;
On human cares he scarcely deigned a thought,
But heavenly themes his mind to frenzy wrought;
And fam'd for piety, he fearless trod
Forest or city, reverenced as a god:
His black and knotted beard, and many a streak
Traced by Despondence on his sallow cheek,
His strings of beads and amulets, implied
A life by prayer and fasting sanctified:
—O'er his large form, which kinder times had known,
A tiger's skin was negligently thrown;
And it was fabled, that with magic skill,
He could avert all human pain at will;

Nay more, it was believed he had the power,
With philters, to delay the dying hour.
Pensive he stood, majestic in the throng,
His brow o'erclouded by some hidden wrong.
As Cape Delgada's[3] lofty peaks arise,
In awful splendour towering to the skies;
Though oft assailed by tempests, and arrayed
In robes of vapour, and obscuring shade,
The clouds which o'er them cast a dusky hue
Add a mysterious grandeur to the view.
—But, under tranquil seeming, he suppress
Some dark suspicion lurking in his breast;
And, turning round, his blessing gave to all,—
Then took his station near the HAREM wall;
Addressed the ARAB CHIEF in flattering strain,
And talked of woes which waked the throb of pain.

IV.

"There lived a man, a pilgrim rich and brave,
Not stained by crime, nor idle passion's slave;
Much had he seen and many a distant land,
For he had trod Arabia's burning sand,
And, after long and weary travel, saw
That shrine which holds the Moslem world in awe;
Three times a Hajee's[4] offering he had paid,
Three times the Prophet's sacred tomb surveyed;
And he might boast a soul from sin secure,
If pilgrim-prayers made absolution sure:
He was a husband, father—and ere fate
Robbed him of joy, and made him desolate,
His heart could throb with anguish or delight,
As pain or pleasure glanced upon his sight;
Yes, time had been, in youth's triumphant glow,
When tenderest feeling taught his soul to know

The placid calm, the tempest,—all which prove
The fears, the dotage, or the bliss of love.
He might have dwelt in peace and happiness,
Wealth gave him all that mortals can possess:
But what is wealth, since worldly pomp destroys
The heart's repose, and prompts unhallowed joys?
Vain pride—how often has the cheat betrayed!
False was the smile which o'er his features played,
When jocund youth its blithe career began,
And promised blessings ere he grew to man.
"How fortune changed, and flowers of richest hue
Were blighted by the fall of poison-dew;
How one base wretch—accursed of heaven and earth—
To whom some Dæmon of the Wild gave birth,
Destroyed the bliss he had not soul to share,
And madly drove his victim to despair;—
This he disclosed in words of deepest woe,
This harrowing tale the Arab Chief shall know:

For when the blood of innocence is spilt,
Sure is the vengeance which is due to guilt.

V.

" Need I describe why from his mountain-home,
With pilgrim-feet, he first began to roam?
Pleasure and Faith perhaps had equal force,
To fix his choice and point his destined course.
For him had Nature raised the freshest bowers,
Loveliest of shades, and various fruits and flowers;
These shed their fragrance o'er his sweet abode,
The ripe Anar[5] mid arching foliage glowed,
And herbs of mildest perfume, clustering, spread
His variegated lawns with green and red.
Streams started from the rock, as pure and bright
As Eden's springs, sparkling with life and light.
Heaven too had blessed him with a beauteous bride;
Enough—they travelled—on the seas she died.—

But hear his own recital.
"'Bearing down
The tranquil sea from Judda's[6] crowded town,
We passed with speed full many a sandy isle,
Sabeia[7] low, and craggy Kolumbyle;[7]
But clearing Geddan, scarce a breath propelled
The freighted vessel on the course we held;
Bright shone the morning sun with streaks of gold,
And purple clouds, through fields of ether rolled,
Seemed to foretel a day as fine and fair
As ever blessed the storm-tost sailor's prayer;
A favouring breeze had borne us o'er the sea,
No speck of land seen sparkling on our lea,
And every heart beat jocund to survey,
Dashed from the shining prow, the foamy spray;
To mark the sail wide-spread, the bending mast;
And hear the lead o'er shoals successive cast:—

My wife and child with sportive pleasure viewed
This novel scene.—Could saddening thoughts intrude?
Strange sights and joyous from our bounding bark,
Had power to chase reflections sad and dark:
But soon a gale with freshening fury blew,
High rolled the waves—and scared the trembling crew;
The stormy sea, ascending o'er the deck,
Threatened our lonely bark with instant wreck,
And all fell prostrate in the Prophet's name,
All wept—and prayed—no calm—no comfort came.
Hours passed away—and still the tempest roared,
Still bursting waters o'er the vessel poured;
At length a brightening sky our spirits cheered,
Despair took instant flight—a sail appeared—
Smooth ran the sea, and danger frowned no more,
Though far remote from YEMEN's friendly shore;
The ship approached—yet whether friend or foe,
Our beating bosoms never sought to know;

But soon, alas! the sailors could discern
Armed ruffians leaning o'er the lofty stern;
And haste and bustle on her deck foretold
An Arab Pirate[8]—barbarous as bold.
Saved from the storm to cruel man a prey,
Each heart was seized with horror and dismay;
The whistling balls in quick succession fell,—
But who can half a Parent's horror tell,
When in his arms his wife and infant sink,
And from repeated death-shots trembling shrink!
Stained was the deck—the bark had lost its guide,
And rolled and tossed along the glassy tide.
But swift the Pirate closed, and crowding poured
His fearless train with gleaming brands on board,
Prepared for strife; but not an arm was raised
To check the Plunderers—all in horror gazed,
And passive waited, with suspended breath,
That awful shock which threatened them with death

" Haste, seize the treasure, bring the stores—and
" hark,
" Convey them quickly to the master-bark;
" This shattered vessel would but ill repay
" The loss sustained by mildness or delay."

With horrid jibes the sullen Chief pursued,
And oft and loud the stern command renewed.
My wife and child were spurned by ruffian hands,
Our coffers seized—the glare of lighted brands
Shewed every casket we had wished to hide,
And swelled the plunder of the Homicide!
The Pirate-monsters then half-wearied stood—
But seemed, insatiate still, to thirst for blood;
One raised his hand, and aimed a deadly dart
Full at my wife—I stabbed him to the heart;
Another came—at me he struck the blow,
But failed—he followed to the shades below;

Then all rushed on—but as enraged they clasp
My struggling limbs within their furious grasp,
They find the cabin filled with smoke—they fly
The horrid death, and leave us there to die.
Freed from their swords a heavier fate impends—
A fiery column from the ship ascends;
The cruel Pirates, safe from peril, viewing
The bursting flames—the ship involved in ruin,
And human life left to despair, yet they
Pitiless saw and sternly bore away.
Abandoned thus—the awful moment gave
Prenatural strength our threatened lives to save;
I know not how we left the blazing deck,
How we escaped from that terrific wreck;
But haply we survived that perilous hour,
And grateful prayers to the Almighty Power
Sprung to our lips. The lonely boat that held
Our mournful groupe, by wind and wave impelled,

Soon drifted from the burning pile, which threw
O'er the wide rolling sea a sanguine hue;
While in mid air black clouds of smoke arose,
And canopied a scene of heaviest woes,
Hiding the glorious sun. Our minds relieved,
Glowed with pure thankfulness—but how deceived!
For what availed that interval of joy?
Fate had but ceased one moment to destroy.
Happier for us if in one general burst,
Life, feeling, sense, had fled; then ills the worst
That e'er afflicted man had not been proved,
In lingering agony, by all I loved.

"Red in the distance, still terrific shone
The blazing ship, the crew extinct and gone,
And we the sole survivors—far from shore,
Stunned by the sea-bird's scream, the billows' deafening roar,

No food, no water, had we brought away,
Our parching thirst or hunger to allay;
In lonely desolation we were cast,
The sport of Ocean and the rising blast;
For day soon faded—clouds of darkness fell,
And night came on—but language cannot tell
What dread forebodings shivered through my breast,
When the last glimmering parted from the West,
And darkness closed around—my child, my wife,
My loveliest, dearest hope, my joy, my life!
My very heart felt stony, and my brain
Seemed bursting—yet I dared not to complain.
For Sleep on them had shed its soothing balm,
And to their features given a transient calm;
While vainly I endeavoured to control
The swelling groans of my distracted soul.
O what a night was that, an age of sorrow!
Hope never pictured to my mind—to-morrow!

But Fear presented horrors to the eye
Unspeakable,—a Spectre,[9] towering nigh,
Pointed to where my loved Zureen reposed,
Mournful, as if her precious life had closed.
I listened to her breath and thought it fled;
But still she slept—yet looked as she were dead.
At length the morn arose, and to my sight
Brought keener sufferings, all I feared by night;
It was not Sleep that stilled her wearied frame,
The hand of Death had quenched the vital flame—
But left a face so lovely, soft, and meek,
The lingering soul seemed still to tint her cheek.
And do I breathe—to say how she was snatched
From these fond arms—even while I gaz'd and watch'd!
No living object met my searching eye;
Crushed and o'erwhelmed in deepest agony,
Then bled my heart,—delirium like a spell,
Bound every sense within me:—but I dwell

Too long on griefs which mock the power of speech,
Too long on woes that few may ever reach.
When sense and reason were restored, I found
Indulgent strangers kindly gathering round;
Pleased to relieve,—they slaked my burning thirst,
My lovely infant soothed, and fondly nurst;
—Familiar language struck my eager ear,
My life was saved—and seeming friends were near;
I had no presage of succeeding woe;
Yet what is man not doomed to undergo!
The bubble joy soon bursts, our pleasures fade,
Even ere they blossom—yet is death delayed.
The ship which saved me bore a pirate band,—
Why they revived me—why they spared the brand,
Fate only knows: but they were cruel still,
And tore away, dire instruments of ill,
All that a genial feeling could impart,
All that was left to comfort my sad heart.' "

VI.

The **Aubid** paused,—and now a piercing scream
Is heard—all start as wakening from a dream;
The **Chief**, whose conscious soul had undergone
Pangs fierce and desperate, breathed a heavy groan,
And rushing to his palace, there he found
His favourite wife, or slave, pale on the ground,
And all her sister-victims weeping round!
Well did he know the cause of that distress,
And his racked feelings scarcely suffered less,
Though deep disguised—beneath a brow unbent,
Bearing, in secret, guilt's dread punishment.

Still burn the lamps, the palace walls display
A radiant blaze which emulates the day.
The **Chief** that solemn night had joined in prayer!
But his heart scoffs at what his lips declare;

And what are now the phantoms that oppress
His nightly slumber? Fear and Wretchedness.

The Aubid marked the scene—while crowding fast,
Dark shadowy forms told something of the past:
His mental sight was clear, yet undefined
Prophetic warnings rushed upon his mind;
And pondering o'er his destiny, he withdrew,
Tracing what fancy formed, or memory knew.

VII.

Meanwhile the Harem-queen, whose cureless grief
Had long disturbed the guilty Moslem Chief,—
And oft recalled his savage deeds of blood,
Wildly amidst her pitying sisterhood,
Sought—as the visions floated through her brain,
Visions of past enjoyment—to regain

Her soul's lost comfort; for the Aubid's voice
Had touched a chord which made her heart rejoice,
Though the sad tale o'erpowered her. He had spoken
Dread things and strange, by some mysterious token;
Hence she had hopes this bold Enthusiast knew
Still more—and might her happiest days renew;
For holy men, she thought, devoutly given,
Derive a power miraculous from Heaven.

How then could she accost that lonely Seer,
How gain, so guarded, his attentive ear?
Immured within a Harem's latticed round,
Hope might have died—yet Heaven her wishes crowned.

The Arab Chief is sick—no cold dull pains
Distract his limbs—the fever in his veins

Burns with intense severity—and still
Intenser pangs his very heart-strings thrill,
The fierce disease being there—his days of strength,
And deeds of daring have become at length
Stings that now rankle to his inmost core;
Crime marked them all, and Conscience runs them
o'er,
With torturing truth. It was not thus when strife,
And pirate valour gave a charm to life;
Then no reflection—no dissuasive word—
Restrained his hand, or stopped his gashing sword.

"Why should the Zealot's tale alarm my fears?
"Yet were his words like thunder in my ears;
"Could he have known! impossible—I came
"To distant lands that none might tell my name,
"None talk of actions that disgraced the past,
"And here I hoped to live in peace at last.

" Though he has heard of that emprize at sea,
" How should he know the ROBBER-CHIEF in me?
" The Pilgrim AKBER does not breathe to hate
" My memory;—him, the sport of adverse Fate,
" I doomed to perish on a barren shore,
" Amidst the burning rocks of Jib-ool-Tor.[10]
" His wife—she sunk not at that dreadful time,
" She lived, and smiled, unconscious of my crime;
" Yet banished AKBER thought her dead, and strove
" Still to retain the babe—her pledge of love.
" That could not be, I kept the puling boy,
" And AKBER died to give the ROBBER joy;
" But fruitless was the force I used, the Deep
" Now lulls the infant in eternal sleep.
" Who then exists—what miscreant dares to brand,
" My honoured name in this sequestered land?"

VIII.

O'er GUNGA's stream the sun is rising bright,
And the still waves reflect a purple light;
The rattling drums in SEVA's sculptured fane
Deafen the ear—the clamorous Brahmin-train,
With out-stretched fingers, raise the white zunar,[11]
And pour to favouring gods the mystic prayer.
Now through the woods the Kookul's mellow note
Rings loud, in air the fainter echoes float;
Near yonder rural copse, where, full in sight,
The clustering plantains shine with golden light,
And high o'er head the Banian, old and grey,
Spreads its fantastic arms and hides the glare of day;
What slender form of strange attire appears,
Her dark eye sparkling through a shower of tears?
'Tis she! ZUREEN has passed the guarded wall,
The sufferer has escaped the tyrant's thrall,

And shelters in a bower with fearful haste,
Like a tired fawn by savage hunters chased;
Or trembling PERI, of unspotted mind,
Shunning the wanton gaze of human kind.
At length a Brahmin passed that lonely spot,
And gave her refuge in his humble cot;
And often asked, in vain, the source of grief,
Which seemed to claim condolence and relief:
" O spurn that sorrow which consumes the heart,
" And to a father all thy woes impart."

She might have owned, but as he softly spoke,
The holy AUBID on their presence broke;
He did not enter, for his Prophet's word
Forbids communion with the Pagan herd;
And Brahmin-faith requires a gentler life
Than Moslems lead, embroiled in blood and strife;

Yet man, whate'er his faith, his tribe, or clime,
Has the same vices—still is prone to crime,
And when the voice of interest calls, or need,
Even they are linked, in spite of law or creed.
The Aubid looked—his scrutinizing eye
Glanced at the fair—but seemed to pass her by,
As if her youth or beauty, rashly seen,
Might warm a heart where love perchance had been.
Again he turned, and in the Brahmin's ear
Whispered a tale which startled him to hear;
And while retiring with a lingering pace,
Oft stopped and looked, as if he longed to trace
Lineaments he once had known, had oft surveyed,—
Then musing sought the forest's gloomy shade.

IX.

Wrapt in deep thought he wandered, sad and slow,
With wild amazement on his lifted brow,—

—Chance in his way a mariner had thrown,
To whom dark deeds of other realms were known;
From him he heard the ARAB CHIEF had been
Lord of a desperate band, in every scene
Of death and danger had he borne a part,
To Pirate-deeds devoted hand and heart.
No more the AUBID knew—but, something said—
" This may be him, midst ocean-tempests bred,
" Who spurned thee—cast thee on the burning sand,
" To perish there—upon a foreign strand!"
Hence he on SHUBIRAUT—the HAREM near—
Listened to all that passed with anxious ear;
And saw and heard enough, at that sad time,
To yield conviction of the Tyrant's crime.
But now he paused, bewildered—he had viewed
A lovely woman in his solitude;
" Never," he sighed, " was vision bright as this!
" Comes it in mockery of departed bliss?

"Image of her so soon to Heaven removed,
"My own Zureen—how lost, how dearly loved!"

X.

The Aubid's mien had raised her strong desire,
To seek his home—she marked his eye of fire,
Whose glance expressive o'er her fancy rolled
Visions of things remembered, days of old;
Grief was forgot, and Hope triumphant smiled,
As if bland Fortune's promise ne'er beguiled:
Thus in that fresh and fragrant dell where meet
A thousand flowrets in confusion sweet,
Deep shadows rest upon them, and subdue
Their brilliant richness to a colder hue;
The sun comes round, the gloom is chased away,
And all their beauty glitters in the ray.
—And see her now in search of that lone spot
In which he dwelt, a narrow cave, or grot;

With mind heroic pierce the thicket's maze,
Climb the huge rock, and meet his wondering gaze.
The Aubid views her slow approach, he flies
To yield her aid, and thus impassioned cries:
" Heaven guard thy steps, and banish every fear!
" No base Destroyer can assail thee here."

" O tell me then, if right my thoughts divine?
" For voice mysterious whispers thou art mine!
" Yet how? thy name, thy sorrows may explain;
" Speak, and existence may have charms again."
She ceased, and with a look that might express
Affection pure, besought him to confess;
Then with a trembling hand upraised her veil,
And briefly told her melancholy tale.
The sluggish blood, that almost choaked his heart,
Now flows apace—he breathes—her words impart

Life, love, and bliss,—the dead revived he sees,
And clasps her yielding form, in ecstacies.
Then sudden bursts away in furious mood,
And talks of vengeance, robbers, men of blood!
Trembling she marks his sad and lowering brow,
His deep sunk eye, that flashes wildly now;
Conflicting passions rend his tortured breast,
And fix him like a statue. Man unblest!
What are thy prayers, thy holy garb—when, here,
A woman's tongue befools thee! pious Seer?

XI

What now remains—shall joy succeed to woe?
Shall smiling Fortune happiness bestow
On those whose cup has been of bitterness,
And soothe the pangs of long-endured distress?
The PIRATE-CHIEF that rapture still denied;
The hovering Fiend was still unsatisfied;

Passions unchanged impelled him to the goal,
And raised the conflict of his fiery soul.
Short was the meeting of that loving pair,
A sun-beam mid the darkness of despair;
A taste of that unspeakable delight,
Which angel-minds enjoy, in visions bright.

Now up the glen, with rocky fragments strewed—
Proceeds a motley, warlike multitude,
Led by the PIRATE-CHIEF, in silence all;
The ceaseless dashing of the water-fall,
Foaming impetuous o'er a rocky bed,
Drowned every echo of their cautious tread;
No ring of arms, no noise, announced their haste,
Through copse-wood green, with tangling creepers
laced;
Still they rush on, in proud array, and now,
Unchecked by foliage dense, or thwarting bough,

They reach the open track, the rocky ledge,
Which fronts the cell, and on its dizzy edge,
They pause. The Pirate, with revengeful smile,
Thinks all is safe, and curbs his wrath awhile,
To view the unsuspecting victim, lost
In rapturous converse with his Harem's boast.
Then fiercely snatching from his golden belt
His Khunjur[12] bright, the impious Ruffian knelt,
And asked the Prophet's aid;—the clash of spears,
And swords, and bucklers, now the Aubid hears.
What were his feeilngs then! He nimbly sprung
Instinctive where his rusty sabre hung,
And placing in his cave his shuddering wife,
Moved in mute anguish to the threatened strife.
Her danger fired his soul, and had the charm
To nerve with more than human strength his arm;
But first he from a broken crag addressed
The hostile band, who round the cavern pressed:

"Is this your faith, and will you reap the curse
"Of God? The hatred of the universe?
"Lift you the sabre in a felon's cause,
"Against your priest, against your Prophet's laws?
"Disperse, or dread the vengeance I shall claim,
"For this black outrage,—cursed in soul and name!
"That Chief in death shall meet a heavier doom,
"Scorpions his food, his beverage fell Zikoom![13]
"Deluded fools! ye serve a Dæmon here,
"A coward wretch, the paltry slave of fear!
"Now watch his changing cheek; let him put on
"An iron look of sternness—it is gone—
"Fiend! I am Akber, doomed by thy command
"To die, to perish, on a barren strand!"

XII.

They saw the Chief's confusion;—saw him start,
As if the words had stung him to the heart;

Fearing the wrath this insult had inspired,
They down the rock precipitate retired,
All but the PIRATE—he disdainful raised
His dagger's point, though staggering and amazed—
And bending forward, dauntless tried to gain
The entrance of the sacred cave, in vain;
Above him stood the AUBID, and opposed
His wanton fury—then the ruffian closed,
And would have stabbed him—but the instrument
Glanced from his side, and through the girdle went,
Unstained with blood; thus rose the mortal strife,
The quenchless thirst to take each other's life.

Think of the lovely sufferer when more near
The clash of swords resounded in her ear!
Think of the agony of that poor heart,
Bursting with grief!—“O must we, must we part?

" Fly from my sight, Assassin—he is mine,
" Restored at last, by no remorse of thine!
" Restored for ever, hence no more defy
" The righteous God of Heaven—repent and fly!"
Wildly she cried, and to her husband sprung,
Clasped his strong arm, and round his body clung.
Ill-fated Beauty! in a moment's space
Past is thy misery—all thy charms of face
And eloquence of eyes, had not the spell,
To touch that Wretch with mercy, or repel
His fierce encounter,—the descending blow,
Missing its aim, has pierced her breast of snow;
The ghastly wound her waving hand distains,
The innocent blood is gushing from her veins;
One soul-distracting groan she breathes—'tis past—
" O spare my husband—spare him!" was her last.

What is existence now? a desert wild,
To him from every human joy exiled;
He saw her dying struggle—her eyes swim—
And turned with fixed, unaltered look, on him:
What more? she died;—"Revenge is now more sweet,
"Murderer! this rock shall be thy winding sheet!"
Scarce had the Aubid spoke, when, quick as thought,
He grasped with iron hand the felon's throat,
Tugged with a giant's strength, and turning round,
Raised him dismayed and quivering from the ground,
Then from the rocky steep the Robber flung;
Tumbling from crag to crag,—midway he hung,
Firmly transfixed upon a jutting peak;
The Vultures heard his soul's last terrible shriek,
And pouncing on their prey, the limbs divide,
Feasting with ravenous maw, till gorged and satisfied.

XIII.

Vengeance has had its way; the burning wrath
Of Heaven has blasted the DESTROYER's path,
And given him dreadful burial. Now behold,
The AUBID to his breast delirious fold
The lifeless corse of her, who, in his sight,
Was honour, glory, his heart's proud delight!
But mark that maniac stare! his throbbing brain
Is bursting with intolerable pain;
Madness has shut out reason—all is gone—
Save adoration of that lovely one;
And still he clasps her corse, all night, all day,—
And gazes on till life, exhausted, sinks away.

NOTES.

NOTES.

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Note 1, page 5, line 6.

'Tis Shubiraut—Abdullah will be there.

Properly *Shubiberaut*, but for the sake of euphony the word is generally pronounced *Shubiraut*. The meaning is "the fixed or appointed night," on which the Almighty is supposed by Mussulmans to decide on the destinies of mankind. There is a tradition that on *Shubiraut* the Prophet, in battle with the infidels, was wounded by a stone, which knocked out some of his teeth. In honour of this event, a good Mussulman eats Hulwa, or sweetmeats, which are of easy mastication! The Festival of *Shubiraut* is held on the 14th of the Arabian month of Shaban. On this occasion prayers are read for the repose of the deceased, fireworks are exhibited, and the night seems turned into day by splendid illuminations.

Note 2, page 8, line 1.

Before the Court a wandering Aubid *came.*

Aubid—a Durwesh, Devotee.

Note 3, page 9, line 5.

As Cape Delgada's lofty peaks arise.

Cape Delgada, in the Indian Ocean, near the north east extremity of the African Coast.

Note 4, page 10, line 7.

Three times a Hajee's offering he had paid.

Hajee, a Pilgrim who has been at Mecca or Medina.

Note 5, page 12, line 10.

The ripe Anar mid arching foliage glowed.

Anar, the Pomegranate.

Note 6, page 13, line 2.

Bearing down
The tranquil sea—from Judda's crowded town.

Judda is a port in the Red Sea, about a day's journey from Mecca, and crowded with pilgrims at the customary period of the Hajee.

Note 7, page 13, line 4.

We passed with speed full many a sandy isle
Sabeia low, and craggy Kolumbyle.

Islands in the Red Sea.

Note 8, page 15, line 4.

An Arab pirate, barbarous as bold.

The Joassimees are perhaps the most cruel and rapacious pirates that are known. They continue to be the scourge of commerce both in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulph. Several expeditions have been fitted out at Bombay for the purpose of crushing them, but the success of our armaments has never been more than temporary. The rendezvous of the Joassimees is Ras-ool-Khyma.

Note 9, page 20, line 2.

A Spectre towering nigh.

The Mahommudans are not much addicted to ghostly superstition. They believe generally, the Affghans in particular, that the shades of the departed sit each at the head of its own grave, *invisible to mortal eyes*, and enjoy the odours of the garlands which are hung on their tombs, and of the incense which is burnt, as on *Shubiraut*, by their surviving relations. See Elphinstone's Caubul. There is however a story, contained in the *Tooti-nama*, which describes a ghost more particularly. It is the apparition of the life of the King of Tuburstan, and the apparition, singularly enough, has a *female* form! The watchman of the King hears a voice in the woods, and on proceeding thither, he discovers a most beautiful female under a tree, crying continually, "I am going, who is there generous enough to detain me?" The watchman asks who she is, and she replies: "I am the life of the King of Tuburstan! his time is come—and therefore I am going!" The faithful watchman inquires by what means her steps may be arrested, and she very unceremoniously tells him, that if he will go home and cut his daughter's throat, the King's life will be prolonged! The watchman does not hesitate a moment, his daughter is sacrificed, the King lives, and he is himself rewarded for his devoted attachment to a good Sovereign.

Note 10, page 26, line 6.

Amidst the burning rocks of Jib-ool-Tor.

An island in the Red Sea.

Note 11, page 27, line 5.

With out-stretched fingers raise the white zunar.

The zunar is composed of threads, and worn by the three first classes of Hindoos over the shoulder, and across the body.

Note 12, page 35, line 6.

Then fiercely snatching from his golden belt
His Khunjur bright.

Khunjur, a particular kind of dagger worn in the girdle.

Note 13, page 36, line 6.

Scorpions his food,—his beverage fell Zikoom.

Zikoom is a thorny tree—the juice of which is corrosive, and supposed to be the drink of the inhabitants of the infernal regions.

THE END.

J. F. DOVE, Printer, St. John's Square.

THE
ORIENTAL MISCELLANY.

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INTRODUCTION.

WE conceive a preliminary address, conventionally at least, as indispensible on the first appearance of a periodical, as an introduction is when a stranger is to be ushered into the presence of an individual with whom he wishes to form an acquaintance. In conformity to this approved custom, we beg to submit the first number of the "ORIENTAL MISCELLANY" to the notice of our friends and the public with a few prefatory remarks, which are intended to explain the objects we have in view in this publication, and the means we shall employ towards their attainment.

We are all aware that at the present day, periodicals are the channels through which knowledge is communicated to the mass of the people in civilized Europe and America. Every branch of literature and science has its own periodicals, by means of which popular treatises on the most useful subjects obtain an extensive circulation; and the poorest man now in England has within his reach the means of knowing what improvement is in progress, and of slaking his thirst for information at a very trifling cost. Arts and sciences are thus brought home to men's "business and bosoms;" and the humble mechanic may now maintain intellectually an intercourse with the profound philosopher upon points, in which they are both equally interested. Within a few years the good effected by the instrumentality of periodicals has been incalculable, and what may be accomplished in a few years hence it is difficult to imagine; but if the past be a criterion to judge of the future, we may safely assert, that the diffusion of knowledge in twenty years hence will be far and wide, through the length and breadth of the land.

When the benefits derived from periodicals are so sensibly felt in Britain and other countries, it may be naturally expected, that the same results will follow if they find their way amongst those, who live in this part of the world. The East Indians, and the educated Natives form no inconsiderable portion of the inhabitants of this metropolis; and yet the sources of information for so vast a number are comparatively very limited. The few who have means at command have access to libraries, and can easily obtain English periodicals which afford them ample food for their minds; but the rest are precluded, as it were, from this intellectual feast. It is, therefore, very desirable that these also should partake of the same advantages; and nothing appears to us better calculated to subserve this end than periodicals, published in this country, and priced so low as to come within the means of all. Impressed with this idea, and influenced by the desire of affording our mite for the general weal, we have ventured to enter upon conducting a journal, which will contain articles on various subjects, interesting to every class of readers. Without reference to matters which demand the attention of the citizen of the world, we need not say there are points, connected with India of the highest importance, which are but partially known to men even in the very country to which they relate. It is not easy to calculate how much may yet be said of the vast resources of the country, of the soils and products of each district and province ; of the manufactures which have been so highly appreciated even in the great emporuim of the world; of the animal and vegetable productions which tend so much to promote the comforts and happiness of men. These are subjects of the greatest concern to people of this country, and are equally interesting to the merchant and philosopher. How far it will be in our power to treat of them, we cannot now speak in definite terms: we must however say, that it will be our care to secure contributions on these topics, and present them to our readers; as it is our earnest desire to render the MISCELLANY a vehicle of useful information. In making this declaration let it not be thought we are strict utilitarians: while we consider utility should be the chief aim and object of every publication of this description, we shall not be regardless of the other necessities of the mind, which is not to be fed only with dry details of facts. The imagination must have its due range: the mind must at times revel in the regions of fancy, in order that it may find relief after dealing with subjects of a serious cast. It will, therefore, be superfluous to add that the pages of the periodical will be open to contributions in the shape of poetry, and tales descriptive of oriental manners and customs, with which our friends may be pleased to favor us.

The "ORIENTAL MISCELLANY," while affording instruction and amusement to its readers, will offer an inducement to the exercise of the talents and abilities of many, who with every disposition to commit their thoughts to paper are deterred from doing so from the want of a convenient and appropriate medium through which they may communicate their sentiments to the public, in a form more permanent than is presented in the ephemerals of the day. Did we achieve no other success than this, of affording a field for the intellectual exertions of those alluded to above, thereby encouraging and promoting the growth of indigenous literature at this presidency, we should consider ourselves amply repaid for all our trouble, in a cause so laudable as we conceive ours to be.

But whatever exertions we might make to become useful, and cater to the tastes of our readers, our efforts will be unavailing, indeed, unless we can obtain for our periodical an extensive circulation, which, considering the smallness of its price, we may not unreasonably look to from the public. The fates of our predecessors are still fesh in our memories. They sprung up under happy auspices, but after a brief though brilliant career were constrained to make their exit; the cold hand of apathy touched them, and they were no more. Their disappearance, we need not add, was solely owing to inadequate support. We trust, however, this will not be our end. The want of a publication of the kind, which this is intended to be, is much felt amongst us; and we have reason to expect that the friends of education, and of local literature, will assist us in ensuring success to this undertaking.

In conclusion, we wish our readers a happy new year; and if we are permitted to live out the next twelve months, we hope we may be enabled to revert to the past with feelings of satisfaction, as we now cannot but look to the future with doubt and anxiety.

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THE HEALING ART.

It has been remarked that persons born in this country and having families to look after, though otherwise educated, have, in general, little or no knowledge of medicine, such as is said to be possessed by individuals in the same situation of life in England and other European countries, and that they are consequently as much dependent on the physician in cases of slight sickness as in those of a serious description. A few remarks, therefore, upon the healing art, which we intend prefacing with a brief review of the origin and progress of medicine, as it existed among the ancients, will not, it is hoped, be considered unacceptable. We will confine ourselves, however, to such salient points as we think will serve to instruct as well as entertain the ordinary reader.

It has been disputed whether the healing art has been of divine or earthly origin; but historic facts, natural reasoning and human experience would appear to indicate that the latter must have been the case. The important results which follow from a skilful practice of medicine, make men put, and justly so, a high value on it, and induce them, and particularly those who exercise it as a profession, to pretend, perhaps from a feeling of vanity, that the art, in its origin, was a divine revelation. We speak in reference to former times. Among the Egyptians, one of the first nations of antiquity and by whom some faint approach to a knowledge of anatomy must be concluded to have been made, from the practice of embalming the dead bodies of their illustrious men, medicine was practised as a profession separate from the priesthood, as was the case afterwards with the Jews (who no doubt derived many of their customs from the Egyptians) and other neighbouring nations; but, in after times, from causes which our limits will not admit our going into, the two professions became united, and the priests, in general, were resorted to for advice and medicine in cases of severe sickness. The sanctity of character which attached to their vocation, and their superiority in knowledge made it natural for the masses of ignorant people by whom they were surrounded to look to them for relief on occasions of grievous physical suffering. Besides, they (the people) considered such suffering as a visitation from the heavenly powers, and the priests being their ministers and regarded as the interpreters of their will, it was to be expected that such recourse as is described above would be had to them. On the other hand, it may be easily supposed, that the priests would gladly avail themselves of the practice of medicine as an useful auxiliary which would help them to strengthen and retain their sacerdotal influence over the multitude. The position in which they thus found themselves would readily suggest to them the importance of acquiring some knowledge on the subject, which would at first consist in a mere acquaintance with and a proper application of some of the simples.

Reflection on this subject and a consideration of the notices of facts on record in the pages of authors, would seem to point to the conclusion that the science, at least that portion of it, which relates to the virtues of herbs and minerals, must have originated in accident, An American plant called Guaco, which has been described as an effectual antidote against the venom of snakes, was, according to the account given by the Indians, first discovered to have possessed that virtue from the circumstance of a species of birds, called by the same name, resorting to it previously to coming into contact with serpents on which they fed. And, more recently, the antifebrile qualities of the Peruvian bark were found out by a singular accident. A large quantity of that herb had by chance been thrown into a well, and some soldiers afterwards having drunk of the water, found, to their astonishment, that their ague, with which they had been previously ailing, returned no more. This change in their health was immediately supposed to have been caused by the infusion of the bark in the well, and experiment afterwards confirmed the truth of the conjecture. Another instance of a remarkable kind, which perhaps may not come under the head of medicine, in the limited acceptation of that term, but which, nevertheless, may be introduced in illustration of the subject, is an incident in natural history, which led to the discovery of the benefit and practice of venesection. We must premise that the account as given looks fabulous; it is nevertheless not much in variance with those of the more remarkable instinctive actions of the superior class of the brute creation, and, if true, helps to show the probable correctness of the view here taken of the origin of medicine. The Hippopotamus or river horse, a denizen of the Nile, who has certainly a very plethoric appearance, seems now and then to be incommoded with a superabundance of blood, and not perhaps relishing the idea of a death from apoplexy, emerges occasionally from his watery habitation, as the Egyptian legend states, and strikes his leg against the sharp end of a reed, taking particular care that the point should penetrate and lay open a vein. After the creature has let as much blood as it thinks good for its health, it closes the aperture with mud and retires. This may look apocryphal, but does not indicate greater sagacity on the part of an inferior animal than does the generally credited story of the Indian ichneumon, which, when bitten by a venomous serpent, in the course of its contest with it, runs forthwith into the jungle to eat of some herb supposed to be an efficacious antidote against the poison of snakes. Independently of these instances, most of our readers may have observed the occasional recourse had by the common house dog to a certain species of grass, which has been supposed, when eaten, to affect the animal beneficially, and suppress or remove either incipient disease or a predisposition or tendency to it. Whether the plant so used by this domestic creature and its virtues have ever been ascertained, we are not aware, but the fact stated above is, we believe, generally known.

But though the Egyptians had some knowledge of medicine properly so called, the art with them seems to have chiefly consisted in a number of superstitious practices, such as incantations and the use of charms. They appear to have had thirty six demons or gods of the air, each of whom had charge of a particular part of the human body, and when any one of these parts was diseased, the demon under whose protection it was,

was invoked for its cure. In cases where the whole body was affected, we should suppose that all these inferior gods were applied to for a remedy.

Let us now see what was the state of the healing art among the ancient Greeks. These were a warkile people, whence it is inferable that their physicians must have attained a knowledge of surgery so far as the curing of wounds received in war was concerned. This is confirmed by facts recorded in history such as it was in those early times. No doubt they practised medicine for natural diseases, but the use of surgery of the kind mentioned above seems to have predominated. Æsculapius, an individual of divine origin (in the infancy of the Greek nation almost all the eminent men were descended from the gods) was the first who was distinguished for his skill in medicine including surgery. It seems that in his youth, as the legend informs us, his father, no less a personage than the god Apollo, made him over, for his education, to Chiron the Centaur, a singular animal with a human head and arms supported on the body and four legs of a horse. Of this Chiron, we may episodically mention, that he was an accomplished creature, and hybrid as he was, he was acquainted with the polite arts, besides possessing a considerable knowledge of medicine. He was a general instructor of the young nobility of the period, for, besides Æsculapius, he educated several other heroes of antiquity; among whom was the renowned Hercules, destined subsequently to be the unfortunate cause of his instructor's death; for we read that in a battle which he afterwards fought single handed with a host of Centaurs, who fled to Chiron in the hope that his presence would restrain the fury of their antagonist, Hercules accidentally wounded his ancient teacher in the knee with an arrow. Now, doctor as he was, Chiron could not heal the wound so inflicted, and as the pain was excruciating and he could bear it no longer, he begged Jupiter to deprive him of immortality, which that chief of deities did, so far as concerned his earthly existence, by assigning him a place in one of the constellations.

Anent the centaurs, a remark or two which we intend making, though digressing materially from the main point, will not we presume be wholly uninstructive. They are described to have been a *people,* if they may be so designated, inhabiting a certain tract of country in Thessaly. The authority which we have consulted on the subject adds that the inhabitants of that country were the first who tamed horses and rode them. Being seen by their neighbours in the last mentioned act, the biped and the quadruped were very naturally mistaken for one animal, and hence the fable of the centaurs. A similar mistake was made by the American Indians in the beginning of the sixteenth century when they first saw the Spaniards on horse back. But what is more remarkable still is an alleged fact related by one of the Plinies (the elder) who asserts that he saw the body of a centaur—a conjoined half man and half horse—which had been brought to Rome from Egypt in an embalmed state. Now Pliny is a historical character and was a man of acute observation. It seems strange that he should have made so singular a mistake as to fancy that he had ocular demonstration of what in the nature of things could never have existed.

We now return to Æsculapius. Little of him worth mentioning is stated, except that he was physician or surgeon to the Greeks in their Argonautic expedition for the recovery of the golden fleece. He is described to have had miraculous powers, and to have restored so many of the slain and those otherwise dead to life, that even Pluto, the god of the infernal regions, was seriously alarmed and began to fear a cessation from increase in the number of his own subjects. He therefore complained to Jupiter, who struck poor Æsculapius dead with lightning.

Æsculapius left two sons. One of them, Machaon, was surgeon to the Greeks in the Trojan war. He did not possess such power as his father had been endued with, that of resuscitating the dead, but he had skill enough to cure the wounds (such as were curable) which the Greeks received in the progress of the war. Podalirius his brother followed the same profession, and was also in the Trojan war. On his way back from it, he was shipwrecked on the coast of Caria. The progress of his voyage homeward being thus interrupted, he took up his residence in that region, and succeeded in curing the daughter of the king, who was subject to the falling sickness or epilepsy.

In those early ages warriors were physicians at the same time, and the principal among them, in the latter character, seems to have been Palamedes, a chief in the Grecian army then beleaguering the city of Troy.—It is affirmed that he saved the camp from the visitation of a dreadful plague after it had committed cruel ravages in the neighbouring districts, and even in Troy itself. The method he adopted for arresting its progress was to put the soldiers on short commons and make them take abundance of exercise. The art of curing the sick had made but little advancement in this period of the infancy of nations. Indeed, any thing better than the state which it had then attained could scarcely have been expected. Accordingly we are informed that in the healing of wounds fomentations were chiefly resorted to, while internally wine was given as also the scrapings of cheese. One proof of the very imperfect state of physic at that time, is to be found in the practice which prevailed anciently of exposing the severely sick in temples and on the sides of highways for the purpose of enquiring of those, who visited the one or were passing on the other, if they knew of any remedy for the diseases with which those so exposed were afflicted.

Medicine continued during several succeeding ages in this rude condition with scarcely any noticeable improvement until the time of Hippocrates, a lineal descendant of the great Æsculapius, and justly called, from the highly improved state to which he advanced the science of healing, the Father of Physic, whose memory, even to the present day, is held in veneration by the professors of that noble art. Hippocrates was a native of Cos, one of the Cyclades, and flourished between three and four hundred years before the Christian Era. He paid particular attention to the origin and progress of diseases; and still further to improve his knowledge in this respect, it is said that it was his habit to attend the temples of the gods and peruse the tablets, which it was the custom in those times to place in those public edifices, inscribed with the accounts of particular distempers, from which any of the people may have suffered, together with a notice of the remedy successfully employed to cure the same. There are several works extant which are ascribed to Hippocrates either as written by himself or as containing the opinions which he entertained on the subject of physic. Our limits forbid a detailed account of his system. Indeed such an account would not suit the general reader; and we will therefore only touch on such points as are remarkable in their kind and calculated to convey some notion of what his ideas were in reference to the nature and cure of diseases.

One of the first things observable in his system is a principle which he calls "Nature," and to which he ascribes certain powers and virtues tending to preserve the human frame in health. This *nature* of his seems to be no other than the principle of health or animal life, which resides in the human body, and is essentially a tendency towards cure when the body becomes diseased internally or externally. His chief division of diseases is into the Acute and the Chronic, that is, those whose duration is short, and those which occupy a long period of time. The longest period an acute disease may occupy is sixty days. Distempers whose continuance exceeds this space of time, are, according to him, of the chronic kind.

Besides the above, he assigns four stages to the progress of diseases, viz. the beginning, the increase, the height or culminating point, and the termination. These stages apply more peculiarly to acute maladies, for therein they may be observed with considerable distinctness. The third stage, where the disease has attained its greatest force, is the crisis, which terminates either favorably or fatally. Disease he describes to be a disturbance of the animal economy, a redundance or vitiation of certain of the humors, or a mixture thereof, forming or producing morbific matter in the body and thus diseasing it. Nature or the principle of health, being absolutely opposed to such a state of things, uses her best efforts to remove the offending cause; and while the disease is working and coming to a crisis, she works simultaneously with it, separating and, as it were, collecting the offensive matter for expulsion from the body. In some cases she succeeds, and the discharge takes place by sweating, bleeding, vomiting, &c. Here the interposition of the physician is useful, if he can, by judicious treatment and the administration of proper remedies, assist her in effecting such evacuation. In other cases, notwithstanding her exertions and those of the physician, she fails. The disease is then too strong, or, in other words, the morbific substance is too deeply seated in the system to be expelled, in which case death must ensue. But nature sometimes partially succeeds, which is evidenced by insufficient and imperfect discharges. When this happens, death is not the immediate result, but a prolongation of the distemper follows and nature has an opportunity of renewing her efforts to drive out the cause of the malady and is ultimately in many instances successful. Hippocrates calls this process of the separation and collection of the morbific matters for final expulsion from the body, concoction, which, when completely effected, is followed by the patient's restoration to health.

We shall continue our remarks in our next issue, merely observing that we pretend to nothing original, being indebted to several standard works for information upon the subject.

THE WHEEL OF FORTUNE.

"You have brought me to this at last, Sir. I can wait no longer. Your property is now to be seized by the officer of the Court, and must be sold to satisfy my demand. I cannot help it, say what you will." This was spoken, in a tone not quite melodious by a man, whose countenance betrayed, that if he had any feeling in his breast, it was certainly not sympathy for the distresses of others. The individual, who was addressed in this fashion, was a young man of rather prepossessing appearance. He stood motionless for a time, as if struck with astonishment, and then turning to the speaker exclaimed, "Pray, what am I to do, Sir?"

"What are you to do?" repeated the other, with a sneer, "what are you to do? why, Sir, you have only to leave your property here to the safe custody of this officer, who will bring it to good account. This is all you have to do, and what I must expect from you. This is all, Sir, nothing more I do assure you."

"I am surprised at this proceeding," replied the other, somewhat irritated, "you must know how I am situated—I have no home, no friends to shelter me. If I leave the house, I know not where to go. I tell you, so soon as I obtain a berth, you will be the first to receive your dues."

"This I cannot consent to," returned the landlord, significantly shaking his head, "I have been often put off in this way; and in these times, what man is there, may I ask, who has any regard for his own interest, that can afford to rent his house to one, from whom he can expect nothing. This will never do, Sir,—this will never do."

"You are certainly beside yourself, Sir," remarked the young man raising his voice. "You certainly mistake me when you think I will deprive you of your rights, I will not allow you to make such an insinuation, I have told you often, and I tell you again, I will not keep a farthing of yours, so soon as I can get an employment."

"This is a fine thing, indeed," exclaimed the other, with a contemptuous smile playing upon his countenance. "This is a very good joke, and no mistake. Here is a man owing me rent for months, and when I press for payment, he gets into a rage, calls me a madman, and then tells me very coolly, that he will pay me when he gets an employment. Why do not you tell me, Sir, you will pay me when you think proper? that is certainly what you meant. Your lordship may not choose to procure an employment for the next twelve months, and yet I must not demand my rent, because such is your pleasure. This is absurd; it will never do—I should be a fool, a very jackass, if I allowed it."

"You are very insulting, Sir, I must tell you," retorted the young man, in a dignified tone, "you have yet to learn how to treat those whom misfortune has placed in your power. I request you will not sell my property."

"Ah indeed," returned the landlord, in a rage. "Here is my authority (pointing to a written order of the Court) who can prevent me from my purpose?"

"It is very hard, very hard," remarked the tenant. "I cannot help that," observed the other. "Surely you cannot expect that I will allow you to occupy my house for months without paying rent for the same? It is madness to think of such a thing." So saying he ordered the bailiff to do his duty.

"Stop! Stop!" vociferated the young man. "I hope you will not touch my wearing apparel at any rate."

"By no means," replied the landlord. "You may have them, and your hat and shoes too, if you choose."

While the bailiff was engaged in drawing up an inventory of the property, which consisted of a few articles of furniture, crockery ware and kitchen utensils, the young man dressed himself as quickly as possible, and putting on his hat, walked away without uttering another syllable.

Reader! if the above colloquy has excited your curiosity, and you feel anxious to know more of the unfortunate youth, who has been thus constrained to quit his house, I shall in a few words tell you his history. He was the son of a gentleman of some respectability, who about thirty years ago, had carried on a very profitable trade in this part of the world. His name was Manson. Manson at one time held a position in Calcutta society, and was a person possessed of great influence; but a series of misfortunes overwhelmed him from all sides, so that he, who once had thousands at his disposal, was eventually a dependant upon the precarious bounty of others. The son inherited, as it were, the father's misfortunes, and suffered much from adverse circumstances. The pitiful situation in which he was placed when forced to leave his house, was one of the many untoward incidents by which his feelings were outraged. Under the most adverse circumstances, however, he preserved an equanimity of mind that was astonishing. He hoped against all hope.

Young Manson, it is supposed, was not prepared for the landlord's move. He was more than astonished when he heard of his intention. He left the house, as the reader has seen, and walked on without knowing whither he was going. The fact was he had no place to go to. Now he passed through a narrow gully, with its filthy drains, diffusing their effluvia all around, then he turned to the broad road, through which a countless multitude were passing intent upon their respective avocations. Then again he took to a lane which led him to another, and then to another; and frequently did he pass the same road, quite forgetful that he had ever been there. Thus he perambulated for more than a couple of hours, at the end of which he arrived at a place which was thronged with conveyances of all descriptions. This drew his attention, and he went in; he found himself in a public auction. It was near 10 o'clock when he entered the mart, in which arrangements were made for a grand sale; and people of all classes had flocked to inspect the articles, that were exhibited in the extensive hall. He knew no body among the crowd, and after pacing about for a few minutes, he took his seat upon a couch, right opposite the pulpit of the auctioneer. The sale now commenced, and lot after lot was brought up and knocked down. The knight of the hammer was particularly eloquent, and expatiated at large on the real or supposed excellencies of the articles submitted to him: at one time he spoke at large of the elegance and taste displayed in the workmanship of an Italian Vase, then he spoke in terms of the highest eulogium of an article of English manufacture. An indifferent watch he called a first rate chronometer, and an old volume of an obscure author, the chef d'œuvre of a master mind. Manson sat wondering at the versatality of this great genius, and knowing as he did, that he spoke merely to raise the value of the commodities he had to dispose of, he could not help smiling at the assurance and boldness of the brazen-faced auctioneer. While intent upon what was going on before him, Manson's attention was drawn to an individual, who giving him a tap on the back, accosted him in rather a familiar style. "Well my young friend," said he, "I have found you at last: I have been in search of you for days; Have you heard any thing? Come with me for a moment, I have something to tell you."

Manson at first looked at the stranger with astonishment, and wished to say something to the effect, that he had not the honor of his aquaintance, and was not quite pleased at his familiarity; but happening just then to recognize in him an old friend of his father's, he repressed his feelings, and followed him without saying a word. The stranger took him to an unfrequented part of the auction, and in a tone of voice, which would soothe hostility itself, said "I am glad, my young friend, that I have met you. Is not your name Henry Manson?" "Yes," said the young man, somewhat surprised at the interrogation.

"And you are the son of the late Mr. Alexander Manson, are you not?" inquired the other.

"That I am," returned the yonng man, somewhat alarmed, "But what? what is it? what is the matter?" asked he in some haste.

"Nothing more than this: you are in luck's way," replied the stranger, so saying he put his hand into his coat pocket, and taking out a newspaper, pointed his finger to a part in the advertizing column, and said, "read this."

Manson read it over, and then cast an enquiring look at the stranger.

"Do you see that: it is a wind-fall I presume," observed the other.

"It is all a mystery to me," said Manson. "I cannot comprehend it."

"Read it again, and I will tell you what it is," replied the stranger and Manson read aloud as follows:—

NOTICE. If Mr. Henry Manson, the son of the late Alexander Manson, will call at the office of the Registrar of the Supereme Court, he will hear of something to his advantage.

"In the name of goodness what may this mean," observed the young man, "I cannot imagine? my father has left nothing for me; for it is well known he died an insolvent."

"That may be," replied the stranger, "and yet it is likely your father may have had some kind friend or relation in a distant part of the country, who thought of you at his death; and the Registrar is in possession of the legacy."

"I can scarcely know who it is that has so befriended me. I can hardly believe it; it is impossible—impossible."

"At all events," said the stranger, "you would do well to call at the office of the Registrar, and ascertain the truth of this matter. Come with me, and I shall do for you all I can in this affair," So saying he took Manson into his conveyance, and they both drove off towards the Supreme Court.

It is not necessary here to enter into any detail as to what was said or done in the office of the Administrator; it will be sufficient for the reader to know, that an old relative of Manson had bequeathed him at her death a small legacy, which was made over to him, after he had gone through the usual forms; and Manson found himself in the possession of a thousand Rupees before he left the precincts of the Court. The stranger and he parted at the gate, after Manson had tendered to him his warmest acknowledgments for his kindness. Manson now being left to himself, began to think what he was to do with the money he had in his hands, and many strange ideas rushed into his mind: "I shall go," said he to himself, "to the old Jew of my landlord, and fling a handful of Rupees at him, and say to him sharply, here Sir, is your money, you heartless man, and then remove my property from his house. O! he will be quite astonished at this, won't he? he deserves to be treated thus, the vagabond, and then I'll take a fine house and set up in trade, and in a few years I will, I trust, be able to acquire wealth enough to keep a large establishment, and move among the big wigs of the town." Such was the train of Manson's thoughts on the road, when his attention was arrested by a vast number of conveyances opposite the Town Hall, which literally choked the passage. Being anxious to know what was going on in the place, he stept up, and to his astonishment beheld all Calcutta assembled there: Civilians and Officers, Merchants and Shopkeepers, Hindoos, Mahomedans, Jews and Armenians all were within the building. Towards the east of the centre hall, there was observed a large plat-form, on which stood four little boys moving two large wheels, which passed through boxes of considerable size. "What is the meaning of all this?" asked Manson of a Baboo, who happened to stand near the door. "This is the last day of the drawing of the Calcutta lottery," said the fat man, "do not you know that, master? If you got ticket, you get the prize, I see your face very lucky, ha, ha, ha." "Ah indeed!" exclaimed Manson, and then passed into the crowd. He saw amongst these some whose countenances betrayed the states of their minds: some were brightened with hope, and others were affected with the deepest despair: some with cheerful looks were speaking to those around them, while others with pale sorrowful countenances, sat brooding over their unsuccessful speculations. Amongst this motley group was a Jew, who was engaged in conversation with a Mogul, that stood near him, and by signs and gestures showed that he was not a little interested in what was then going on in the place.

"Hajee Saheb, I am quite disappointed," said the Israelite,—"out of twenty tickets, I have not more than two remaining, and these I am sure will bring out blanks. My fate is very bad, very bad indeed."

While the Jew was thus grieving and bewailing his bad fortune, he heard one of the boys announce, No. 3,455. "That is mine," said the Jew and immediately held out the ticket in his hand, to see whether he was right in his conjecture. "Yes, yes," continued he, "this is my number," and he appeared quite agitated. A pause ensued, when a voice from the opposite side pronounced the word "Blank"! The Jew let the ticket drop from his hand, and struck his forehead several times in an agony of despair. He stood for a time in perfect silence, and then addressed his friend the Mogul with much warmth, "Mark me, it is all trickery, all roguery. The lottery office is a den of thieves; and you will see before the sun goes down somebody in the office has obtained the prize."

"That may be," observed the Mogul, "I have long had my suspicions on this point, and what you say may be correct."

"Suspicion," returned the Israelite, "I am quite certain that a good deal of unfair play is going on amongst the people in the office. You may know I have been a regular purchaser of tickets for the last ten years, and will you believe it, I have not received a prize even of the smallest amount, I am quite sick of this, I have now only one ticket left, and that will also come to the same end. I would sell it for even fifty rupees, half of what I paid for it, nay give it away, or tear it to pieces, and throw it into the river: fool that I am to be tricked thus!"

"It is too late to think of selling your ticket now, observed the Mogul."

"I tell you if I had an offer of a hundred rupees, I would immediately give it up" replied the Jew.

"Will you then sell your ticket?" asked Manson, addressing himself to the Jew, for he had listened all this while to his lamentations, "Will you sell your ticket?"

The Jew was rather taken aback, and after giving Manson a deep withering gaze, asked him in a tone, which indicated that he was not quite pleased at the intrusion, "Who told you I want to sell my ticket?"

"I have just heard it from your own lips," returned Manson.

The Jew was silent, and he pondered in his mind how he was to act in the matter, for he really did not mean what he had said, and then turning to Manson, he inquired what he would pay. "One hundred rupees," said the other.

"One hundred rupees! never! I want six hundred, that is the price of a ticket to-day you must know."

"But I thought you wanted only what you had paid for it," replied Manson.

"If I said so," returned the Jew, "I was wrong. I shall never part with my ticket for less than six hundred, seven hundred I should say. If you will pay that, you may have it, if not, please yourself."

Manson did not know how to decide, but he soon made up his mind, and agreed to pay what was demanded. The Jew then hesitated, he wanted to see if Fortune would still befriend him, but every number that was brought up, "Blank" was sure to follow. This alarmed the Israelite, and he exclaimed to himself, "I must sell it, I must sell it," and looking at Manson, said, pay me eight hundred and the ticket is yours.

"Done," said Manson, "here is the money."

The Jew still hesitated, he wished in his heart he had asked more. There was no time left for parley, another moment might cause an irretrievable loss; however he gave his ticket with a heavy heart and received the amount he had last demanded. Manson secured his purchase in his pocket, and walked off from the place. He approached the platform to catch every word that was uttered. There was a buzz all around; he heard distinctly the number of his ticket announced, upon this he was all in a tremor; his mouth was parched, and his heart beat most violently. The boy at the opposite wheel held out a paper, and in a clear audible voice called out, PRIZE; and "Prize" was echoed from one end of the Hall to the other. Manson was beside himself. He looked at the ticket for a dozen times to be quite sure he was the fortunate holder. He jumped, he skipped, he laughed, he scarcely knew where he was, and what he was doing. The Jew on the other hand had swooned away as soon as the prize was announced; and his friends were obliged to put him into a conveyance, and take him home more dead than alive.

Reader! Manson, who in the morning was a homeless, penniless being, before the day had closed, by a turn in the wheel of Fortune, became the owner of ONE LAC of Rupees.

LIFE AND DEATH.

[The following lines were written a few years ago in the Gov. Genl's. Camp, on the occasion of the death, at Bootawallah, of Mr. John Michie, author of the Historical Prefaces, in the Book of Anglo Indian Treaties, which was published by order of the Govt. of India in 1845.]

The air is bleak and chill! The sky is black—
And scarce a star dim twinkles in the sky—
For dark'ning masses hang, portending rain!
Far o'er the plain gleam fires; and flitting forms,
Like those unearthly shapes which, as we're told,
On Hartz their dread and hellish orgies hold,
Are vaguely seen against the yellow flames.
There is a din throughout the camp, and life
Fills all the space: the sounds of neighing steeds,
Of camels, and of monstrous elephants,
Of rumbling tumbrils, clanking swords and chains,
Blend into one confused, continued roar!
Amid this stir, where all seems full of life,
At one lone canvas door stands hideous Death,
With arm outstretched and dart uplifted high,
And drinks with eager ears the ticking sounds
That mark the flight of time.—The sick man lies
Pale—pale as marble from the sculptor's hand.

* * * * * * *

Parts soul from clay! His heart no longer throbs—
His pulse is still—Farewell!—Of all those orbs
That glimmer in the dark profound of night,
Which is thy resting place—thy destined home?
What form hast thou assumed, or what degree
Of knowledge, in thy shape ethereal, reached?
O, thought sublime! that he who walked with us,
Now treads the star-emblazoned courts of God!
There cold he lies! How calm his pallid brow!
O, gently touch him; for none nigh of kin
Tend by his bed, or drop the pious tear.
'Mid Caledonia's blue and misty hills,
He drew that breath, which, on this dreary waste,
Close by a famed and tragic field, expires!

* * * * * *

There's purple in the east; the air is fresh;
The bugle sounds; the horses champ their bits;—
And cold, and stiff, and stark, the dead man lies!

LOGIC.

[Sir William Hamilton's new Analytic of Logical Forms.]

Separated as we are, by thousands of miles, from the literary world of Europe, and destitute as yet of the advantages of railway and telegraphic intercourse with that country of letters, we may be said to be, not only in respect to civilization generally, but as regards literature and science particularly, behind the age. Of the floods of publications that the British Press (to say nothing of the works printed on the Continent) is constantly pouring forth, a few dribbling streams find their way to this country. Books are advertized here as fresh, long after they have become stale in Britain; and the reviews of new works, in English periodicals reach us long before our booksellers report the arrival of the books themselves. Under these circumstances it is far from strange, that rejected books and exploded theories should continue to be in vogue in India though long since vanished from the stage of Europe and that the standard of attainment should in every respect be much lower here than there.

The above remarks may be illustrated by a reference to the subject of Logic. The recent extensions of that science in Britain do not seem to be generally familiar to literary circles in this land. The following paper is an attempt to meet the desideratum. From the nature of the subject it cannot be popular or interesting to the general reader; it is however intended for those who have given attention to the science, but who are nevertheless, unacquainted with the progress it has lately made.

Our object then, we wish it to be distinctly understood is not to explain, to the uninitiated, the principles of Logic ; or to descant on the utility and importance of the science: but simply to furnish a sketch of its recent extensions. To the student of Logic, who is not yet conversant with the latest works on the subject, we can promise *something new* ; but to those who have read up to the latest publications, we can offer *very little that is original.*

We shall then suppose thee, gentle reader, to have read at least one work on Logic and to understand the principles on which the Aristotleian syllogisim is constructed.

The author of the recent remarkable improvements that have been made in the subject, is Sir William Hamilton, professer of Logic in the University of Edinburgh. So early as 1846 a prize was offered by Sir William, for the best essay on the new doctrine of the syllogism, propounded in his lectures. This prize was obtained by Mr. T. S. Baynes, an ex-student of the University, whose work must continue to be regarded as the best exposition of the subject, until the long expected one from the pen of the illustrious professor himself sees the light.

The improvements in the syllogism, suggested by the new doctrine, are of such importance, that if they should stand the test of philosophic discussion and maintain their place against the objections, which have already begun to be raised against them, they will inevitably elevate their gifted author to a position nearly as exalted, if not quite as exalted, as that of the great inventor of the syllogism.

But we must now to the subject. A syllogism is composed of propositions, which again are made up of terms. Terms in a syllogism are like stones in a building. A change therefore in the *terms*, must involve an alteration in the whole structure of the syllogism. And it is just here that the new doctrine meets us.

Mr. Baynes sets out with the following postulate. "*That we be allowed to state in language what is contained in thought.*" From the due application of this postulate to the subject, results all that is new in the system.

According to Sir W. Hamilton, the old form of proposition does not meet the requirements of the postulate referred to; for instance, in the proposition

All men are animals

it is not stated whether, all men are *all* the animals in existence, or only *some* of the animals in existence. In other words, *the quantity of the predicate is not expressed.* It is scarcely necessary to remind a logician that the whole process of ratiocination consists in the comparison of quantities. One great source of numerous fallacies is the *undistributed* middle, or a middle term defective in *quantity.* One of the fundamental principles in the construction of a valid syllogism is that the middle term be *distributed* once at least. It is clear then that every term must have a specific quantity, in any sound process of deduction.

But has not the predicate in propositions of the old system, a definite quantity? Yes it certainly has, for there could be no soundness at all in a system which was defective in this respect. The fact of the predicate having a certain quantity is distinctly recognized in the well known principle that—*All negative propositions, and no affirmative distribute the predicate.* According to this statement it is implied that the predicate in all *negative* propositions, is *universal;* and that the predicate in all *affirmative* propositions, is *particular.* If then the predicate is quantified in *thought,* it ought, according to our postulate, to be quantified in *expression,*

Thus the proposition :—

All men are animals,

should be, All men are some animals.

We may be met at the outset with an objection on the score of the cumbersomeness of this form of expression. In regard to this, we would beg to remind our readers that Logic seeks to express the *whole* form of thought. If the object of the science is to exhibit the whole process of reasoning, it cannot but bring to view every element in that process. The object of language is different, it is not so much to *express* meaning as to *convey* it; and provided, that meaning is clearly apprehended, conciseness in expression is positively required. Without conciseness, ordinary conversation would be tedious and even the language of books insufferably heavy. Much, therefore, that is intended is constantly *implied* in words written or spoken and *inferred* by the reader or hearer. But it is far otherwise with Logic whose object is to give expression to *all that passes in the mind* in pure reasoning.

We shall now proceed to shew how the quantification of the predicate in expression, affects every part of the old system. Though it would seem at first sight to encumber the syllogism; yet, it will appear, as we proceed to apply it, that it really tends to throw off much that is useless, thus simplifying to a considerable degree, at the same time that it brings out in full development and beauty, the real proportions of the syllogism.

Let us first consider how the doctrine of conversion would be affected by quantifying the predicate. There are, according to Whately, three kinds of conversion, 1st *simple* conversion; 2d conversion *per accidens* and 3d conversion by *contraposition.* On the new doctrine, however, all conversion is reduced to the simple process referred to in the first of these methods. Thus :—

All men are some animals

is susceptible of conversion in the simplest mode possible. By making subject and predicate change place, we have

Some animals are all men.

On the common doctrine, a proposition of this nature, viz. an universal affirmative, is incapable of *simple* conversion. We must have recourse to the second method, in other words to conversion *by limitation,* to effect our object, thus :—

All men are animals

will become—Some animals are men.

Mr. Baynes's objection to this process is, that in it a quantity is interpolated which was not formally* given. The word "some" is introduced into the converted proposition, though it was absent from the original proposition. It is no answer to this to say that "some" was *implied* in the simple proposition, for, as we remarked before, every thing must be formally stated in a proposition; nothing should be left to be understood: inasmuch as the object of Logic is to trace the process of thought not to find materials for thinking. The materials must be made ready to its hand; it will not go out of its way to gather them. Pure Logic ignores every thing that has not a place in the expressed premises.

Conversion by *contraposition* is effected in the following way.

Every man is mortal,
becomes—Every thing which is not mortal is not man.

Mr. Baynes's particular objection to this process, is that it creates "an entirely new proposition by new terms."

Our readers will observe the fact, that the two kinds of conversion last mentioned have been invented to meet the exigencies of the old system. They would never have been thought of had the proposition, in every form in which it appears in that system, been susceptible of *simple* conversion. But the proposition itself being defective, the clumsy expedients under notice have been adopted to effect an object which is attained by the simplest process possible, on Sir William Hamilton's principle. On the common doctrine, universal negative and particular affirmative propositions are the only ones capable of being converted by merely transposing their terms. Simple conversion would not suit other kinds of propositions. But the circumstance that *simple conversion* is adapted to every kind of proposition constructed on the principle of quantifying the predicate, is *primâ facie* evidence in favor of the new doctrine.

And here we may notice a most important feature which is developed by the improved theory. From the fact that quantifying the predicate renders a proposition convertible by mere transposition of its terms, it appears, to use Mr. Baynes's language, "that the relation between the terms of a proposition is one not only of similarity, but of *identity;* that the terms of a proposition, in short, are of an absolute equality, and all predication an equation of subject and predicate. Quantify the predicate, and two notions of different extension are at once brought into equality; the sphere of an individual object in a notion is marked out, and that sphere becomes absolutely convertible with the object; e. g.

All man is some animal,
Some animal is all man.

Some men are all philosophers,
All philosophers are some men.

Boëthius is some Roman,
Some Roman is Boëthius."

The practised logician will at once perceive the bearing of the remarks

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[*] i. e. given in due form. The phrase *form of thought,* is one originated by and much in use among the latest class of logical writers, but it is, in our opinion, unhappily chosen. *Expression* is frequently compared to *a garb or covering* for thought, and the idea of "form" attaches most naturally to *phraseology,* not to *thought. Process of thought,* is, hink, a preferablep hrase.

just quoted, on the two axioms on which, according to Aristotle and his followers, the validity of all affirmative and of all negative conclusions respectively rests. As given by Whately the first canon is "*if two terms agree with one and the same third, they agree with each other:*" and the second "*if one term agrees and another disagrees with one and the same third, these two disagree with each other.*" See Whately's elements B. II. ch. III. § 2. Instead however of *agreement*, the logical proposition, in the new form, will express *identity*.

To set before our readers in a clear and striking view the nature and importance of the principle of identity, we shall cite the remarks of an able writer in the North British Review, in an article in which Mr. Baynes's book is reviewed [North British Review, No. XXIX] and with this citation our article must for the present, close. "The thinking process itself" the writer observes "may also be distinguished as material or formal. It is *formal* when the matter *given* is sufficient for the completion of the product without any other addition than what is communicated in the act of thought itself. It is *material* when the data are insufficient, and the mind has consequently to go out of the thinking act to obtain additional materials. If, for example, having *given* the attributes A, B, C, I can think those attributes as co-existing in an object, without appealing to experience to discover what objects actually possess them, this is *formal conceiving*. If having *given* the concepts* P and Q, I can pronounce "P is Q" without a similar appeal, this is *formal judging*. If having *given* the judgments, "W is X," "Y is Z," I can elicit a conclusion from them alone, this is *formal reasoning*. Experience is here used in a wide sense, for all accidental knowledge, all that is not part and parcel of the thinking act itself." So far as our present subject is concerned our readers will please to notice what is said in the above remark about *formal judging*, for a proposition in Logic is a judgment expressed. "Formal judging" observes the same writer "is posible whenever one of the given concepts is contained in the other. If the concepts P and Q have no attributes in common, I cannot tell whether they co-exist in any object without an appeal to experience, but if Q contains the attributes of P, I can by a law of thought alone determine all Q is P. The law in this case is the principle of identity of which the most general statement is, every A is A, or every concept is identical with itself."

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* A "concept," according to the Reviewer is "an attribute, or collection of attributes, representing one or more objects."

THE DUSSERAH VACATION.

From the Note Book of An Observer.

Amongst the Festivals celebrated by the Hindus, the Doorgah Poojah is well known to be the grandest and most expensive. It is a season of national festivity. The great and wealthy Rajah, who has millions at his command, and the poor labourer who has scarcely enough to meet his humble wants, equally rejoice at the approach of this Festival. Long before the period of its solemnization, preparations are made by a vast number of Natives, to perform it in a manner suitable to their stations in life, The rich man lavishes his thousands on nautches and spectacles; while the poor man is contented to limit his expenses within a few hundred Rupees. Men who come from distant parts of the country, lay by a portion of their earnings during the year, in order that they may have sufficient to spend when they join their families in this joyous season. A month before the Poojah, these make arrangments to leave Calcutta; and the Bazars may be seen crowded with men, who resort to them to make purchases of all descriptions, to meet the wants of their families, and to furnish themselves with articles required for the ceremonies to be performed before the image of "Ma Doorgah."

While the Hindus are thus engaged, and dream for weeks and months of pleasures, which nothing can equal in the whole catalogue of their earthly enjoyments, the minds of a great portion of the Christian population are filled with pleasing anticipations of relaxation and mirth. Who is there amongst the uncovenanted assistants of Government offices, or amongst the clerks in mercantile establishments, that does not experience a feeling of inward joy at the approach of the Dusserah Vacation. Were one to take the trouble to look into the houses of these individuals, a few days before the commencement of the holidays, he would hear of plans, which each family is devising to spend this period of general intermission from business, and see much to satisfy himself, that the people of Calcutta, notwithstanding the depression in the money market have still a good deal to spend. Here may be seen the man of seven hundred Rupees a month making mighty preparations for a long trip on the river, or a stay in some station within thirty miles of Calcutta; and there, the man on the receipt of fifty, packing up his traps for an intended excursion, and, if he has not money at command, borrowing from friends, or pledging whatever valuables he may chance to have in his possession, in order to raise the wind. In this way there is no little stir made amongst a very large class of our citizens, and no small sums of money laid out for pic-nic parties and boat excursions.

Had one paid a visit to the house of Mr. Good-fellow, in Creek Row, on the night of the 14th of October last, he would have heard a great deal as to how things are arranged for river trips, and how money is procured when people have small means, and yet feel desirous to see and to be seen. Mr. Good-fellow, Reader, was seated in the hall near a table, upon which burnt a dim light, that made every-thing look dull, and gloomy all around. This gentleman, who, it may be presumed, must have been blessed with very good eyes, was intently poring over the contents of a Newspaper, which he had in his hand. The wife of this lover of News after some time approached him, and drawing a chair sat close to her husband.

"What are you reading, my dear?" said Mrs. Good-fellow after a while.

"A very interesting article, my love," returned the lord and master.

"My goodness!" exclaimed Mrs. Good-fellow, "you are eternally reading these papers, I cannot get a moment's talk with you."

"Wait, wait a while," said Mr. Good-fellow, and holding his wife's hand continued reading the paper.

"Wait, wait," repeated the lady in a tone of impatience—"is not this provoking? I have been waiting for a full hour, and find there is no end to your reading."

Upon this, Mr. Good-fellow laid the paper on the table, and after taking a sip of some coloured liquid, which he had in a glass, smilingly looked at his wife, and said, "what is your pleasure, my love?"

"Now, my dear Arthur," said the lady, "you must not refuse what I am about to ask—tell me you will not."

"What is it, my dear? tell me what is it?"

"Promise me now that you will not say, nay, to what I am going to propose."

"O no, I will not make such a promise—you may propose to have a chaise and pair for aught I know; and whence am I to get them?"

"Surely, Arthur, you dont take me to be so foolish," observed Mrs. Good-fellow.

"I ask you again, tell me, what is it?"

"Nothing more than this, do take us on the river for a few days during the vacation, my dear Arthur."

"Now, now Ellen, this is too much—how can you make such a request?—the trip will entail upon us an immense expense, and you know our means."

"O my dear Arthur, once in the way, surely you can gratify me. You see, our neighbour Mrs. Gadabout is going with all her family, and has already hired a large boat—you cannot say she is better off than we are. Her income is very limited, and yet we find she goes every where. Now do not be obstinate: it will do Ninna and the little ones an immense deal of good—do make up your mind, and let us enjoy the river air for a few days."

"Where is the money to come from?" inquired the husband "you know full well I have not a spare rupee in the house, how is the thing to be managed?—that is the question?"

"As to that," observed Mrs. Good-fellow, "we can get our friend Mr. Cashman to advance us the money, and we can repay it by small instalments. Wont that do?—leave the whole to me, and I shall manage the affair in the best way I can."

"I wish you would abandon the idea, Ellen—you know not how straitened we shall be on our return."

"No, my dear Arthur, you must not say so—We must go, by all means."

Mr. Good-fellow was too obliging a husband, not to accede to the wishes of his wife. He after a slight opposition gave in, and then sat calculating what the expenses might be for the intended excursion. "Now, my dear," said he to his partner, "we must be as economical as possible. You say you can get money from Mr. Cashman ; but I know too well he will not lend without the mortgage of property?" "O yes," said the lady "I was prepared for that. I have my gold chain and locket.— surely he will advance us seventy or eighty Rupees for them." "Very good," observed the other, "so soon as we get the money, we shall make our purchases." "Yes," said Mrs. Good-fellow, we must take a lot of Provisions; a fresh ham, a corn beef, poultry, a chest of good wines, and a large quantity of sweets; for you know what an awful appetite the river air creates."

The day arrived for the family of the Goodfellows to leave Calcutta: but the hire of boats had risen very considerably,—besides Mrs. Good-fellow was a social sort of a creature, and could not think of going any where without a large party of friends and relatives; and these she could not accommodate unless she engaged a large pinnace or budgerow· This, Mr. Good-fellow was not prepared for. The remainder of the money, after laying in a stock of provisions, was by far too small to meet this unexpected increase of charges. Now, what was to be done? Things had been purchased, and all had made up their minds to enjoy. "It would be a thousand pities," remarked Mrs. Good-fellow, "to abandon the trip when we have come so far." She proposed to procure seventy or eighty Rupees more on the pledge of her gold bracelets. "There is no help for it now," remarked the husband, and the bracelets were forthwith pawned, and eighty Rupees were added to the amount already borrowed.

The evening of the day on which the public offices were closed, the family of the Good-fellows with their friends were seen very comfortably lodged in a large Budgerow, which proceeded with the tide during the night, and arrived at Serampore before the morning had dawned. Mrs. Good-fellow was in the best of spirits, and so were her friends. They laughed and sang, and played and made themselves as happy as they could. In this way they passed two days, cruising about on the river, and doing full justice to the excellent fare with which they were provided. They now steered for the French Settlement, at which they arrived in full expectations of enjoyment. The number of boats, which were anchored near the Ghauts was immense. Pinnaces, Budgerows, Bauleahs, Cutters and Pansois, were all moored close to one another, and formed a grand spectacle for a person standing on the bank. Fine music and exquisite singing were heard on all sides. In fact, the whole scene had a most pleasing effect. Near Mr. Goodfellow's boat was a large full sized Budgerow, in which were Young Bengal seated round a table. They were taking copious draughts of some favourite liquid, and talking of Shakspeare and Bacon with great enthusiasm.

"Immortal Shakspeare, Fancy's sweetest child, O how I worship thee," exclaimed a young man with a skull cap, and green waistcoat."

"Bravo! Bravo!" called out another with a pair of moustaches, which he stroked with seeming pleasure very often.

"Yes," said the first young man "I adore thee, O Shakspeare! thou hast taught me to think, and to feel."

"Absurd!" observed one with a gold chain; "I would say Bacon's Works are just the thing for us now."

"Phoo, Phoo," said the first speaker, "it is nonsense to talk thus, Bacon! don't compare him to the immortal Shakspeare, by no means. His Essays with his quaint expressions, O I don't like them, but Shakspeare O!———

"Give us a speech," demanded one who had not taken a part in this discussion, "give us a speech, Nobin,"

"A speech do you say? a speech or an attitude, what is it to be?"

"To be or not to be, that is the question?
Whether 'tis nobler in the mind, to suffer
The stings and arrows of outrageous fortune;
Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
And, by opposing end them? To die, to sleep,
No more;"———

Here the speaker grew outrageously warm, and moved his hand with such violence, that it came in contact with the shade, which fell down with a tremendous crash, and left all in darkness. We must not stop to record what followed; suffice it to say, that with the table-shade, Shakspeare and Bacon were thrown overboard. But "hark! what sound from yonder Bauleah breaks?" It is the voice of a young man, who is tuning his pipe to amuse a young lady, with whom he is seated on the top of a Bauleah. He sang a good number of songs, some of which he repeated often, as if he had been encored. He endeavoured with his cracked voice to do as much justice as he could to "In my cottage near a wood," and "Jump Jim Crow"—After some time the songs ended, and the young man was seen to cast a pleasing look at the young lady, and began to shew his fondness for her, by pulling her by the hand. Suddenly the latter cried out, "Chee, Costa! dont tease me, why do you pinch me so?" Upon this the mother, who was smoking within, called out to Mr. Costa, and reproved him rather sharply for his rudeness. Now Mr. Costa happened to be a touchy man—he thought that as a suitor of the young lady, he had the privilege of pinching her "meat;" and of course neither she should complain, nor had her mother a right to interfere. He therefore quickly rose from his seat, and spoke his mind thus: "Miss D'Silva I must leave you; are these the thanks I receive for my trouble and money?—I paid for the boat hire and wines, and I gave you a dress, and am I to be treated thus?" so saying he jumped on deck, took his bundle of clothes under his arm, and in a second he was on shore. The mother of the young lady besought him to rerurn, but Mr. Costa was deaf to her entreaties.

We shall pass over the incidents of three days, which were we to recount, we should be exceeding our limits. We shall therefore hasten to lay before our readers the occurrences of the evening of the 21st of October, in Chandernagore. The Promenade looked all life and animation. People flocked to the river side at sun-set, to swallow air with avidity. Well dressed ladies and fashionable gentlemen were walking up and down the strand. Some stood near the rails, and looked at the picturesque scene on the river; others were holding interesting conversations, and enjoying the pleasures of social intercourse. You might see amongst the group persons of all grades, the Merchant and his Clerk, the Register and sectioner, the architect and mechanic, all endeavouring to enjoy the opportunity of coming together. You might see along side of men of substance and rank in society, Mr. Snooks, who strutted about, assuming an air of great consequence, but turned away as soon as he came close to a certain individual.—"What is the matter with you?" asked his friend who stood next to him.—"That is my employer," replied the other, and made himself scarce. We shall not omit the family of the Good-fellows;—they were there likewise, and Mrs. Good-fellow looked very charming. She was certainly one of the best dressed ladies on the Promenade that evening—and her daughter Ninna was in the pink of fashion. They walked up and down with the rest, and talked on various subjects,—when Mrs. Good-fellow drew the attention of her husband by pointing to a couple who were walking a litle ahead of them, "Look," said she, "how fashionable I declare." The lady had a book-muslin gown, with a pink calico slip—her curls hung dangling over her cheeks, and her back hair was braided, having a few roses and lilies to serve as ornaments. Round her neck hung a string of mock pearls, and she had in her hand a folding fan. The gentleman was quite unique in his habiliments. He had on a checked waistcoat and yellow neckcloth. His legs were incased in a pair of French-cut colored pantaloons, and his back covered with a tusser coat. He had on his head a woollen cap, from the top of which a tassel hung over his right shoulder. They seemed to be a happy pair, and walked with measured steps, talking to one another with great familiarity. Reader, could you guess who this couple may have been? It was no other than Miss. D'Silva, and Mr. Costa. They were reconciled by some means or other, and this was the first evening they were seen together on the walk. Mr. Costa was often heard to address Miss D'Silva in very sweet language; but as it is not very proper to divulge the secrets of lovers, we shall not touch upon them. However, we may mention, that "sweetest, angelic, prettiest, fairest" were the epithets adopted by Mr. Costa, when addressing his Dulcinia. Mr. Costa, as we remarked before, assumed a stately figure, shaking about his whalebone whip, in a fashionable style. And when he saw any person whom he knew, he gave him a nod of recognition, and called out, "how are ye?"—whereupon his tassel oscillated for full two minutes, and made him look very interesting,

The shades of evening were fast closing upon the scene, and people began to disperse; some went to their houses, and some returned to their boats; while others still lingered at the promenade to enjoy the fresh breeze and a delightful moon-light. It was the concert evening; the Indian Paganini was to perform some of his best pieces, and many were anxious to go to the place. Mrs. Good-fellow had persuaded her husband to buy a family ticket. The gathering in the concert room was not so large as was expected; and this may be accounted for by the circumstance that people had an opportunity of hearing the music from the road, without paying for tickets. Mr. Costa stood amongst the rest, and by frequent tossings of the head, and stamping of his foot, made Miss D'Silva believe, that he understood as much music as any body who assisted at the performance that evening.

The next day the Pinnace of Mr. Good-fellow looked very gay. Mrs. Good-fellow was, for the third time, determined to have a few friends at dinner, on board her boat. Arrangements were made for a splendid fare; and Bodry was the fortunate supplier of the viands for an epicurean treat. Champaigne was drunk all round, and bottles were drained of their contents no sooner they were uncorked. The table cloth being removed, the gentlemen became very loquacious. Mr. Springle sprang from his seat, and delivered an oration, in which he spoke in terms of commendation of the hospitality of the host and hostess. "Hospitality," said he, "is a heaven-born gift, and few there are who are endowed with it. This quality, he was glad to observe, was hereditary in the family; for he well remembered the noble liberality of the father of the kind hostess, who spent a large fortune in feting his friends; and although at his death he had not a pice to bestow, his name is still embalmed in their memories,"—"Hear, hear, hear" was repeated on all sides, after which the speaker proposed the health of Mr. and Mrs. Good-fellow, in a suitable manner, and sat down in the midst of loud cheers. Mrs. Good-fellow was so affected, that she could not repress her feelings; she sobbed aloud for full five minutes.

Mr. Good-fellow rose soon after, and returned thanks. He said that he had not adequate language to give expression to his feelings. Both he and Mrs. Good-fellow were grateful to the gentleman who had just resumed his seat, for the kind manner in which he had proposed their health. He would remember this day to the latest period of his existence, and he hoped that, on the return of the next vacation, he would be able to entertain them in a style far superior to that in which every thing appeared on the present occasion.

The party broke up at a very late hour of the night; and those that had enjoyed in it suffered from headaches, and other disorders for two days after. The family of the Good-fellows returned to Calcutta, just in time for Mr. Good-fellow to attend his office, on the day of its re-opening. In the evening, the family sat round the table, and on making a calculation of the expenses incurred for the trip, found that they had exceeded three hundred Rupees to gratify the lady's desire "to see and to be seen." Mr. Good-fellow became very sad upon this, for he had only eighty Rupees a month; but as matters could not be mended, he and his wife determined to deprive themselves of every thing that had the appearence of luxury until the debt was paid.

As for Mr. Costa, he, poor man, very nigh lost his place in his office, for keeping himself from his duty for several days after his return from his "spree," as he called his trip. He is now, we are happy to say, a benedict. His wedding was a grand affair, as may have been expected, of which we shall give an account on some future occasion.

SELECTIONS.

THE MIRAGE.

The phenomenon of the *mirage* excites in the pilgrim of the deserts those alternations of hope and disappointment, which add to the miseries of his actual situation. He sees before him lakes of water, which are gone the instant he arrives at the spot where he fancied they offered their refreshment to his feverish lips. The Arabs are familiar with this remarkable appearance, and they are seldom deceived by it; although, if the mirage and a real stream could be seen at the same time, it would be difficult to distinguish the reality from the delusion. The guides of the European traveller often amuse themselves by calling to him that water is in sight, when they are upon the most thirsty spots of a sandy or gravelly plain. Burckhardt has described the mirage with his usual felicity :—"During the whole day's march we were surrounded on all sides by lakes of mirage, called by the Arabs, Serab. Its colour was of the purest azure, and so clear that the shadows of the mountains which borderd the horizon were reflected in it with the greatest precision, and the delusion of its being a sheet of water was thus rendered still more perfect. I had often seen the mirage in Syria and Egypt, but always found it of a whitish colour, rather resembling a morning mist, seldom lying steady on the plain, but in continual vibration; but here it was very different, and had the most perfect resemblance to water. The great dryness of the air and earth in this desert may be the cause of the difference. The appearance of water approached also much nearer than in Syria and Egypt, being often not more than two hundred paces from us, whereas I had never seen it before at a distance of less than half a mile. There were at one time about a dozen of these false lakes around us, each separated from the other, and for the most part in the low grounds." The mirage is caused by the extraordinary refraction which the rays of the sun undergo, in passing through masses of air in contact with a surface greatly heated. These atmospheric delusions are not confined to the appearance of water in the desert. The traveller, fainting beneath a burning sun, sees a tree in the distance, sufficiently large for him to find a shade beneath its boughs. He quickens his pace, hoping to enjoy half an hour of refreshing coolness, before his camels shall have passed. The tree is really a miserable shrub, that does not afford shade enough to shelter one of his hands. This magnifying of objects is produced by the slight vapour which rises when the heat is greatest. When the sun gleams on the sand-hills, they appear at an immense distance; the traveller hopes that his camels may be spared the pain of crossing these slippery ascents,—when in a few minutes he is close upon them, and sees a man or a camel, within a stone's throw, toiling to the top. As the sun ascends towards the zenith, and the earth and the currents of air assume different temperatures, the phenomena of the mirage present numerous modifications. Humboldt states that in the plains of South America, where the air is very dry, he often saw the images of troops of wild oxen, suspended in the air, long before the eye could see the oxen themselves; and the small currents of air were of such a variable temperature, that the legs of some appeared to rest upon the ground, while others were elevated above it. In Arabia, Niebuhr observed the image of an animal reversed, before he saw the direct image. Sometimes towers and large masses of apparent buildings are seen upon the horizon, which disappear at intervals, without the traveller being able to decide upon the true forms of the objects, which are probably little sand hills, beyond the ordinary range of vision. All these phenomena are modifications of the mirage, though the name is generally applied to the unreal lakes of the desert. The Persian and Arabian poets make frequently allusion to these magical effects of terrestrial refraction.

SERVING A WRIT IN IRELAND.

Not many years ago there lived on the western shores of Ireland a certain gentleman, who was by profession an attorney-at-law; he was a member of the "tail" of the Liberator, when it was as long as that of Halley's Comet, and, in consequence, became a member of Parliament. Previous to setting out for London to attend his Parliamentary duties, he gave into the hands of a bailiff a writ which he held against a gentleman who resided in a remote part of the country, and instructed the bailiff to have personal service made; but on his return home some months afterwards he was not a little surpised to learn that the writ was not, or could not possibly be served, inasmuch as the party against whom it was issued kept himself closely confined to his house, and furthermore it being found highly dangerous for a stranger to appear in the neighbourhood, as two or three sturdy fellows, armed with shillelahs, were constantly prowling about the place, whose intention was, no doubt, to thrash the first unfortune bailiff on whom they could lay hands.

The M.P. had a tenant named Tom Macnamara, a very shrewd fellow and quite an adept at minor matters of law, and who was usually called on to decide litigious disputes between the tenantry, by whom his opinion was considered as good as that of the Lord Chancellor. The M.P. having sent for Tom, made known to him the failure of the baliiff to serve the writ, and the causes assigned, and asked him if his fertile imagination could not enable him to devise some plan by which it could be accomplished. For a few moments Tom appeared to be in deep meditation, then taking a sudden start he exclaimed, "By jingo! I have hit it. Give me the writ, and he must be either the devil or Doctor Faustus if I do not shove it into his mitten."

Having received the writ, he proceeded on his journey. On his arrival in the neighbourhood, he made his way towards a police barracks, which was situated within half a mile of the gentleman's house against whom the writ was, and concealed himself behind a fence, where he had a veiw of the barracks. After a short time he saw two of the police coming towards him: he immediately started from his concealment and went towards them, but as soon as he was aware of being seen by them, he went inside the fence again and appeared to hide himself, but when the police came to the place, they looked over the fence and saw Tom crouched up against it. They took him into custody, and on being questioned as to the cause of his hiding himself, he said that he had always a horror of police and wished to avoid them by every means. He was next interrogated as to his place of residence, and in answer stated that he belonged to a certain district,—naming one which at that time was infested by "Terry Alts," and where four of the police had been killed a short time previous; and on this being asked as to his destination, replied that he was on his way to Galway to take shipping for America. The police at once came to the conclusion that he was a "Terry Alt," who had committed some depredation and was about to escape the country, and they decided on taking him before a magistrate for examination. The nearest at hand happened to be the gentleman whom Tom was in quest of.

The party set out, and on their way they encountered two men with shillelahs, who expressed their sympathy for the "poor prisoner," and muttered imprecations against the police. On arriving in front of the house, the magistrate put his head through an upper window, and was informed by the police that they had a "Terry Alt" in charge, who was about to escape the country when they apprehended him. The magistrate ordered his domestics to admit the party. He was not long before he made his appearance, and after eliciting from Tom the information which he had already given the police, he informed him that he had no doubt whatever but that Tom had committed some heinous crime and intended to escape, but that he should commit him to prison until further proof could be had against him.

"Indeed, your honour," said Tom, "I never did harm to man or mortal. I am a poor, honest laborin man, as the character which his Riverence Father Mechan, the priest of the parish, gave me, will show: and his riverence has known me since I was the height of your honour's knee."

"Have you that character about you?" asked the magistrate.

"I have, your honour," said Tom, taking from his pocket the "character," and handing it to the magistrate, at the same time saying that his honour would get all the necessary information therein.

When the magistrate unfolded the "character," he became deadly pale, and glanced about the apartment as if looking for some weapon, which Tom perceiving, called on the police for protection until he got clear of the house and neighbourhood.

"Take the rascal out of my sight," exclaimed the magistrate, "he is more rogue than fool.

"Do you mean to acquit him, sir?" inquired the constable, who had not yet comprehended the affair.

"Of course," said the magistrate; "don't you preceive that he has been playing a trick on us in order to serve me with a writ."

"Service acknowledged, your honour," said Tom.

The party left the house, and on their way they met the "shillelah," who were overjoyed when Tom infromed them that his honour had liberated him.

Tom having thanked the police for their service, put on a fair quantity of steam until he got out of that locality; and as he approached the house of his master, he heard the "sounds of revelry at night," for the M.P. who was an admirer of the social board, had been entertaining a party of his friends at dinner, who were at the time doing the honours to the merry god. On being informed that Tom had returned, the M.P. summoned him to the presence of the party, and their laughter made the welkin ring, as Tom, in his own peculiar humorous way, related the means to which he had recourse in order to serve the writ.

HINTS FOR THE SCHOOLROOM.

MUSIC, AN IMPORTANT MEANS OF EDUCATION.

If education, properly defined, be the development of the mind and character, and not the mere communication of knowledge, it follows, that whatever exerts the greatest influence on these, ought to be esteemed a most essential principle in every system of education. Now, if the universal consent of antiquity, and the experience and practice of all nations, savage and civilized, have weight, there can be no doubt that music has a most potent and lasting influence on mind and morals. To prove this we have only to consult the records of nations, preserved to us in the pages of history, or brought to our knowledge by our extensive commercial intercourse.

There never was a people yet discovered, among whom music was not cultivated as a sacred art, and employed in the service of the Deity, as a means of edification,—of inspiring devotion, and elevating the affections. To go to the cradle, as it were, of human genius, the far-famed Egypt, whence the great Jewish lawgiver, and all the lawgivers of antiquity acquired so much wisdom, we read that music was so esteemed, nay revered by the Egyptians, that they confined the knowledge and practice of it entirely to the priesthood, lest it should be corrupted by profane usage, and, being corrupted, should demoralize the whole nation. And, as the Greeks derived much of their learning and refinement from the Egyptians, we find them equally impressed with the mysterious powers of music as a means of education. We are informed, that they wrote their laws, civil and sacred, in verse, and, that they might be the more deeply impressed on the minds of the multitude, they were proclaimed with music. Plato and Aristotle relate, that in their time all moral disquisitions, illustrious actions, and the praises of the gods, were written in poetry, and *sung* in public, and that, not for the amusement, but for the instruction of the people. In fact, it was the general opinion of the ancients, that the "concord of sweet sounds" was not only emblematic of the order and harmony which prevail in the natural world, but was productive of extraordinary effects on the morals and politics of a nation, and in domestic and social life. And this opinion has been corroborated by the greatest statesmen of modern times; the celebrated Lord Chatham once said, that he cared not who made the laws of a nation, provided he had the making of the national songs. And, indeed, the music of a nation tells more upon its character than the laws. There is in it some secret, fascinating spell, which captivates, controls, and harmonizes the roughest and most discordant natures,—natures which laws can neither restrain nor amend. Illustrations of its more than magical influence are numberless. The classical student may relate some wonderful stories on this subject from antiquity; viz. how Pythocharis, with his flute, overcame the fierceness of ravenous wolves, which were on the point of devouring him; how wild boars and timid stags were entertained with a tune; and how dolphins have listened to a melodious voice. Also how, when Zethius and Amphion took Thebes, the stones in the city walls moved at the sound of the lyre which Mercury gave to Amphion; and how Jupiter, when he resolved to destroy Argus, with his hundred eyes, assigned the task to Mercury, who played so sweetly on his pipe, that he lulled all the eyes of the monster to sleep, and then lopped off his head with his crooked sword. "Sweetest Shakspeare, Fancy's child," says of Orpheus—

> "The poet
> Did feign that Orpheus drew trees, stones and floods,
> Since nought so stockish, hard, and full of rage,
> But music for the time doth change his nature."

But the ancients had a higher opinion still of this "*art divine*," they attributed to it the healing powers of medicine.

We are told, that in the time of Athenæus, a grammarian of Egypt, a multitude of people at Thebes, were cured of divers maladies by the flageolet. And Gellius assures us that that instrument was invaluable in cases of bites and stings. Martianus Cappella says, that Asclepiades cured a deaf man by the sound of a trumpet, and that the Athenians conld banish the fever by a song. And lastly, that Thales of Crete stayed the plague, and Xenocrates cured madness by music. (*To be continued.*)

VARIETIES.

Tale of a Pin.—In an early month of the year 1778, with a tolerable education, and with many natural qualifications for a financial life, Jacques Laffitte was seeking for a situation as a clerk. He had high hopes and a light heart, for he brought with him a letter of introduction to M. Perregaux, the Swiss banker. But with all his sanguine anticipations and golden day-dreams he was bashful and retiring. It was with a trembling heart that the young provincial appeared before the Perisian man of bonds and gold; he managed to explain the purpose of his visit, and presented his letter of recommendation. The banker quietly read the note. "It is impossible," said he, as he laid it aside, "that I can find room for you at present; all my offices are full. Should there be a vacancy at a future time, I will see what can be done. In the meantime, I advice you to seek elsewhere, as it may be a considerable period before I shall be able to admit you." Away went sunshine and prosperous visions! Disappointed and gloomy, poor Jacques left the presence of the polite banker. As he crossed, with downcast eyes, the courtyard of the noble mansion, he observed a pin lying on the ground; his habitual habits of frugality, amidst his disappointment, were still upon the watch; he picked up the pin, and carefully stuck it into the lappet of his coat. From that trivial action sprang his future greatness; that one single act of frugal care and regard for little things opened the way to a stupendous fortune. From the window of his cabinet, M. Perregaux had observed the action of the rejected clerk, and he wisely thought that the man who would stoop to pick up a pin, under such circumstances, was endowed with the necessary qualities for a good economist; he read in that single act of parsimony an indication of a great financial mind, and he deemed the acquisition of such a one as wealth itself. Before the day had closed, Laffitte received a note from the banker. "A place," he said, "is made for you at my office, which you may take possession of to-morrow." The banker was not deceived in his estimate of the character of Laffitte, and the young clerk soon displayed a talent and aptness for his calling that procured his advancement from a clerk to a cashier; from a cashier to a partner; and from a partner to the head proprietor of the first banking-house in Paris. He became a deputy, and then a president of the council of ministers. What a destiny for the man who would stoop to pick up a pin!

Curious Custom in Abyssinia.—When a woman has had one, two, or more children, and they have all died, she will, in hopes of saving the life of another just born, cut off a piece of the tip of her left ear, roll it up in a piece of bread and swallow it; and others will keep one side only of the head shaved until the child is grown up. For some time I was at a loss to conjecture the reason why a number of grown people of my acquaintance had one ear cut: and when told the truth, I could scarcely believe it, till I went into the house of a neighbour, though contrary to the custom, to see the operation. An old woman cut off the tip of the ear, and put it into a bit of cold cooked victuals, called sherro, when the mother of the infant opened her mouth to receive it, and swallowed it, pronouncing the words, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

The New University of Science.—It is reported that Prince Albert has advised that the money in hand, the balance from the Great Exhibition, amounting to £150,000 be employed in founding a University of Science, with which all the learned societies and the industrial institutions are to be incorporated. The plan is one of exceeding excellence; and so well is it thought of by the Ministry, that it is said Lord Derby proposes to bestow on it a national endowment, worthy of the nation, and of the purposes for which it is intended.

DULL IN SOCIETY.—In Society Dante was taciturn or satirical; Butler sullen or caustic; Grey and Alfieri seldom talked or smiled; Descartes, Rossian, Addison, Moliere, and Dryden, were silent observers; Pope was never happy unless when reading or writing—he couldn't talk; only one witty saying is recorded of his whole life—had there been others they were sure of being handed down to us—Hogarth and Swift were *absent* in company; Fox was always ruminating in the midst of conviviality; Newton couldn't explain himself; a French writer records "the silence of the celebrated Franklin;" Lord Mansfield recreated his mind by "placid dulness;" Chaucer and Fontaine were more facetious in their tales than in their conversation; Tasso sat absorbed in thought with a melancholy air; and on one occasion, a person present, remarking that this conduct was indicative of madness, Tasso, who had overheard him, calmly asked him whether he had ever been acquainted with a madman who knew how to hold his tongue. With such men in society it was no wonder they should be dull; for they could not bring down their great minds to the level of ordinary ones, to mix in the frivolous chit-chat of our "polite circles."

ADVANTAGE OF A LITTLE KNOWLEDGE.—The mysteries of magnetism should be unfolded to the sailor, above all men, since he is the one of all others whose safety depends on its phenomena. He should be told that, on electro-magnetic principles, he whould materially influence the march of the needle by wiping the glass which screens it, epecially with silk. It is some years since a fact was told us, which may be adduced in illustration:—It was that of a ship which arrived at Liverpool, after having been for several weeks the sport of winds and waves. The mariner's compass having been washed overboard in a storm, their voyage was dreary and procrastinated, much caution being necessary, and, despite of which, they might have been inevitably lost. Now, had the simple fact of the extreme ease with which a mariner's needle may be made have been known to any one on board, the peril might have been avoided. A sewing needle, or the blade of a penknife, being held in an upright position, and struck by a hammer, and subsequently floated by cork on water, or suspended by a thread without tension, would become a magnetic needle, and point north and south; or the end of a poker held vertically, and passed over its surface from one extreme to the other, would impart magnetism, and which, if the needle be of steel, would be of permanent character.

GOOD NATURE.—One cannot imagine any quality of the human mind whence greater advantages can arise to society than good-nature, seeing that man is a social being, not made for solitude, but conversation. Good-nature not only lessens the sorrows of life, but increases its comforts. It is more agreeable than beauty, or even wit. It gives a pleasing expression to the countenance, and induces a multitude of the most amiable observations. It is, indeed, the origin of all society. Were it not for good-nature, men could not exist together, nor hold intercourse with one another. Good-nature is an aptitude of the mind, on which objects act in an inexplicable way, and which discovers itself in universal benevolence to the whole creation. In it lies the foundation of all generous feeling to our neighbours, and sympathy with every member of the human family. It is a portion of that love which is the attraction of the mental universe. It possesses a power, the progression of which will gradually banish slavery, tyranny, war, disease, and vice, from the vital world, and unite mankind in one great brotherhood.

Copper, Tin, and Lead.—The annual production of copper in Cornwall may be estimated at 12,000 tons, the value of which amounts to £800,000. The quantity of tin ore raised is calculated at 11,000 tons, the average yield of which is 65 per cent., or about 7,000 tons of metal; this, at £90 a ton amounts to £560,000. The production of lead ore, for the whole of Great Britain, is 86,750 tons, yielding 68 per cent. of metal, equal to 58,701 tons of pig lead.

Truth and error.—We need not fear any sinister consequences from the subversion of error, and introducing as much truth into the mind as we can possibly accumulate. All those notions by which we are accustomed to ascribe to every thing a value which it does not really possess should be eradicated without mercy; and truth, a just and sound estimate of things which is not less favorable to zeal or activity, should be earnestly and incessantly cultivated.

Temperance.—"Why don't you come after cold victuals as usual?" said a lady to a boy who had for a long time been a daily visitor in that species of charity. "Father has joined the Temperance Society, and we have warm victuals now," was the reply.

Tight Lacing.—The registrar general reported, in the year 1839, that no less than 32,090 Englishwomen died of consumption, owing, in a great measure, to the compression preventing the free expansion of the chest, by the peculiarity of their costume.

Debt.—No man can ever borrow himself out of debt. If you wish for relief you must work for it. You must make more and spend less than you did while you were running in debt. You must wear homespun instead of broad cloth, drink water instead of champagne, and rise at seven instead of ten. Industry, frugality, economy—these are the hand-maids of wealth, and sure sources of relief. A dollar earned is worth ten borrowed; and a dollar saved is better than forty times its amount in worthless gew-gaws. Try our scheme; it is much better than to depend upon bank favours, and a thousand times more honourable than to resort to bankrupt laws.

Steadiness of Purpose.—In whatever you engage, pursue it with a steadiness of purpose as though you were determined to succeed. A vacillating mind never accomplishes any thing worth naming There is nothing like a fixed steady aim. It dignifies our nature and insures our success. Who have done the most for mankind? Who have secured the rarest honours? Who have raised themselves from poverty to riches? Those who were steady to their purpose. The man who is one thing to-day, and another to-morrow—who drives an idea pell-mell this week, while it drives him the next—is always in trouble, and does just nothing from one year's end to the other. Look, and admire the man of steady purpose. He moves noiselessly along, and yet what wonders he accomplishes. He rises, gradually we grant, but surely. The heavens are not too high for him, neither are the stars beyond his reach. How worthy the imitation!

A War Scene.—An officer describes the taking of Rangoon with as much delight as if it had been a theatrical representation, instead of a scene of fearful slaughter:—"It was a fine sight at night—the stockades all burning, the roar of the eight-inch guns, the flight of shells and rockets, and the flames and bursting of the shells in the distant fort, formed a grand tableau worthy of a master hand to describe."

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THE SUTTEE.

They reached the pile of purest sandal made
Whereon her lord's cold livid corpse was laid;
The gathered crowd now forms a ring around,
And in the arms of silence sinks each sound.
Hushed is the zel, the trumpet's brazen throat
No more gives out its shrill unwelcome note;
And she, that lovely victim, stands the while
Like a pale flower beside the funeral pile.

FAKEER OF JUNGHEERA.

Who is there amongst the inhabitants of this vast city, that has not heard of the concremation of a Hindu widow? and yet scarcely one out of a thousand has witnessed this horrid spectacle, and well it is so. In fifty years hence, we doubt not the rites of Suttee will be little understood; and the succeeding generations of Hindus will wonder, how so inhuman a practice was ever allowed to prevail amongst their ancestors. The following facts relative to a Suttee were obtained from an eye witness, and are here recorded as they were communicated.

At a place within the precincts of Culna there lived, some thirty years ago, a family of Brahmins, whose fame for acts of benevolence and hospitality had extended far and wide in that part of the country. They were a happy family, and Ram Chunder Chowdry, who was at the head of it, was a perfect model of an orthodox Hindu. He was possessed of a considerable fortune, which had been left him by his ancestors, and was, in common with a large number of natives of this country, engaged in no business, but depended on the income derived from his estate. According to the ideas entertained by Hindus of the old school, Ram Chunder spent his money, as he conceived, to some purpose. There was scarcely a single Hindu festival which he did not celebrate; and the shraddahs were objects of his particular attention. On such occasions he invited mendicants from distant parts of the country and spent thousands in feeding them, and making handsome presents to a host of poor brahmins, who flocked to him from remote districts.

Ram Chunder was blessed with a daughter, an only child, on whom he lavished all his affections. Never did a child experience such marks of tender solicitude as Rhadika. At her birth the father's joy knew no bounds; and although a Hindu, from notions instilled into his mind from early years, is more desirous of having a son than daughter, Ram Chunder seemed to forget this national prejudice, and shewed in every possible way the same regard for his daughter, as he would have bestowed upon a son, who would have been the hope of his life, and the staff of his old age. In this feeling the wife participated, and both were exceedingly happy. They took every care of the child, and Rhadika, as she grew in years, acquired those qualities, which adorn the character of a Hindu female.

We shall pass over the first stage of the life of Rhadika, as there is nothing of interest to be mentioned which transpired during that period. Full ten years had gone over her head, and the parents' hearts expanded to behold this rising beauty. There was something so delicate in her form, and the contour of her face was so singularly beautiful, that those who saw her gazed upon her with admiration. Many a ghuttuck had called upon Ramchunder with proposals of marriage; but he was too fastidious, and could not be prevailed upon to accept of any offer. Several respectable men, both in Culna and elsewhere, had, by means of friends, made every effort to form an alliance between Ram Chunder's daughter and their sons; but it was of no avail. A youth soon, however, attracted his notice, as being exactly what he had pictured in his own mind of the person, who was to associate with his daughter in the tender relation of a husband. He belonged to a respectable family in Kishnaghur, and had come to Culna with a friend on business of some importance. Kalipersaud Chatterjee (for that was the name of the youth) was well known in his native place, for the extent of his learning, and those qualities which tend to exalt man in the estimation of his fellows. He was besides very orthodox in his opinions, and his devotion to the gods was a subject of remark among his friends and acquaintances. It was no wonder then that Ram Chunder should have been so much pleased with the youth; for he had no sooner seen and conversed with him, than he felt a desire to be on terms of friendship with the young man. Soon after, by means of a ghuttuck, preliminaries were settled to effect a union between him and his daughter. The wedding day was fixed, and there was great rejoicing in the house of the Chowdry Family, who spent not an inconsiderable amount to render the affair at once grand and imposing. For several days the poor were fed, and presents were showered all round. The ceremony was performed, and Radhika became the wife of Kalipersaud Chatterjee. The girl, as is customary, was taken to the husband's for a few days, after which she returned to her father's, and remained there until she had attained her proper age. It is said that they made a very happy pair; for they loved one another, and lived in perfect harmony.

* * * * * * * *

We shall pass over the events which occurred in the house of the couple for several years, and introduce the reader to a scene which was presented on the banks of the Hooghly, on an evening of Spring. In a remote part of the bank at Kishnaghur, there was a funeral pile erected of fine sandal wood, and the corpse of a young man lay on a khuttollee, at some distance from it. The crowd of spectators was very great:—

people had come thither from a great distance, and were with eager eyes looking at every thing that was passing before them.

"Whose corpse is this?" asked a stranger of a brahmin who was taking a part in the arrangement, which was being made for the melancholy occasion.

"Mohashoi!" exclaimed the other, "what shall I say?" and he struck his forehead with his hand. "O Kali Kali," he cried aloud, "how soon hast thou fled from us?"

"Was he a relative of yours?" inquired the stranger.

"Yes," said the other, "he was a nephew of mine, and an excellent youth he was."

"What was his name, pray?" "His name? O sweet boy!—his name was Kalipersaud Chatterjee, the son of Sumboonath Chatterjee, of this place. His father will not long survive him—he is almost mad—he will never have a son like Kali."

"But what is this large preparation for?" interrogated the stranger, "Surely this quantity of fuel is not intended to consume a single corpse? It will serve to burn half a dozen."

"Yes, yes," said the Brahmin "I forgot to mention to you, that the widow of Kali is determined to become a Suttee, and she will be here I expect before the sun is down." So saying the Brahmin continued to attend to the work in which he was engaged.

Kalipersaid, it was said, died very suddenly a day previous, and his wife was resolved to ascend the funeral pyre. Her mother and other female relatives tried their utmost to dissuade her from her purpose; but nothing would change her mind. "Die I must" said she, "with my husband, for without him life would be a burden to me."

"But will you leave us then" said the mother with quivering lips, and faltering accents, "will you leave us, my Rhadika?" and she wept aloud. Rhadika fixed her eyes on the ground—her mother's cries had moved her, and her heart was pierced, and she wept likewise. The mother perceiving this said, "There is yet time, my child; say, you will not ascend the pile, and no body dare force you away hence." The father said nothing, but every movement of his showed that he was beside himself. Radhika stood silent for a while, but yielding to the stern dictates of her spiritual directors, who stood around her, she exclaimed, "no, no, it cannot be, it cannot be, mother.—I shall be contemned by all—and many a woman, who will see me on the river side when I go to bathe in the morning, will laugh and jeer at me, and point her finger and say in derision, there goes the Suttee. O mother, this I cannot bear. But what do I say? How can I live without my husband? I shall go with him, mother, and I know I shall be happy for ages to come. Think not of me—you know I shall be with the blessed and I shall love you still." Thus saying, she embraced her mother, and tried to console her. The time approached for her departure. She called for her little boy, who was scarcely two years old, and covered him with kisses, and then, leaving the place abruptly, got into a doolie with a mangoe twig in her hand.

The ghat was filled with an immense crowd when Radhika arrived, and it was with difficulty she could make her way to the place on which the pile was erected; but no sooner did she appear than there was a buz all around. She was, indeed, a perfect model of Hindu beauty. Her black raven hair hung down, and formed a striking contrast to her brunette complexion. She seemed confused at first, but soon gaining confidence, went and took her seat upon a high stool, which was brought to her. She conversed with her friends, during the time the arrangement of the pile was being completed, and made several small presents to the females who were around her. These were given as pledges that they should follow her example, if they had the misfortune to lose their husbands. She took leave of all who approached her; and tears coursed down her cheeks in rapid succession, as she bade those whom she had loved on earth, her last farewell! O it was a heart rending sight! She tore herself from them and was advancing towards the pile on which her husband's corpse was laid, when suddenly stopping, she cried, "my child! my child! I want once more to see my child." Messengers were instantly sent to the house, and the child was brought within ten minutes. The scene that followed is past description. The mother took the child and pressed it to her bosom, and the child, as if conscious of what was about to happen, clung to her, unwilling to part, "My child," cried the mother while tears fell in torrents from her swollen eyes, "my child, my love, my darling, shall I leave thee now an orphan at the mercy of others? O who will love thee, as I have loved thee?" And then she kissed the child again and again. "My life," continued she, "how can I part from thee, the idol of my heart! O my child, my child!"—The boy cried at seeing the mother grieve, and the tears of both were commingled. The spectators were deeply affected, and the eyes of all were bathed in tears. When at length it was thought proper to remove the child, its shrieks would have melted even hearts of stone. The mother turned away with reluctance, and after walking round the pile the usual number of times, she ascended it, and laid herself beside the corpse of her husband. The torch was then applied to the combustibles, and the noise of tom-toms accompanied the work of the destructive element. Within an hour the whole pile was reduced to ashes, and with it the bodies of fair Radhika and her husband.

THE HEALING ART.

(*Continued.*)

Hippocrates lays peculiar stress on certain days, reckoning from the commencement of the disease. These are critical days or those on which the disease arrives at its crisis. They are of course different in numerical order according to the kind and degree of the distemper; but they generally fall on odd days, such as the third, fifth, seventh and so on. In this respect there is observable a remarkable similitude to the system of the Hindoo physicians, who in their practice pay marked attention to particular days, which they regard as critical during the progress of the disease. No doubt there is considerable foundation for all this, as may be seen in one instance, namely, that of malignant fevers, which, on numerous occasions, have been found to terminate fatally on the ninth day.

Hippocrates was a particular observer of the signs or symptoms of diseases, both before their manifestation, in a positive state, in the human body, and during their continuance. On this subject he has left some writings called his Prognostics, which, so far as they go, have been found to be so accurate, (although considerable additions were subsequently made to them as the art gradually attained to improvement) as to command the admiration of posterity during a long course of ages. In connection with this part of his system, may be mentioned the signs to which he draws attention as indicating the approach of death. Besides others, those observable on the face of the patient, such as the sharp or pinched nose, the dull and sunken eyes, the leaden hue, &c. are so correctly described by him, that the visage of a dying person, on which those appearances may be noticed, is even at this day called among physicians the Hippocratic face. One other sign, premonitory of coming dissolution, and a very peculiar one, is when the victim of disease, in his last moments, occasionally moves about his hands, as if seeking for something on the bed, or trying to remove something from the face, or when he unnecessarily lifts up any cloth from his bed or his body. To this may be added another still, not so remarkable or apparent, namely, that of the posture of the patient when sleeping. Hippocrates interprets it as portending a fatal termination, when the sufferer, instead of sleeping on his side in a somewhat contracted form, as one in health does, lies straight on his back and slides down towards his feet. He also draws presages from the respiration, expectoration, sweat and other discharges, and from the pulse. He is very minute in these particulars, but we need not detail his remarks thereon, as the information to be gathered from them is not likely to prove either very instructive or entertaining to the general reader.

Before pursuing further our remarks concerning this celebrated ancient physician, we should wish to lay before our readers some explanation of the phenomena referred to above as predicting the advent of death, and we do not think we could do this better than by quoting a few passages from a well written article on this subject, which was published many years ago and reprinted in one of the literary periodicals of Calcutta. "The nose becomes sharp," observes this writer, "because the muscles of the face having lost their power of action, the nostrils fall in; the eye becomes hollow, because the fat on which it rested in the orbit, as on a soft cushion, has been absorbed; the face, lips, tips of the fingers and toes assume a palish green or leaden hue, because the blood does not undergo that change in the lungs by which it obtains its stimulating qualities and bright scarlet colour; the feet and hands become cold, because the heart is no longer able to propel the blood, on which the extrication of animal heat appears to depend, to the extremities of the body; lastly, the motion of the fingers in puckering up the clothes, or catching at floating objects, is a convulsive action, depending on the roots of the nerves which supply the hand and arm being irritated at their origin by the effusion of the watery part of the blood, which often occurs during the progress of fever or other acute diseases."

To the foregoing we cannot resist the temptation of adding another, as showing that the belief entertained by many that the act of death was attended with intense pain, and the consequent fears which prevail among the multitude on this subject, may be reasonably concluded to be groundless.

"However varied may be the precursory signs of death, there can be no doubt but that the act of death is in all cases unattended by pain. It is true, that, when watching by the bedside of sickness, the eye of affection is apt to interpret every motion, sigh or groan of the sufferer into expressions of deep, perhaps unutterable, pain; and hereby the imagination fevers itself into a false belief that the act of dying is one of the most excruciating struggles that can be encountered. But this gloomy apprehension is in reality ill founded, for physicians are well aware that sighs, sobs, tears, groans, nay, convulsions of the body, are not necessarily indicative of existing pain, since they occur in apoplexy, epilepsy, hysterical and other convulsive fits, from which the person that has been so affected recovers without any recollection of having endured suffering. That persons affected with sickness suffer pain, there is no doubt; but this pain arises simply from the disease, and is modified, and rendered more or less acute, by the organ which may be affected. Thus, the loose and spongy textures may be almost disorganized in the living body, without any consciousness of the extent or even existence of the disease, which often happens indeed with the lungs in that fatal malady consumption; and hence the patients in this disease frequently rely on their recovering, even to the last moment of their existence. But this is not the case with the denser tissues, the white smooth membranes lining the chest and abdomen, and forming one of the coats of the intestines, which are never affected without very acute pain; and this, it may be presumed, arises from the density and inelasticity of this texture, which when injected by a preternatural quantity of blood, as in inflammation, remains unyielding, and thereby subjects its nerves to a corresponding degree of painful compression. Hence the acute pain of pleurisy, inflammation of the bowels, &c. in all which cases the vulgar idea is, that the person suffers a most painful death; but this is not the case, for we must discriminate between the pain of the disease and the act of dying; and we shall in all such cases discover that the vital powers become absolutely exhausted before the last breath is expired. There is, therefore, no consciousness in the act of dying any more than in that of falling into a deep slumber."

As means for the preservation of health, Hippocrates recommends moderation in eating and the taking of exercise. On the former point he lays down some useful, though common-place rules, and, in the course of his observations, refers to the flesh of dogs, foxes, horses and asses, the respective qualities of which as meat he discriminates with particular care. We are thus informed, incidentally, that in the times in which he lived, the animals alluded to were, besides the purposes to which several of them were more legitimately applied, as in our days, used for food by the people. With regard to exercise, he gives several directions concerning the time and manner of taking it, mentioning, among others, two kinds of exercise, one of which was called Chironomy, and consisted of various motions, chiefly of the hands, intended to represent past transactions. This in ancient times constituted a part of the education of youth, and was looked upon with approbation by Socrates and Plato, the latter ranking it among the political virtues. The other was a diversion "performed round a sort of ball hung up, which they called *corycus*, and which they struck forward with both hands." This resembles a sport in vogue among the modern Chinese, who, we are informed, by way of exercise, repeatedly strike forward with the hands a number of heavy balls, composed of soft materials, similarly hung up; a process, in the course of which considerable dexterity is requisite to prevent being thumped on the head or face by the balls as they return in rapid succession after being propelled forward. It may be here remarked that the books on exercise, usually attributed to Hippocrates, are supposed by LeClerc, an eminent medical writer, and the author of a History of Medicine, to have been written by Herodicus, a physician, who first introduced gymnastic exercises into the practice of medicine, and who, as Hippocrates himself relates, occasioned the death of several persons by compelling them to walk, while suffering from fevers and other inflammatory complaints. Besides moderation in diet and the use of exercise, as preventive of disease, our physician enjoined recourse to emetics, which he advised to be taken once or twice a month during winter and spring. One of the preparations employed for this purpose was "a decoction of hyssop, (a genus of plants, one species of which is aromatic and stimulant, and chiefly used as a pectoral medicine) with an addition of a little vinegar and salt."

In his practice of medicine, Hippocrates was guided by a set of maxims, the principal of which, as characterising the others, was, that contraries, or opposites, were the remedies for each other; evacuation being a cure for diseases resulting from repletion and *vice versa*. "So heat is destroyed by cold and cold by heat, &c;" the province of physic being to supply what is wanting and to remove what is redundant.

We will now consider what were the means adopted by Hippocrates for the counteraction and cure of diseases. On this head it may be observed that diet was the chief agent which he employed to effect his purpose. Nature being, according to his theory, anxious to produce relief, his object, in the regulation of diet, was to assist her, and accordingly he so modified the patient's food with regard to quality and quantity as, he conceived, would have the effect of helping, at least not impeding, her in overcoming malady. He it was who first reduced this part of medicine to a system, and he therefore takes some pride to himself on that account; his predecessors in the healing line having, according to his statement, left no written memorials on the subject.

He made a distinction between the diets of persons suffering under acute and those under chronic disorders. In the former case, he exhibited liquid food in preference to any other description of it. This was mainly a kind of gruel made of the flour, chiefly of barley, which had undergone a peculiar process of preparation; and it was given especially to persons laboring under fever; one part of the flour being boiled in ten or fifteen of water with the addition of a little vinegar, and some anise or leek. This food was gradually attenuated, in proportion as the fever increased, to enable, as he says, nature, thus relieved of the task of digesting heavier victuals, to devote her whole strength to the cure of the disease. During the paroxysms and exacerbations of distempers, he enjoined total abstinence from food. His practice in this respect was the reverse of that of his contemporaries, who, in the beginning of acute disorders, particularly fevers, starved and thereby weakened their patients to such a degree as to render it necessary to give them food in no inconsiderable quantity at a time, when it was improper to do so, by reason of the disease having attained to an advanced stage. The drink he allowed his patients was generally water mixed with a little honey and, in some cases, vinegar. He even had no objection to wine of a mild kind, which was given occasionally, when the patient was not delirious and had no pains in the head. In diseases of the chronic class, milk and whey were extensively used.

The use of the bath is a remedy which Hippocrates applies in certain descriptions of disorder, and the advantages derivable from the practice are, chiefly, a feeling of refreshment or relief from a sense of weariness, the softening of the skin, the increased pliancy of the joints, &c. Affusion was the mode in which the bath was employed, and the patient, while under this operation and that of being wiped dry, which was done with pieces of sponge, was required to be silent and still. On the subject of bathing his directions principally were, that it must not be resorted to either immediately before or after eating and drinking, nor when the body was too open or the reverse, and he also prohibited the use of it when the person desirous of benefitting by such ablution, suffered either from nausea, great loss of appetite, or bleeding of the nose.

In cases of acute disorder, Hippocrates forbade, as a general rule, the use of exercise, as has been already hinted when making mention of Herodicus, but, in those of a chronic kind, his practice was different, in as much as he recommended the taking of it by those afflicted with the last mentioned description of complaints.

Where regimen and exercise (the latter being confined to chronic cases) proved insufficient to remove the corrupt humours which occasioned the disease of the body, he had recourse to more active remedies, the principal whereof was purgation, a term, by which is to be understood a cleansing both of the stomach as well as the bowels, the operation of the medicine used in reference to the first mentioned viscus being upward. It is not necessary to enumerate here, by name, the various substances of the ancient materia medica, which were employed to produce the evacuations alluded to. It will be sufficient to state that they were of a drastic kind, which rendered him extremely cautious in their exhibition. He therefore refrained from making use of them during the hot season, and took care not to administer them to pregnant women, nor to chidren and old people. His notion concerning the efficacy of the materials employed as purgatives was somewhat remarkable and merits notice. He imagined that they discharged the morbific humors of the body by a mysterious attraction which they had for those humors, and that each particular purgative had its specific humor, which it was enabled to draw off under the operation of the above principle of attraction. Acting under this singular theory, he considered, when a patient did not feel relieved after the operation of any given medicine, that the latter had failed to expel the matter which it was intended to remove. On the other hand, when the desired relief was produced, he conceived that the medicine had acted upon its proper humor. In the use of emetics, which was embraced in his idea of purgation, he resorted to one, which, from the peculiar circumstances under which it was chiefly administered, may be worth mentioning. This was the white hellebore, a violent emetic as well as cathartic, which he gave in an especial manner to those unfortunate persons who labored under melancholy or insanity, so that from this practice of his and of the ancient physicians generally, it became a proverbial phrase to say of one that he *needed the hellebore*, when it was intended to intimate that he was foolish. Speaking of hellebore, we may, en passant, notice another species of that root sometimes called Melampodion by the Greeks, to which a curious and not uninteresting story was attached among the ancients. It seems that Melampus, a physician or some such character, who had flourished long before the time of Æsculapius, having observed the effects of the plant on some goats which had fed upon it, (by the way, another instance, if the account be true, of the numerous accidents to which Medicine is indebted for its enlargement,) conceived the idea that he might administer it with advantage to the daughters of Prœtus, king of Argos, who had all, in some strange manner, become simultaneously mad, and wandered about in the woods, fancying themselves so many cows. He did apply the remedy, and the result was the restoration of the young princesses to the use of reason. The father was, of course, overjoyed at this happy event, and, in remuneration of the important service he had thus performed, gave Melampus one of his daughters in marriage, together with a portion of his kingdom. We need not add that the term Melampodion is derived from the name of Melampus, in honor of whom the Greeks employed it to signify a plant of which he had made such beneficent use. To return to Hippocrates, it is necessary to observe, that he chiefly used purgatives in chronic diseases, whereas, in those of the acute kind, he administered them with a more sparing hand, taking care not to exhibit the same till after the fourth day from the commencement of the illness, as his object was to remove the offending matter after it had had sufficient time for concoction, conceiving that any purgative given before this period would only have the effect of disturbing or stirring up the humors, while they were in a crude state and unprepared to be discharged.

In several diseases, such as the apoplexy, obstinate pains of the head and others, and in a large number of chronic complaints, our physician, after effecting the ordinary purgation, had recourse to a practice which was called purging the head. This consisted in the patient's drawing up, into the nostrils, substances either in a liquid or pulverized state, composed of various ingredients, which had the effect of making him sneeze and thus discharge "the phlegm from the brain." Where a collection of matter was formed in the breast, in a disease called the *empyema,* he caused the patient to draw in his tongue as much as possible, and then contrived to apply to the lungs a certain liquor, which was prepared from different materials and varied in pungency according as the case required. This liquid irritated the part, and, in the expectoration which ensued, the matter which had been accumulated was discharged. This method of producing relief in the pulmonary oppression alluded to was too violent a process to continue long in use, and accordingly we find it abandoned after the time of Hippocrates.

Blood-letting formed a considerable share in the practice of Hippocrates, and he resorted to it in a large number of cases and under a great variety of circumstances. It is impossible, within the narrow limits to which we must confine ourselves, fully to particularize them; and we must therefore content ourselves with endeavoring to convey, in a few words, a general idea of what his practice was in this department of the healing art. One remarkable object he had in view, in the use of phlebotomy, was to recal the blood when it took a wrong direction, as he imagined, and flowed into channels where it should not; and another was to produce a free-motion of that fluid and the spirits when impeded by any cause in their proper course. As a general rule, he practised venesection "in great pains, and particularly in inflammations," for relief of which, he opened the vein which was nearest to the part affected, and "in all diseases which had their seat above the liver, he blooded in the arm, or in some of the upper parts of the body; but for those that were situated below it, he opened the veins of the foot, ankle, or ham." He had recourse also to the cupping vessel, with scarification, and sometimes without it, where he conceived the mere attraction made by the cup would sufficiently answer his purpose, which was to recal or withdraw the humours from any part where they had improperly lodged.

We shall now rapidly glance over the remaining remedies employed by Hippocrates to overcome disease. Two of these were diuretics and sudorifics, which were resorted to in those cases where depletion was necessary and purging and bleeding had failed to produce the desired effect His fomentations were of two kinds, one being the immersion of the patient in a vessel containing a decoction prepared for the purpose, so that the part affected was covered by the liquid, and the other the application of a bladder or other vessel, filled with warm water, to the seat of pain. To this end a large sponge also was occasionally used. We must not omit fumigation from our catalogue. This was either smoke or steam produced by the burning or boiling of various materials, and drawn into the throat by means of a pipe, which had the effect, it is said, of discharging a large quantity of phlegm through the nose and the mouth. This was a remedy especially employed in the quinsey. Of gargles, litttle need be said, save that they were "a kind of fomentations for the mouth." Oils and ointments occupy a prominent place in the list, and appear to have been prepared from a variety of ingredients, and applied "with a view to mollify and abate pain, to ripen boils, resolve tumors, refresh after weariness, makethe body supple, &c." The foregoing items, together with cataplasms or poultices, used for the purpose of "softening or resolving tumors, and ripening abscesses, &c." as well as those of a cooling kind, comprise the principal among the external remedies of Hippocrates, who, we may add, after bringing about a considerable reform in the practice of medicine, by the enlightened judgment and untiring zeal and industry, with which he applied himself, through a long course of years, to the exercise of his profession, died at a very advanced age in Larissa, a town in Thessaly, about 361 years B. C.

PLAGIARISM.

We have been highly amused by an account, that we have read in the English papers, of a theft in the *literary* way, and that has been published with a full detail, as to the name, character and rank of the unfortunate individual, to whom the crime has been brought home.

The culprit is no less a personage than the Right Honorable Benjamin D'Israeli, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and author of works not unknown to fame—and the charge not less serious than of having pilfered certain passages from an old French Journal, and passed them for his own.

The particulars of the charge are as follows :—

Some years ago an article was contributed by M. Thiers to the *Revue Trimestre*, on the life and military genius of a French Marshall;—a translation of which appeared in the London *Morning Chronicle* of July 4, 1848. Mr. D'Israeli, the other day, in the act of delivering, by virtue of his office, a funeral oration on the late Duke of Wellington, happened to speak out his sentiments of unbounded admiration for the high character borne by the Duke in all his exploits, in a manner and style of expression that made a very great impression on the people assembled to do justice to the funeral of a great general that had defended the glory of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland against formidable enemies, and on occasions of imminent danger. The speaker was received in the House with loud and repeated cheers, and with a just appreciation of the feelings expressed in his highly characteristic oration. The speech was afterwards published at full length, as all good speeches are, in the leading journals of the metropolis; and it was not long before it was discovered, that the glittering expressions it contained, and the poetic images with which it was richly interspersed, were taken almost *verbatim* from the paper contributed by M. Thiers to the *Revue Trimestre*. The editor of the *Globe*, with whom rests the merit of the detection of the fraud, told the world of Mr. D'Israeli's unhandsome appropriation, and printed in juxta-position the speech of the Chancellor, and the article from which he stole, or, more politely, drew his stock of ideas and words, to lavish on the remains of a great warrior and statesman. We are induced to quote the parallel passages for the sake of the readers of the 'Oriental Miscellany,' who, we doubt not, will be curious to read the passages for themselves.

Mr. D'Israeli.	M. Thiers.
It is not that a great general must be an engineer—a geographer—learned in human nature—adroit in the management of men—that he must be able to fulfil the highest duty of a Minister of State, and then to descend to the humblest office of a commissary and a clerk; but he has to display all this knowledge and to exercise all those duties at the same time, and under extraordinary circumstances. At every moment he has to think of the eve and the morrow—of his flank and of his rear—he has to calculate at the same time the state of the weather and the moral qualities of men; and all those elements that are perpetually changing he has to combine, sometimes under overwhelming heats, sometimes under overpowering cold—often times in famine, and frequently amidst the roar of artillery.	An engineer, a geographer, a man of the world, a metaphysician, knowing men, knowing how to govern them, an administrator in great things, a clerk in small—all these things, it is necessary to be, but these are as yet nothing. All this vast knowledge must be exercised on the instant, in the midst of extraordinary circumstances. At every moment think of the yesterday and the morrow; of your flank and of your rear. Calculate at the same time on the atmosphere and on the temper of your men; and all these elements, so various and so diverse, which are ceaselessly changing, and renewed, you must combine in the midst of cold, heat, hunger, bullets. * * * * *
Behind all these circumstances there is ever present the image of his country, and the dreadful alternative whether that country is to welcome him with laurel or with cypress. Yet these images he must dismiss from his mind, for the general must not only think, but think with rapidity of lightning; for on a moment more or less depends the fate of the most beautiful combination—and a moment more or less is a question of glory or of shame. Unquestionably, Sir, all this may be done in an ordinary man, as every day of our lives we see that ordinary men may be successful ministers of state, successful authors, and successful speakers—but to do all this with genius is sublime.	Farther off, and behind them, is the spectacle of your country, with laurel, or with cypress. But all these images and ideas must be banished and set aside, for you must think, and think quickly—one minute too much, and the fairest combination has lost its opportunity, and instead of glory it is shame which awaits you. All this undoubtedly is compatible with mediocrity, like every other profession; one can also be a middling poet, a middling orator, a middling author: but this done with genius is sublime. * * * * * *
To be able to think with vigor, with depth, and with clearness in the recesses of the Cabinet is a greater intellectual demonstration; but to think to equal vigor, clearness, and depth, amidst the noise of bullets appears to me the loftiest exercise and the most complete triumph of human faculties.	To think in the quiet of one's Cabinet clearly, strongly, nobly, this undoubtedly is great; but to think as clearly, as strongly, as nobly, in the midst of carnage and fire is the most perfect exercise of the human faculties.

As we can scarcely have anything to do either with the advocates of Mr. D'Israeli, or his prosecutors, we will refrain from taking any notice of the accusations and the defences, with which the English papers have teemed for a while. We will proceed with our task, on the ground laid before us, that Mr. D'Israeli had quoted the passages referred to, without acknowledging the source from which they were taken; and that in so doing he assumed the merit of original remarks to himself.

In order to decide upon the degree of blame which attaches to Mr. D'Israeli, in this respect, it may be necessary to make some distinction between plagiarism in an author and plagiarism in an orator, though both are culpable, more or less, for using other men's ideas and expressions without acknowledgment.

Where a sentiment or an expression stolen is passed for original by an author that presents his writing to the public, from which he hopes to derive both profit and reputation, the crime is of a deeper dye, and the more reprehensible, in as much as the praise bestowed upon the plagiarist is due to the original author of that sentiment or expression. But where one addresses a public assembly, or a private society of friends, in which the object of the speaker is but of a temporary importance—the impression produced being intended to last only for the time being—and in which the orator is to inspire his hearers with every sort of feeling, that can on the occasion enhance him in their estimation, no sort of artifice or expedient can be called dishonorable, which the speaker might lay his hold on, at the spur of the moment, to produce the effect desired by him. The least is one, of quoting from memory remarkable passages from authors previously read, that might happily amalgamate into the subject of his oration. An acknowledgment then might be unnecessary, and in some cases impracticable. Unnecessary, because it might gain little with the hearers, whose sympathies for the speaker would admit no diminution of his powers of rhetoric in their estimation, by being told in the midst of their warm applauses, that the sentiments and the words of the speaker were not his own—a disclosure, that tends much to diminish the effect intended by one while speaking. Impracticable, for in the heat of the moment, sentiments and language might find utterance which the speaker may faintly remember to have somewhere met with, but without any recognition of the author's name, or of the work. The torrent finds its way through the lips, without any trace being made of the source from which it originally flowed. Passages read long before, or met with in obscure authors, again so usurp the mind, that at no great distance of time, they are reckoned among its genuine inheritances.

Plagiarism in oratory, and plagiarism in writing, are offences of different shades. The former, in some cases, is excusable; the latter altogether a mean practice, though the most celebrated authors of Europe have stooped to such meanness. Even in writing, the practice of appropriating the thoughts and language of other men is so common, that writers are little liable to censure on that account, though entire passages have been stolen and passed for original ones. We intend to make some observations on the extent to which plagiarism is carried on among authors, among writers of books, reviews and pamphlets, and the extent to which it is held tolerable by the best critics and literary judges of Europe. It may be of some use to our young readers; and have the effect of guarding beginners of English Composition, against getting into the pernicious habit of incorporating passages from an old book into their essays, in the confidence of never being detected.

We must however have our say on Mr. D'Israeli's plagiarism,—for which he has been already dragged before the awful TRIBUNAL of public CRITICISM, where his interests, not only as an author, but as a minister of state, are thrown in jeopardy.

Had Mr. D'Israeli written a funeral eulogium on the late Duke of Wellington, and forborne any mention of the French journal to which he was indebted for the best parts of his speech, we would have at once condemned the attempt at imposition as mean and dishonorable. But where he was merely a speaker, and perhaps in search of the choicest language to express himself in a manner suited to the occasion, what is more natural, than that he should have knocked at the vaults of his own memory, and delivered in extacy the treasures of a well stored-mind, without fearing to be pelted at, as a thief and a robber. Besides, the paragraphs written by M. Thiers were such as could have been said on the funeral of such a distinguished general and politician, as the late Duke of Wellington was. And Mr. D'Israeli, in the midst of thinking warmly of the subject of his oration, might have been led, by a natural train of thought and association of ideas, to remember the passages that have been pointed out as stolen property, which he had committed to memory, as all good passages are, for their elegance and beauty. The passages are by themselves remarkable, which no one could have helped quoting on the occasion, if he were called upon to act for Mr. D'Israeli. The detectors of the fraud must no less have been themselves struck with the beauty of the passages, when they might have first read them, and it is doubtful whether they themselves would not have done the same thing for which Mr. D'Israeli has been taxed and upbraided. Besides, it is an old maxim, "a thief is set to catch a thief." The Editor of the *Globe* newspaper and Mr. D'Israeli, must have been equally the admirers of this gem of a sentence, might have each committed it to memory, each might have set it down in his tablet, and yet from their difference of positions, the one was likely to be sooner provided with an opportunity of making a show of his note-book than the other. But however unworthy the conduct of Mr. D'Israeli might have appeared in the eyes of the critics, and the English *litterateurs*, we fully exonerate him from the charge of a wilful imposition on the public of England, and can only express a wish that he had made a less elaborate speech on the funeral of the Duke of Wellington, but one more dignified in style, more compact and solemn, than what was written in praise of a French Marshall. The honor of the nation required it,—that nothing continental, nothing of France, the country of Napoleon—should have been borrowed to assist at the last ceremony of such a general as Wellington.

Plagiarism among authors, among writers of books, pamphlets, and magazines is, as we have remarked before, a very serious offence; yet it is nevertheless true that some of the best European authors have been found guilty of the crime. Poets, Historians, Novelists, &c. have all more or less used each other's sentiments and language without acknowledgment or an apology for such appropriation. But we think it here necessary to observe that similitude of ideas and expressions in any two authors, is not necessarily plagiarism. For two or more persons writing on the same subject, may not unfrequently find themselves pursuing a train of thought which may give rise to similar expressions and ideas. Examples are not wanting of a close resemblance in the style and thoughts of any two celebrated authors, to whom, the crime we are speaking of, is far from being imputable. Because the passages from Pope, which we quote below, are also to be found in others, shall we call him a plagiarist?

These equal syllables alone require,
Tho' oft the ear the open vowels tire;
While expletives their feeble aid do join,
And ten low words oft creep in one dull line.
Essay on Criticism.

He creeps along with ten little words in every line and helps out his numbers with "for" "to" and "unto" and all the pretty expletives he can find, while the sense is left half tired behind it.
Dryden's Essay on Dram. Poetry.

In clouded Majesty here.dulness shone.
Pope's Dunciad.

——— the moon
Rising in clouded Majesty.
Milton.

Each prompt to query, answer, and debate,
And smit with the love of Poesy and Prate.
Pope's Dunciad.

And smit with the love of Poetry and Prate
Smit with the love of sacred song.
Milton.

Silence, ye wolves! while Ralph to Cynthia howls,
And makes night hideous.
Pope's Dunciad.

——— visit thus the glimpses of the moon
Making night hideous———
Shakspeare.

Or shall we call Byron a swindler, because the following image of a perturbed general vainly courting sleep is also to be found in Shakspeare?

His head grows fever'd and his pulse,
The quick successive throbs convulse;
In vain from side to side he throws
His form in courtship of repose;
Or if he dozed, a sound, a start
Awoke him with a sunken heart.
The turban on his hot brow press'd,
The mail weigh'd lead-like on his breast,
Though oft and long beneath its weight
Upon his eyes had slumber sate,

Without or couch or canopy,
Except a rougher field and sky
Than now might yield a warrior's bed,
Than now along the heaven was spread.
He could not rest, he could not stay
Within his tent to wait for day,
But walk'd him forth along the sand,
Where thousand sleepers strew'd the strand.
What pillow'd them ? and why should he
More wakeful than the humblest be ?
Since more their peril, worse their toil,
And yet they fearless dream of spoil ;
While he alone, where thousands pass'd
A night of sleep, perchance their last,
In sickly vigil wander'd on,
And envied all he gazed upon.

Siege of Corinth.

How many thousands of my poorest subjects
Are at this hour asleep ! O gentle *Sleep*.
Nature's soft nurse, how have I frighted thee,
That thou no more wilt weigh my eyelids down,
And steep my senses in forgetfulness ?
Why rather, Sleep, ly'st thou in smoky cribs,
Upon uneasy pallets stretching thee,
And hush'd with buzzing night-flies to thy slumber,
Than in the perfum'd chambers of the great,
Under the canopies of costly state,
And lull'd with sounds of sweetest melody ?
O thou dull god, why ly'st thou with the vile,
In loathsome beds, and leav'st the kingly couch,
A watch-case to a common larum bell ?
Wilt thou, upon the high and giddy mast,
Seal up the ship-boy's eyes, and rock his brains
In cradle of the rude imperious surge,
And in the visitation of the winds,
Who take the ruffian billows by the top,
Curling their monstrous heads, and hanging them
With deaf'ning clamours in the slippery shrouds,
That, with a hurly, Death itself awakes ?
Canst thou, O partial Sleep, give thy repose
To the wet sea-boy in an hour so rude ;
And in the calmest and the stillest night,
With all appliances and means to boot,
Deny it to a king ? then happy low ! lie down ;
Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown."

Second Part ; Henry IV.

An analogous description of sleep disturbed by tumultuous emotions in the breast, will be found in Walter Scott.

"Ere sleep stern Oswald's senses tied,
Oft had he changed his weary side,
Composed his limbs, and vainly sought
By effort strong to banish thought.
Sleep came at length, but with a train
Of feelings true, and fancies vain,

Mingling in wild disorder cast,
The expected future with the past.
* * * *
The pallid cheek and brow confess'd
That grief was busy in his breast;
Nor paused that mood—a sudden start
Impell'd the life-blood from the heart,
Features convulsed, and mutterings dread,
Show terror reigns in sorrow's stead.

Rokeby.

Notwithstanding the similitude of thought and expression that will be found to exist in the passages cited above, is it to be inferred that the author of "Childe Harolde" is indebted to Shakspeare and Scott for the particular sentiment or image of a sleepless General gazing with envy on the "thousand sleepers" that "strew'd the strand" as has been depicted in the character of Alp "the Renegade?" Such resemblances in style and sentiment among authors may naturally occur from a sameness or affinity of the subjects on which they may happen to treat. But even where the marks of imitation or true copy of remarkable sentiments, originally expressed by a great mind, may be traced in an author of an equally powerful genius, the appropriation admits of a greater palliation than in the case of inferior minds, which can never shine of themselves, but by reflected light. For even plagiarism, reprehensible as it is, "with genius is sublime."

Speaking of plagiarisms in great authors, it is remarked by one of the Edinburgh Reviewers,*—"that the greater part of those resemblances in thoughts and images, which a carping criticism sets down as *plagiarisms,* are, we are persuaded, nothing more than such combinations; and even of plagiarism, properly so called, we have as little doubt that the instances are far fewer than has generally been supposed. Many so named have been simple coincidences of thought, the result of similarly constituted minds revolving the same subjects; and, true though it be that the objects and combinations of thought are infinite, yet considering that humanity, and those things which chiefly interest it, are always and every where the same, it is perhaps the inexhaustible variety, and not the occasional similarity, of conceptions which ought to amaze us. The remarks of Sir Thos. Browne in his 'Religio Medci,' on some observed coincidences between himself and Montaigne, are well worth the attention of every critic who would be just to genius.—Many other supposed plagiarisms are but unconscious reflections of sentiments and images, the source of which had been long forgotten. A person must be very dull or very uncharitable,—or he will be slow to suspect a mind of any originality, of the meanness of larceny. For any such mind must always find it easier to live honestly than by stealing. As to the greater part of those parallelisms and resemblances on which an unworthy criticism has founded the charge against great writers, they will, as we have said, be generally found to indicate nothing more than that the thoughts of others have suggested the germ of new conceptions; new by a juster application, or a more felicitous expression, or a fresh development of the original thought. They are in truth no more plagiarisms than a chemical compound, the result of mysterious affinities, is identical with the elements which enter into it. There is all the difference between suggestion and plagiarism, that there is between making blood from food, and receiving it into the veins by transfusion. In Shakspeare and Scott we see both how much and how little, a great genius derives from sources without himself. "Observing," says Moore, in his 'Life of Lord Byron,' "a volume in his gondola with a number of paper marks between the leaves, I enquired of him what it was. 'Only a book,' he answered, 'from which I am trying to *crib*, as I do whenever I can, and that's the way I get the character of an original poet.' On taking it up, and looking at it, I exclaimed, 'Ah, my friend Agathon!' 'What!' he cried archly 'you have been before hand with me there, have you?' Though in imputing to himself premeditated plagiarism, he was, of course, but jesting; it was, I am inclined to think, his practice, when engaged in the composition of any work, to excite thus his vein by the perusal of others on the same subject or plan, from which the slightest hint caught by his imagination, as he read, was sufficient to kindle there such a train of thought as, but for that spark, had never been awakened, and of which he himself soon forgot the source."

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* H. Rogers.—On the vanity and glory of literature, Vol. I.

But to turn from justifiable plagiarism to what is really culpable. The practice of stealing and appropriating the language and sentiments of standard authors is so common among modern writers, that almost all the recent productions of our men of genius are but new editions of old works with a change only of the title-page, and the table of contents. There are, no doubt, honorable exceptions to it—but we speak of the mass of writers of poems, tales, and novels, who only trench on the ground of their predecessors, and whose only genius consists in making a bad stuff of old and familiar dainties by mixing up with them their own unsavory ingredients. Their ephemeral productions hardly outlive the day of their birth. The reason is obvious. Men would always revert with pleasure to the original, which is linked in their minds with a thousand fond recollections, and devotional feelings, rather than waste their time on the mere caricature, which but serves to disgust the mind at the buffoonery which is so much displayed by modern wits. These writers have done very little service to mankind, by mutilating and disfiguring the great models of the past ages which should be rather approached with veneration than any desire at mimickry and caricature. Such rude attempts have been always justly punished with a passport to the regions of eternal oblivion. Of the modern novelists, who have any degree of fame, we may mention the name of one, as an illustration of our argument, whom criticism has already marked for its victim. Bulwer, the author of a heap of novels, has been a studious imitator of the manner of Sterne, yet he falls infinitely short of the beauty and pathos of the great original. We will quote a specimen from Bulwer of an imitation of Sterne.

But with an ass I can commune for ever.

"Come honesty," said I,—seeing it was impracticable to pass betwext him and the gate, "art thou for coming in or going out ?"

"The ass twisted his head round to look up the street.

"Well," replied I, "we will wait a minute or two for thy driver."

He turned his head thoughtfully about, and looked wistfully the opposite way. "I understand thee perfectly," answered I, "if thou takest a wrong step in this affair, he will cudgel thee to death.—Well, a minute is but a minute, and if it saves a fellow-creature a drubbing, it shall not be set down as ill-spent."

He was eating the stem of an artichoke as this discourse went on, and in the little peevish contentions of nature betwixt hunger and unsavouriness, had dropt it out of his mouth half-a-dozen times, and pick'd it up again. —"God help the Jack," said I, "thou hast a bitter break-fast on't—and many a bitter day's labor,—and many a bitter blow, I fear, for it's wages—'tis all—all bitterness to thee whatever life is.—And now thy mouth, if one knew the truth of it, is as bitter I dare say as soot—(for he had cast aside the stem) —and thou hast not a friend, perhaps, in all this world, that will give thee a macaroon."—In saying this, I pull'd out a paper of 'em which I had just purchased, and gave him one—and at this moment that I am telling it, my heart smites me, that there was more of pleasantry in the conceit, of seeing *how* an ass would eat a macaroon, than of benevolence in giving him one presided in the act.

When the ass had eaten his macaroon I press'd him to come in:—the poor beast was heavy loaded,—his legs seemed to tremble under him,—he hung rather backwards: and as I pull'd at his halter, it broke short in my hand.—He look'd up pensive in my face—"Don't thrash me with it; —but, if you will, you may"—"If I do"—said I, "I 'll be d—d." STERNE.

The parson had walked towards a chestnut tree that stood on the village green—he broke off a bough—returned to the donkey—whisked away the flies, and then tenderly placed the broad leaves over the sore, as protection from the swarms. The donkey turned round its head, and looked at him with mild wonder.

"I would bet a shilling," said the parson, softly, "that this is the first act of kindness thou hast met with this many a day, and slight enough it is: Heaven knows."

With that the Parson put his hand into his pocket and drew out an apple. It was a fine large rose-cheeked apple; one of the last winter's store, from the celebrated tree in the Parsonage garden, and he was taking it as a present to a little boy in the village who had notably distinguished himself in the Sunday school. "Nay, in common justice, Lenny Fairfield should have the preference," muttered the Parson. The ass prick'd up one of its ears, and advanced its head timidly. "But Lenny Fairfield would be as much pleased with two pence; and what could two pence do to thee. The ass's nose now touched the apple. "Take it in the name of Charity," quoth the Parson; "Justice is accustomed to be served last:" And the ass took the apple. "How had you the heart?" said the Parson pointing to the Squire's cane.

The ass stopped munching, and looked askant at the Squire.

"Pooh! eat on, he'll not beat thee now!"

"No," said the squire apologetically. "But, after all, he is not an Ass of the Parish; he is a vagrant, and he ought to be pounded. But the pound is in as bad a state as the stocks, thanks to your new-fashioned doctrines." BULWER.

It would be idle to cite the plagiarisms of which Bulwer and the modern novelists have been found guilty; as any student of English literature, that will take the pains to examine and compare the writings of the modern novelists, story-tellers, &c. with those of standard authors, will be at no difficulty to perceive the resemblances, imitations, or mutilations of which we have been here speaking.

Plagiarism has become so common a vice with modern prose writers, that even most of our reviews, critiques, essays, dissertations on English and Foreign literature, &c. are a re-cookery of old dishes, on which we had supped long ago to our heart's content. The *Calcutta Review*, if we mistake not, was proved a recipient of stolen articles. The papers on Rajah Rammohon Roy and the Hindu Drama were shown to have been taken almost *verbatim* from some English journals. Why, the columns of a contemporary literary journal are generally furnished with hackney'd criticisms that we read almost fifty times over. Running over a finely written article in that paper, on the relative geniuses of Milton and Shakspeare, in which the writer proves the vast superiority of the latter, in reference to pictures drawn by them both, of Hell and its horrors, we were not a little surprised to find after its perusal, that the entire piece of criticism was borrowed from an Essay prefixed to the tragedy of Hamlet, in Knight's edition of Shakspeare. We will endeavor to collect for our readers, some amusing specimens of plagiarism in Anglo-Indian literature. And in bringing the subject here to a close we beg to make an apology to our young friends, for not being able to give them in this number the promised observations on the tendency of a habit in young men of stealing other men's thoughts and language, and passing them for their own in their compositions. We will resume the subject in a subsequent number.

THE SONG OF SIMEON.

ST. LUKE, 2 CHAP. V. 28—32.

Lord God of Hosts! before whose Throne
Celestial fires in concert glow;
Whose might doth lower Creation own,
All Heaven, and even Hell below;
My weary eyes have seen this morn
The promised sight—Salvation born!
Salvation to a world forlorn!
I see the Infant Cherub smile,
And press his tiny hands the while

Against his Mother's heart in joy—
That Mother bless'd with such a boy!
Now in my arms I him sustain,
And aged though, I feel again
The life-blood coursing in my veins,
While vigor strange this frame sustains;
I've liv'd to see this glorious day,
Accomplish'd is on earth my stay,
I've borne the Treasure in my arms,
I feel, my God! my spirit warms,
Thy promised favor I have seen,
Now close my eyes in joy serene.

CLASSIAL EDUCATION.

In these days much is said and written in disparagement of the education which prevailed amongst 'our fathers, in so far as the study of the languages of Greece and Rome formed a main part of that education. Now we are far from saying that the worthies of other days had attained perfection, either in respect of the mode of teaching, or in respect of an equitable division of time and attention between the subjects that they thought it right to teach; but we do think that many of the objections brought againt the study of these classical tongues are untenable. Without specially referring to the objections themselves, we shall in this short paper merely throw out the heads of a few arguments in favor of a Classical Education, which our readers may consider and expand for themselves. But first of all we should say that we do not wish to advocate the exclusive use of the classics, or an exclusive devotion to the languages in which they are written. On the contrary we would have a large share of attention given to our own vernacular language, and to that noble literature of which it is the repository. We would admit at once that a man were badly educated if he could repeat all Homer, and knew little or nothing of Milton, or if he could expatiate with delight on a choral ode in Euripides, and turned coldly from a scene in Skakspeare; or if he had his mind filled with the minutest facts of Grecian and Roman history, and were ignorant of those of the history of modern Europe. Then again we would advocate the introduction of a full course of Arithmetic, and an elementary course of Mathematics, into every system of education claiming to be regarded as liberal. All this we do not say in the way of *admission*. On the contrary we should be as ready as the most violent of all anti-classicists to *insist* upon it if it were denied.

But with all this, we think that there is no better staple for a liberal education than the classical languages and the classical literature. The study of language in itself is one of the best of all exercises for the youthful mind. Sufficiently difficult to afford it healthful exercise, and not so difficult as injuriously to fatigue it, it has in the former respect the advantage over some of the "useful knowledge" substitutes which have been proposed, and in the latter it has a decided superiority over Mathematics, of which most of the branches, especially Geometry, are too difficult to form the main employment of a boy throughout the day. And then of all languages we know none, and we believe that there is none, which unites these qualities so well as the classical languages in question. The modern European languages are too easy, the Oriental languages are too difficult. The former have no grammar worthy of the name, the latter—those at least of the Sanscrit family—have a grammar which no boy can comprehend. But the Greek and Latin languages are nearly as regular in their structure as the Sanscrit, and nearly as simple as the French.

We know no way in which so great an amount of information can be conveyed as by a judicious and accomplished teacher instructing a class of boys in the Classics, Geography, Chronology and History, men's modes of thinking and acting in different situations and circumstances, Logic, Rhetoric and Morals, all enter into our ideas of a classical lesson;—and all these taught, not, in the form of formal unattractive lectures, but gently infused into the mind almost unconsciously, and wrought up, as it were, into its very structure, so as to form ever after an integral portion of its substance. It is evident that in order to the realization of this ideal, no ordinary man is required for the teacher. True, but give us a teacher such as we would have, and we know no subject on which he could be employed so fit for calling forth all his powers, and all his stores of knowledge. And then, taking teachers as we generally find them, we believe that, in general, the same man will find himself able to educate his pupils more effectually on this than on any other plan.

We say nothing here of professional education, or of the necessity of an acquaintance with the classical language to all those whose business is to be the church or the law. But as the necessity of such an acquantance to these is self-evident, and as boys do not generally choose their professions until they have attained the age of 14 or 15 years; (nor is it desirable that they should generally choose at an earlier period) we ought to pause before we adopt the system of our opponents, which would virtually shut out these professions from the choice of our youth. Surely it were better to retain that system which, while it is good for all, places those in a special vantage ground who are destined to follow either of these important avocations. But what we have now to do with is a liberal non-professional education; and we repeat that we know of no system of education more fitted to cultivate and expand the mind in all its faculties, to improve the taste, to quicken the apprehension, to solidify and strengthen the judgment, to lay up a store of masculine sense and manly feeling, than that of which the classics form the principal ingredient.

RAISING THE WIND

From the Note Book of "An Observer."

CHAPTER I.

Mr. Timothy Briggs, reader, was a man of no ordinary mind, which though not filled with the wisdom of a Philosopher, was not devoid of sense to promote his own interest. He had literally nothing in the world, and yet seemed not to care about it, as his inventive genius was ever on the alert to direct him in the adoption of expedients, which might relieve him of his difficulties. If Mr. Briggs wanted a suit of fashionable clothes, he had only to look about him, and his mind suggested what steps he should take to procure it. If he wanted a good dinner, he had nothing more to do than tax his genius, and he was sure to sit to a sumptuous meal; and if he had need of money, there was no man in the world more able "to raise the Wind," than Timothy. In his person Mr. Briggs was not positively ugly, though, it must be acknowledged, Dame Nature had not been very bountiful to him in the distribution of her favors. He was of the ordinary stature, and his looks announced that he was not one who entertained a poor opinion of himself.

Mr. Briggs lived alone in a small house, in the heart of the town, and he was pleased to call it "The Bachelors' Hall." He saw very little company, and made it a point to keep his gate closed, during six days of the week: on Sundays he left it open, when any body might go in and come out as he chose. The neighbours observed this, but said nothing as they thought that it was not their business to pry into the affairs of others.

Mr. Briggs one day grew suddenly very pensive, and as he paced about his hall, he could not help uttering what was uppermost in his mind: "Death and furies," said he, "here I am in a sad fix—the tailor,—I wish I had him under my clutches,—the vagabond,—he writes to me a most impertinent note—the presumptuous fool; and that shoe-maker! O how I wish he were within the reach of my arms, the wretch." Then Mr. Briggs walked about, violently moving his hands, as if in the act of knocking down the parties who had offended him. While in this state of mental ebullition, he heard a sound at the gate. He stood silent for some time, and "tap," "tap," "tap," greeted his ears. "Who is there?" exclaimed Mr. Briggs, rather nettled at the interruption to his train of ideas, "who is there?" His question was not however heeded, and still went on "tap," "tap," "tap." Mr. Briggs was, as may have been expected, completely put out, and he called out to the utmost stretch of his voice, "who is there? say, or I will smash your head with a cudgel,—who is there?" "It is I," replied an individual, whose voice was familiar to the occupant of the "Bachelors' Hall," "O is it you, Hopkins, why didn't you say so?" and forthwith the gate was ordered to be unbolted. No sooner had Mr. Hopkins entered, than the gate was closed again; and both the friends greeted one another with much familiarity. "Sit down, Hopkins," said Mr. Briggs, as he walked into the hall. Mr. Hopkins took a seat near his friend, and both entered into conversation.

"What has been the matter with you, Briggs?" asked Hopkins, with a smile, "you seemed to have lost your temper some how or other this evening."

"Death and furies," exclaimed Mr. Briggs, "the vagabonds—just see Hopkins, here I am invited to an evening party, and have been anxiously waiting for my coat and waistcoat, and a pair of opera-boots, which I had ordered long ago, and the blockheads after having promised to send them to me, now write to say that their "Terms are Cash"—is not this enough to make one run mad? it would exhaust the patience of a Job, I assure you, worthless scums of the earth that they are, to write to a gentleman thus."

"What have you done in consequence?" inquired Mr. Hopkins.

"Why," returned the other, "I have just written to them in an independent tone: I have told them that I would long remember their insolence, and that they were no longer to receive my patronage."

"Your patronage!" ha, ha, ha, laughed out Mr. Hopkins,—"your patronage, Briggs! and did you actually threaten them with a withdrawal of your patronage?"

"Hang me if I did'nt," said Mr. Briggs with the utmost composure.

"And perhaps this is the first time you have held out such a threat to any tradesman," observed Mr. Hopkins.

"O no, I have often written in that style—that is my way, that is my way—these men deserve to be treated thus."

"But really, Briggs, were I a tailor or shoe-maker, I would be glad indeed to forfeit such patronage! ha, ha, ha."

"Hush!" exclaimed Mr. Briggs, "an end to your banterings, Hopkins, these trades-people must be taught better manners you know."

"But how did you expect, that these men, whom you have often disappointed in regard to payment, would have met your orders so readily as you wished?"

"There it is, there it is, you are labouring under a mistake" observed Mr. Briggs. "I never had dealings with these people before: these are new men—both the tailor and shoe-maker have just set up, and I thought I might as well favor them with my orders. I have given the old ones a dead cut:—Wallis was the first, who incurred my displeasure, then came Rankin, Gibson and Harman in a train, whom one and all I have struck off from my list. I have done the shoe-makers too in the same way."

"Really, Briggs, you are a perfect original in your own way. You make a virtue of necessity. Have you cut these people, or have they cut you, eh?"

"Pho, pho, pho," exclaimed Mr. Briggs, "that will do, that will do, you seem not to comprehend these things."

"But really, I cannot imagine how you manage to obtain credit."

"There it is. You have yet to learn my Philosophy, you see how I have resented the impertinence of the tailor and shoe-maker. Besides telling them that I was no longer to extend to them my support, I have written to them very decidedly, that they might keep the things which I had ordered for themselves.

"You are a perfect adept in these matters I see," remarked Mr. Hopkins.

"To be sure, I know how to manage these people. The coat and waistcoat have been made, you may be certain; and if the tailor does not choose to send them to me, why, they will remain upon his hands as dead stock. The shoe-maker too will find it no easy matter to get rid of the boots; and I have not the least doubt they are both by this time repenting for their presumption."

"I hope you will relent, Briggs, if they manifest a penitential spirit, won't you?"

"O yes, but their penitence, you know, must be accompanied by a substantial proof; that is, they must send me the things for which they had received my orders; otherwise I have done with them for good."

"Briggs, you are a queer fellow, and no mistake."

"Say what you will, my good friend. I know what I am about. The fact is, one requires to put on a bold face in dealing with people, and he is sure to go through every thing very smoothly. I have scarcely any thing in the world, you see, and yet I manage to maintain my respectability. If I want to hire a conveyance, I can procure one more easily than he, who pays his bills with the greatest punctuality; and there is scarcely a provisioner in the city, who has not met my calls. This is the way, Hopkins, this is the way I proceed; and as for money, I can raise that too —an old uncle of mine, bless his soul—a better hearted man never breathed the vital air—I write to him every six months a pathetical letter, and a remittance is sure to come,—is not this doing business in a grand style? ha, ha, ha."

Mr. Hopkins bowed acquiescence to this sage remark; and they both continued talking in the same strain, when they were interrupted by the sound of another "tap," tap," tap" at the gate. "Who is there?" vociferated Mr. Briggs. "Your clothes are brought, sir," said the menial. "Open the door, and call the man in instantly," cried the master, starting from his chair, and casting a meaning look at Hopkins, "Did I not tell you," said he "that I would bring them to their bearings, here they are now," and forthwith Mr. Briggs put on his coat and waistcoat, with which he became mightily pleased. The boots followed soon after; and then Mr. Hopkins left the great patron of trade immersed in the business of the toilette.

CHAPTER II.

There was a grand flare-up in the house of Mr.——— in Sudder Street. The house was brilliantly lit up, and carriages of all descriptions began to arrive immediately after the appointed hour. The hall, which was splendidly fitted up, was soon filled with ladies and gentlemen, who shewed that they were no little adepts in the Terpsichorean Art. There was a gentleman in the assembly, upon whom the eyes of many were fixed. He was dressed in the height of fashion, and had an eye glass, with which he looked now and then at people who were at some distance from him. He was foremost in every dance, and took particular care to engage ladies, who were considered the handsomest in the hall. And after each dance was over, he walked up and down with his partner, with a dignified air. "Who is that?" asked a gentleman of Mr. Quiz, "that is now pacing the hall, handing a lady with a blue sash." "Don't you know him, Small?" said the other: "he is Mr. Briggs." "O is that

Mr. Briggs! I had a great desire to see him: he is a strange character I hear. Is n't he?"

"O he is an odd fellow; he is ever patronizing the trades-people of Calcutta, and prides himself upon his dexterity in raising the wind."

"And does he succeed in his attempts?" inquired Mr. Small.

"To be sure," returned Mr. Quiz, "else how does he make so decent an appearance in Society? I have an idea in my mind, and I must tell you what it is: I want to play a practical joke on him, but mind you tell this to no body, you must keep it an inviolable secret."

"By all means," said Mr. Small: "but what is it?" he asked.

"It is simply this, I will send him a cheque of a defunct Bank, and make him go all over Calcutta to cash it."

"But will he not instantly discover the trick?" asked Mr. Small.

"That he will not, I venture to say," observed Quiz. "He knows very little of Banking establishments in Calcutta, having been in the mofussil a great part of his life."

"How will you work at it?" interrogated Mr. Small.

"Why in this way: I intend sending the cheque, as if coming from a house of agency, by the direction of his old uncle."

"Capital!" exclaimed Mr. Small, "you seem to have an inventive genius. This will just do. I wonder how Briggs will like the joke." These words were no sooner uttered than Mr. Briggs appeared in person, and taking Mr. Quiz by the hand gave him a hearty good shake. "How are you Quiz, said he, I am happy to see you." "I am glad" said the other, "to find that you are making yourself so happy, you are a perfect ladies' man, Briggs." "Nothing like it, nothing like it," returned the man of fashion, and then turned away in haste to engage a partner for the next dance.

CHAPTER III.

Mr. Briggs was one day seated in the hall of his dwelling place, after his morning repast, and was absorbed in deep thought. The gentlemen of the trade gave him no peace. Their importunate demands were incessant, and Mr. Briggs was now devising some plan how to get over his difficulties. Suddenly he heard a rap at the gate, and he started up instinctively; another and another soon followed, and the raps fell very rapidly, and louder and louder each moment. Mr. Briggs then bid his servant quietly inquire who it was, and what did he want. The servant soon returned, and said that a peon had brought a letter. "Throw it over the gate," called out Mr. Briggs. The letter was instantly thrown, and Mr. Briggs took it, and tearing the seal, read as follows:—

SIR,

We are directed by Mr. Briggs of Ghazeepoor, to remit to you the sum of 1,000 Rs., and have much pleasure in enclosing a cheque for that amount on the Indian Bank. Begging you will have the goodness to acknowledge the receipt of the same,

We are, &c.
MACFOOSLE & Co.

Mr. Briggs took the cheque in his hand in an ecstacy of joy. He scarcely knew what to do:—at first he ran towards the gate, then he walked into the hall, and then all over the rooms in perfect abstraction. He read the letter, and looked at the cheque a full dozen times; but soon re-collecting himself, he called for the peon's book, and signing his name in legible characters sent the man away. Mr. Briggs then dressed himself as quickly as possible, and ordering a conveyance to be brought, made his way to the house of Mr. Quiz, in order to tell him of his good fortune.

"Briggs, I am happy to see you, what brings you here, at this time of the day ?" said Mr. Quiz.

"Nothing, nothing particular, merely come to see you Quiz. How are you ?"

"Take a seat, Briggs, Take a seat," and Mr. Briggs drew a chair, and sat near his friend. They then talked for a while on the passing events of the day ; but Mr. Briggs was very restless; he smiled very frequently, and appeared as if he wanted to say something. "What is the matter, Briggs?" inquired Mr. Quiz, "I see something is tickling your fancy." Upon this Mr. Briggs smiled again, and looked very happy. "I believe something has taken place, which is likely to promote your interest. You have probably obtained an employment, Briggs, have you not?"

"Pho pho," exclaimed Mr. Briggs with an air of contempt "an employment! something better than that, Quiz."

"What is it now? what is it? tell me, Briggs I pray" Upon this Mr. Briggs thrust his hand into his pocket, and taking the cheque out presented it to Mr. Quiz. "Do you see that?" said he, "do you see? —is not this raising the wind in earnest?" Mr. Quiz assumed an air of astonishment; he gazed at the cheque for some time, as if unwilling to believe his eyes, he then looked at Mr. Briggs, and expressed his astonishment in these words ; "You are a lucky dog, Briggs, and no mistake." "Am I not?" "Am I not?" said the other. "But what will you do with all this money?" inquired Mr. Quiz, "I hope you will not spend it in your usual way?"—"Leave me alone," returned the other "I will make the dust of Calcutta fly before me for full one month at least." Saying this Mr. Briggs took his leave, and made his exit.

Mr. Briggs went now in search of the Indian Bank; but no body could point out its locality. He asked several natives to direct him to the place; but they laughed at him : and one of them had the impudence to tell him that the business of the bank was then carried on somewhere on the Coast of Martaban. Briggs did not understand his drift, but passed on to continue his search ; but it was to no purpose: he had been nearly two hours on the hunt, but could get no trace of it. "What is to be done now?" said he to himself, and he was about giving up the pursuit in despair, when a thought struck him, which he considered a very good one. Messrs. Cruickshanks and Co. were the parties to whom he was indebted for certain articles purchased from them, and who had lately given him a great deal of annoyance. Now Briggs thought that the best thing he could do, was to make over the cheque to them, and let them cash it in the best way they could. He would, in the mean time, receive the balance, which would be very considerable, after paying what was due to them. No sooner had the thought occurred to him than he went off, to the establishment of Messrs. Cruickshanks and Co. and presented himself with the cheque in his hand.

"You are just the person I wanted to see," said Mr. Cruickshanks

"I am come to you," said Mr. Briggs, "upon some business," "I am happy to see you, I hope it is to adjust the little account between us." "It is on that account I am come," said Mr. Briggs smiling.

"Nothing like it," said Mr. Cruickshanks, "you have kept us waiting for months, and we were obliged to issue a writ against you; but we shall immediately stop all proceedings"—before Mr. Cruickshanks, however, had finished what he had to say, a person was ushered into the room, who said he had come prepared to serve the writ on Mr. Briggs; but he only wanted a man to point out the gentleman to him. "Never mind, never mind," said Mr. Cruickshanks—wait a while, and I shall speak to you on the subject." Mr. Briggs seemed to be highly incensed at this intimation; but he repressed his anger.

"What is it you have to propose Mr. Briggs?" inquired Mr. Cruickshanks, "Why, Sir, here is a cheque on the Indian Bank, it is as good as cash payment, take what is your due, and give me back the remainder; and let me tell you, Sir, be careful how you insult a gentleman."

Mr. Cruickshanks gave no heed to what was said, but examined the cheque very attentively. He changed color, and knitting his brow, spoke in an angry tone. "What, Sir!" said he, "are you going to make fools of us? Do you think we shall accept the cheque upon a defunct Bank?"

"Defunct Bank!" exclaimed Mr. Briggs greatly confused, "Defunct Bank! what do you mean?"

"You seem not to know it eh?" remarked Mr. Cruickshanks with a sneer.

"Not I, not I," returned Mr. Briggs, "I know nothing about that, Defunct Bank! and Do you mean to say, Sir, that there is no one here who will meet this cheque,"

"No, by no means: and pray how came you to get it?"

"It was sent to me by Messrs. Macfoosle and Co.," returned Mr. Briggs.

"And who are they pray?" asked Mr. Cruickshanks.

"They are commercial agents, I believe, and carrying on business in Calcutta."

"Not a bit of it, not a bit of it, you wish to impose upon us I perceive, or you have been imposed upon yourself. At any rate, this is a bad piece of business I must tell you Mr. Briggs; but be that as it may, have you any money to meet our demands?"

"Not a copper," returned Mr. Briggs with perfect indifference.

"Now, sir, said Mr, Cruickshanks; you have saved the Bailiff a world of trouble, here is your man, Mr. Paxton," addressing the bailiff. "That is Mr. Briggs."

"Bu-bu-bu but, sir, exclaimed Mr. Briggs, in a towering rage, this is ungentlemanly, this is disgraceful I,—I,—I."

"Come, Come, Mr. Briggs, that is enough,—you had a mind to *do* us, and you cannot blame us for paying you off in the same coin. Mr. Paxton, do your duty;" and the bailiff came forward and gave the great benefactor of trade and commerce a gentle tap on the shoulder. He then took him into his conveyance, and drove him to a big house in the southern extremity of the town. Here Mr. Briggs remained for months, bewailing his sad plight. He at length, by some means or other, was able to regain his liberty; but Briggs was now a changed man. He no more spoke of tailors, auctioneers or provisioners; and never more did he make another atempt at "RAISING THE WIND."

SELECTIONS.

HINTS FOR THE SCHOOLROOM.

MUSIC, AN IMPORTANT MEANS OF EDUCATION.

(Concluded.)

We have here, then, ample testimony to prove that music was considered by the ancients to possess a mysterious power. The experience of our forefathers confirms this. Histroy records of our first Edward, that he cruelly massacred all the Welsh bards, because their national songs had such mighty influence on the national spirit as to render them invincible. And little do we reflect what an effect popular airs have upon the Minds of the multitude. The influence which Dibdin's songs had in our navy, in nerving the spirits and elevating the character of our sailors, would seem as incredible as the tales of the ancients, were it not recent and well attested. And is martial music less effectual in the army in exhilarating the soldier and his steed? Why is it used there at all, but that it answers an important purpose? To close with instances; who has not read with delight of the soothing influence of the minstrel's lay on the habits of our rude and simple-minded forefathers,—how it refreshed the heart of the aged veteran, solaced the cares of the way-worn and disappointed, and recalled in advanced years the associations of childhood;

> "For he would sing achievements high,
> And circumstance of chivalry,
> Till the traveller would stay,
> Forgetful of the closing day."

Archdeacon Churton relates, that "Kings in Saxon times thought it a part of their state to entertain harpers at their courts, and that before the introduction of Christianity and letters, those who sung to the harp, called scalds or minstrels, were the only historians of the past, singing songs of the warlike deeds of their forefathers." He further remarks that, "Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmsbury, in the eighth century, finding that the half-barbarous country people, who came to hear divine service, were in a great hurry to return home, without paying much attention to the sermon, used to go and take his seat, with harp in hand, on the bridge over the Avon. Here a crowd soon gathered round him; and after he had indulged the common taste of singing some trifling song, by degrees drew them on to more serious matter, and succeeded at last in making them sing David's psalms to David's strings."

Such being the nature and power of music, it is easy to see how effective it may be made as a means of education. We find this remarkable testimony to its efficacy when thus employed in the minutes of Council on Education, published some four years ago: "Scarcely any school visited in my district, in which music is taught successfully, fails to rise to considerable eminence in other respects. The schools at Longparish and Forton, where great attention is paid to this art, and where it proves a powerful means of *attaching the scholars to the church*, are excellent specimens of a *strong moral influence* being exercised thereby. Our forefathers reckoned music among the seven liberal sciences, and I hope that we are making a considerable advance in the right direction in bringing back into our schools an art which, under proper direction, cultivates a certain delicacy of feeling and gentleness greatly needed by the children of the poor, making their tempers plastic, and contributing in various ways to harmony and order. Of course it must be under proper direction, 'For,' as Hooker observes, 'there is nothing more contagious and pestilent than some kinds of harmony, than some nothing more strong and potent unto good.'' Such is the opinion of a Government Inspector. To this we may add the testimony of a Roman Catholic journal to the same effect: "We are surely more than justified in urging upon the clergy, and upon all on whom devolves the instruction of the young the folly of any theory of education, which does not recognise the existence of the musical faculty in the human mind, and which, while it is especially framed with a view to fit the child for the occupations of his future natural life, neglects to teach him that blissful work which will constitute one of his ineffable joys before the throne of God for ever." "The priest who has the direction of a poor school, the father of a family, the president of a college, may be assured that he is conferring no trifling boon upon the children who are under his charge, if he fosters in them a love for sweet sounds, and has them taught to play or sing during the season of their childhood." "Everywhere the morals of a class improve when a proficiency in the musical art is acquired. It is the same in every rank of life. Dissipation vanishes before the sound of do, re, mi, fa ; and people are content to sing when they would otherwise be in the public-house or at the gaming table." It would appear, then, that music is an innocent recreation, within the reach of every one, and attended with little expense ; also a promoter of virtue, harmony, cheerfulness, and courage ; and a preventive of vice and immorality. As such it is not only a means of education, but it is also a means of grace. It is the only art which is spoken of as practised in Heaven ; at the dawn of creation "the morning stars sung together, and the sons of God shouted for joy." Unlike other sciences its principles are interwoven with our nature, and, when once called into action and cultivated, it is never forgotten. That it is not a mere acquirement may be gathered from the fact that children, even in their earliest years, before they can speak distinctly, or can have acquired any knowledge, melodize the language of their amusements, and converse in song. And the songs of our early days leave a lasting impression on our memories—they continue to hunt us through life.

THE AGREEABLE SURPRISE.

There resided in Bordeaux, a young, rich, and handsome widow, who had for six months incessantly lamented the loss of a husband, tenderly beloved. A fatal storm had wrecked the vessel in which he had embarked, and every soul on board was supposed to have perished. The young widow, though surrounded by admirers, observed scrupulously the rules of decorum ; at length, however, the persuasions of her friends had effect, and she once more threw open her doors to receive company.

Madame St. Amère had one foible, she loved play to excess ; and this foible alone threatened to involve her in much trouble. On the evening of her first *fête*, a tall, graceful figure, masked, followed her, paying her innumerable silent attentions. To rid herself of his importunities, she sat down at the card-table, and was successful for about an hour.

The mask, who had fixed himself behind her chair, then solicited the honour of playing with her, which she granted, and renewed the game with fresh spirit, though not with equal good fortune. Madame was piqued at the superior skill of the impertinent mask, and staked to an immense amount. Still the stranger was triumphant, and pulling from his pocket a large purse of gold, tauntingly dared her to risk the like amount. Although absolute ruin might have been the consequence of her imprudence, madame would not recede, but anxiety and vexation disturbed her countenance. For some time the game was doubtful; at length the malignant deity decided against her, and the rash widow found her fortune destroyed by one night's folly. Her anguish could not be concealed—she arose abruptly from the card-table, when the mask, in an insinuating tone of voice, hinted to her that she need not put herself to any inconvenience to make up this debt of honour, as he could wait her leisure, or compromise it in some other way, with more pleasure to himself and less embarrassment to her.

She darted on him a look of rage and contempt. "Who are you, wretch!" she exclaimed, "how darest thus to insult me in my own house?"

"Softly madame," replied the mask, "I am no gambler nor needy adventurer—there are ladies who would not be ungrateful for such an accommodation."

Madame burst into tears. "Good heavens! must I endure this insolence? Quit my house, sir; and if you are a gentleman, make good your claim to-morrow."

"No, madame, I will not quit your house to-night; my claim is on your fortune, or yourself, and I will make it good, let who will dispute it." With these words he removed his mask, when madame uttered a shriek of joyful surprise, and fainted in his arms.

The company crowded round; they were chiefly relations, who immediately recognised the Chevalier St. Amère. The raptures of madame may be easily imagined, when, on recovering, her husband informed her that he had been saved from the wreck by a brave sailor, who had taken him into his own ship, which was bound to Peru—that he remained there till a convenient opportunity offered for his return—and having been fortunate enough to amass a considerale portion of wealth, had meditated this agreeable surprise, in hope of curing her of a destructive habit, the consequences of which he had long dreaded.

Madame embraced him with transport, and assured him she would never again yield to temptations, or continue a practice of which she now saw the madness in glaring colours.

Having received the congratulations of their friends, the amusements of the evening, which had been so strangely interrupted, were again renewed; and the adventure was for many months the talk throughout Bordeaux.

VARIETIES.

The Miser's Legacy.—The *Kentish Gazette* gives the following interesting particulars:—"Last week, Mr. John Camden Neild, of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-law, died in Chelsea, aged seventy-two years. He was possessed of an immense fortune, but was of very eccentric and penurious habits. At the death of his father, thirty years since, he came into possession of about £250,000, which sum had not been touched up to the period of his death. The deceased was never known to wear a greatcoat. He usually dressed in a blue coat, with metal buttons, which he prohibited being brushed, as it would take off the nap and deteriorate its value. He held considerable landed property in Kent and in Bucks, and was always happy to receive an invitation from his tenantry to visit them; which he occasionally did, often remaining a month at a time, as he was thus enabled to add to his savings. His appearance and manners led strangers to imagine that he was on the lowest verge of penury, and their compassion was excited on his behalf, of which many instances might be related. A few days before his death the deceased told one of his executors that he had made a most singular will, but as the property was his own he had done as he pleased with it. After bequeathing a few very trifling legacies, the deceased has left the whole of his immense fortune "to her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria; begging her Majesty's most gracious acceptance of the same, for her sole use and benefit, and of her heirs," &c. The property is estimated at upwards of £500,000. For some years past Mr. Neild has scarcely allowed himself the common necessaries and comforts of life; and he has left a poor old housekeeper, who was with him for more than twenty-six years, without the smallest provision or acknowledgement for her protracted and far from agreeable or remunerative services. Her Majesty intends to appropriate this vast property to the foundation of an asylum for the aged. This will indeed be a noble appropriation of the wealth which the old miser had accumulated; and who will thus, after his death, be made to do more good in a week than he did throughout his long life. It is, moreover, noble conduct on the part of the Queen, and in every way becoming her exalted station.

A CLERICAL ERROR.—A Somersetshire couple, brother and sister, went lately to church, as bridegroom and bridesmaid; and the parish clerk, supposing it to be the "happy pair," unattended, ushered them up to the parson, who got "under weigh" immediately, first whispering to his colleague that "he must give the bride away." The young people, innocent of all previous knowledge of the marriage ceremoney, concluded that his reverence was economically filling up the time until the bride and her friends arrived; but when the ring was demanded, a light broke in upon the bridegroom—an explanation ensued—the parson went off in a fume—the clerk was inclined to smile—and the brother and sister, as soon as it was prudent, laughed outright.

An Irish lady wrote to her lover, begging him to send her some money. She added by way of postscript, "I am so ashamed of the request I have made in this letter, that I sent after the postman to get it back, but the servant could not overtake him."

"I really can't sing, believe me, sir," was the reply of a young lady to the repeated requests of an empty fop. "I'm rather inclined to think, madam," rejoined he, with a smirk, "that you are fishing for compliments."—"No, sir," said the lady, "I never fish in so shallow a stream."

SETTLING A BILL.—Four sharpers having treated themselves to a sumptuous dinner at the Hotel Montruil, were at a loss how to settle for it, and hit on the following plan:—They called the waiter, and asked for the bill. One thrust his hand into his pocket, as if to draw out his purse; the second prevented him, declaring he would pay; the third did the same. The fourth forbade the waiter taking any money from either of them, but all three persisted. As none would yield, one said, "The best way to decide is to blindfold the waiter, and whoever he first catches shall settle the bill." This proposition was accepted, and while the waiter was groping his way around the room, they slipped out of the house, one after another.

TROY WEIGHT.—William the Conquerer introduced into England what was called Troy weight, from Troyes, a town in the province of Champagne, in France, now in the department of Aube, where a celebrated fair was held. The English were dissatisfied with this weight, because the pound did not weigh so much as the one in use at that time in England. Hence arose the term *avoir du poise,* which was a medium between the French and the English weights.

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THE GHOST OF A GOINDA.

Sad spirits, summoned from the tomb,
Glide glaring ghostly through the gloom,
In all the usual pomp of storms,
In horrid customary forms.——CHURCHILL.

IN a village called Kookree, at some distance from Pubna, there lived an individual whose name was Gopal. He was of a low cast, and had by means of his profession, which was that of a Goinda, acquired some money, which he laid out to advantage. Long before the time he had settled in Kookree, Gopal's connection with the Mofussil Court in the capacity of a Goinda was dissolved; and he had scarcely any thing to do, but lounge all day, and talk scandal morning, noon and night. Never was a man more unpopular in the whole village. There was no peace when he was in it, for he was in the habit of raising feuds amongst the people; and whenever a quarrel arose between two parties, he was sure to side one of them in order to prolong it, or bring it to a serious issue. The name of Gopal thus became proverbial amongst the villagers, for a contentious, ill-natured man. Gopal occasionally left his home for a little pleasure excursion, and remained away for several days on a run. On such occasions the neighbours felt a relief; they seemed to breathe more freely, and could not help wishing he had staid away altogether. But their wishes were never gratified, for Gopal was sure to return after a certain time, and his appearance cast a gloom on all around.

It happened, however, that Gopal suddenly fell very ill, and became speechless. His wife took every care of him, but it was of no avail; he breathed his last within a few hours. The news of his death spread like wild fire all over the village; and the old and young all began to congratulate themselves upon this long wished for event. "O we shall be at rest now," they said amongst themselves, "no more quarrels, no more ill-feeling, no more fights amongst us. O we shall now be very happy." The wife of Gopal did not imitate the example of her neighbours: she did not shew her inward joy by any external signs; but as it became one so closely allied to the deceased, she let a few tears drop over the corpse when it was being taken away to the river side, for the purpose of being reduced to ashes. Gopal not having had many friends, a few men were hired to convey the body to the destined spot; but several resorted to the river side merely out of curiosity. The body was placed on a churpae, and lay on the edge of the stream, while some of the company were engaged in erecting the funeral pile. The sky which had for some time assumed a gloomy aspect was covered with thick heavy clouds, which suddenly burst forth in a copious shower. The men who had gone to the ghat hastily retired: some ran to the little thatched buildings which stood on the bank, and others betook themselves to the foot of the lofty trees, whose thick foliage afforded them a temporary shelter. But these from their several positions had a full view of the ghat, and of course did not lose sight of the corpse, which after the rain had ceased exhibited some signs of animation. The head seemed to move at first, and then the hands and feet shook. At length the body raised itself from its horizontal posture, and took a perpendicular position. The men observed all this and were seized with fear,—they could not speak for a time. At length one of them broke silence and called out "*bhooth,*" "*bhooth;*" and "*bhooth*" was repeated by a hundred voices. They all left the place, and scampered off as fast as their legs could take them, spreading the dreadful news wherever they went. The villagers were all in the utmost consternation, and before the night had fairly set in, closed their doors, fastening them carefully, to prevent the intrusion of the evil spirit. Little children ceased to squall, and old men and women spoke in whispers, lest the ghost who might be standing by their tatties, should overhear what they said. This was a dreadful night in the village of Kookree.

The fact, however, was, that Gopal was not actually tired of his existence, and therefore did not think proper to die. He had been only in a stupor, which was caused by the medicines that had been administered to him. The shower of rain had the effect of infusing into him life and spirit. This was not known to the party who were present at the ghât, and they therefore could not account for, the resuscitation of the body, that had been apparently lifeless. They naturally concluded that Gopal had become an evil spirit, and did not fail to give free scope to their imaginations, in relating what had occured on the river side. Their accounts, as we have observed, made every heart quake within the village.

In the mean time Gopal made his way home, as well as he could, but when he arrived there, he saw to his surprise that it was deserted: his wife and children had left every thing behind them, and gone to a neighbour's house for the night. "What has been the matter? where is my wife?" said Gopal aloud to himself, "why do people fly from me? they appear as if the very devil was after them." As, however, there was no one present to reply to his interrogatives, he remained quiet after some more enquiries to the same effect.

We shall now take the reader to another part of the village of Kookree. There stood a large thatched building, in which it was usual for some choice spirits, living in the immediate neighbourhood, to assemble of an evening and wile away a few hours in friendly chat, after their return from their daily work. On this evening their conversation took a very serious turn. They did not talk aloud, and no laugh was heard within the building.

"Rajoo!" ejaculated one of them, in a low voice, "have you heard that Gopal is become a ghost?"

"Yes, Sham, I have just heard it"—replied the other—"he was seen to rise from his charpae, and then walk on the river."

"I have heard another story" said the other—"I was told that immediately as he arose, he became immensely big, as high as a mountain; and then he stretched his legs, placing one foot on this side, and the other on the other side of the river."

"And then what did he do?" inquired Rajoo.

"Why, it is said that he afterwards brought his other leg to this side, and dwindling down to his usual size was making his way to the village, when all who had gone to the ghat ran away, and secured themselves in their respective houses."

"Strange!" exclaimed Rajoo.

"Why strange," observed Sham. "You know a ghost has the power of assuming any shape he likes."

"No, no.—I mean how strange it is that Gopal should become a ghost."

"Strange, do you say, I expected that. Such is the end of a wicked man. The debtas have punished him in this way."

"But in punishing him the debtas have punished us, for who would like to be within the reach of such a being," said Rajoo.

"O no" said Sham "he dare not hurt us, I know something by which I can secure him. But say what you will, his punishment is well deserved."

"Hai! hai! what a punishment!" exclaimed another man.

"And so you regret it—do you Kookil? For my part I wish this had happened long ago; then we should have been saved a great deal of annoyance and trouble."

"I knew that, I knew that," exclaimed Kookil. "I only remarked that it was a very severe punishment. O happy we are now that he is no more."

"But he will still trouble us, his spirit will hover over the village."

"Oh no, no fear of that," remarked one of the company. "I care not for him, nor for a hundred such devils."

"Indeed!" exclaimed Kookil,

"Certainly," said the other,

"I am sure, Narain, if you now saw Gopal, you would be the first to run away."

"I, run away!" said the other "never, I would face him, and make him run from me."

"Hai, hai, what courage!"

"Courage! why I would take a broom, and lay ten strokes upon his head, that I would."

"If he now appeared before us, I am sure you would soon disappear. I will just tell you what happened to Nobin, a short time back. He was told by a friend that an evil spirit had taken his lodging upon a tamarind tree, which stood on the road side. He passed that road occasionally, and not having seen any thing he laughed at the idea. "Get along," said he, "I do not believe your idle stories." "Hear me," said the other, "it is true, the devil is in the habit of dangling from a lofty bough of the tree, and tries to come in the way of those who pass that road." "I could not, I would never believe it" was the reply of Nobin. A short time after, Nobin had to call at night upon a party, who lived at a place not far from the spot, on which stood the tamarind tree. He walked on unconcernedly, but when he came near the tree, he beheld a tremendous giant, who had a leg planted on each side of the road, while his head reached the highest point of the tree. Nobin's courage failed him, and he fell senseless on the ground. It was fortunate for him that two or three laborers passed that way immediately afterwards; they raised him, and brought him to his senses. He was then conveyed home, and never after did he laugh at these things." Then turning to the man who spoke last, he said, "I am sure, you would follow Nobin's example, if Gopal ever happened to cross your way."

"Leave me alone," said the other, "you little know what I can do."

"Let that drop," said Sham, he, who had opened the debate of the evening, "let that drop, can any of you tell me now what Gopal has left behind him? had he any considerable property?"

"That we cannot say," replied one of the company, "all that we know is that he was the greatest rogue in the village."

"May we never see the like of him again," exclaimed half a dozen voices.

Before the last words had escaped the lips of the speaker, there was a little stir close by one of the tatties; and by the dim light of a cherag, one could see the eyes, nose, chin and moustache of a human being peering through an aperture. They all looked in the direction, where these component parts of a man's face appeared; and one of them, sooner than the rest, recognized that those were the very identical nose, eyes, chin and moustache, which were once the property of the late Goinda; and trembling with fear, called out "there is Gopal," "there is Gopal." This was enough, there was not a single person to be seen in the hut, five seconds after. The courageous man, who boasted that he would belaboŭr the ghost with a broom was the first to fly, and all followed him, as if by instinct. They did not stop until they had reached another village, which lay at the distance of two miles from their own. Gopal, who was taken for his ghost, did not know what to make of all this. He was in search of his wife, and had gone to the place, to get information concerning her; but lo and behold, all disappeared at his coming. The village was almost deserted, and he the next morning taking his valuables left Kookree in utter disgust. His disappearance, in some measure, confirmed the report; and the "GHOST OF A GOINDA" was talked of by the villagers long, long after.

LOGIC.

[Sir W. Hamilton's new Analytic of Logical forms.]

(Continued from No. I. page 19.*)*

The principle of identity, then, is that on which the validity of all categorical syllogisms rests, and as all reasoning is but the comparison of wholes and parts, the principle must be considered in its relation to quantity, in which aspect it assumes the shape of the axiom, *a part of a part is a part of the whole.* The truth of this axiom, like that of every other, is perceived intuitively. The mind, in virtue of its own laws of thought, pronounces immediately upon its correctness. Every categorical syllogism therefore involves a subordination of lesser parts to wholes through greater parts, and, when reduced to its ultimate and simple form, exhibits this relation so obviously that it is perceptible at a glance. In order therefore to entitle a given form of syllogism to the appellation of a *primary or original form,* that is to say one to which all other forms are reducible and which is itself incapable of further reduction, it must palpably exhibit the above relation of subordination as subsisting among its members: so that the mind may, by the laws of thought, determine at once upon its validity. Having premised these remarks we shall be allowed to proceed in our examination of the received system.

We have seen the effect of the application of Sir William's principle of the quantified predicate to the common doctrine of conversion; we shall now notice his objections to the doctrines of *Figure, Mood* and *Reduction.*

The FIGURE of a syllogism is determined by the relation of the middle term to the extremes in the premises. There are, according to logicians, four figures; in the 1st the middle term is the subject of the major premise and the predicate of the minor; in the 2nd the middle term is the predicate of both premises: in the 3rd it is the subject of both; and in the 4th it is the predicate of the major and the subject of the minor premise. Each of these figures, again, is guarded by special laws which are nearly the same in every treatise on the science and which it would serve no purpose to recapitulate here.

Ignorant of the true character of figure, and apparently dissatisfied with the involved nature and indirect conclusions of the three last figures, logicians have devised a process yclep'd REDUCTION, by which syllogisms in other figures are made to assume the garb of the first. According to Whately there are two kinds of reduction, to wit, *Reductio ostensiva* and *Reductio ad impossibile.* Thus for example a syllogism of the third figure,

All wits are dreaded
All wits are admired
Some who are admired are dreaded

May be reduced to one of the first figure

All wits are dreaded
Some who are admired are wits
Some who are admired are dreaded.

The latter of which is evidently formed by illatively converting the minor premise of the former figure; the liberty of converting being considered by Dr. Whately as allowable, since the truth of a proposition implies, that of its illative converse; at the same time, that the good Archbishop, without asking any body permission, claims the "liberty" of transposing premises at will when reduction cannot be effected without doing so.

By the other kind of reduction into the first figure, the contradictory of the conclusion to be vindicated is shewn to be absurd: thus a syllogism of the second figure

All true patriots are friends to religion
Some great statesmen are not friends to religion
Some great statesmen are not true patriots

is reduced to the first figure, as follows:—

All true patriots are friends to religion
All great statesmen are true patriots
All great statesmen are friends to religion

a conclusion at variance with what was assumed as true in the minor premise of the former syllogism and therefore inadmissible.

MOOD, again depends upon the quantity and quality of the propositions of which the syllogism is composed: accordingly as there are four kinds of propositions, Universal affirmative (A), Universal negative (E), Particular affirmative (I) and Particular negative (O), and as all practicable combinations,* of these would amount to *sixty four*, we have just so many moods. Of these again many are rejected; some as containing negative premises; others for having particular premises: some for uniting a negative premise with an affirmative conclusion; others for deducing an universal conclusion from particular premises; and the remainder for different other reasons: so that the valid moods amount to *six* only, in each figure, making *twenty four* in all. Of these *nineteen* only are found valid and are set forth in the mnemonic lines.

Barbara Celarent Darii Ferio
Cesare Camestres Festino Baroko
Darapti Disamis Datisi Felapton Bokardo Feriso
Bramantip Camenes Dimaris Fesapo Fresison.

In reviewing the system briefly sketched above, we observe that the special laws governing each figure have evidently been framed to meet the wants resulting from a defective analysis of the elements of a proposition. Let there be a thorough analysis and the necessity for such laws disappears and the laws themselves are, in consequence, found to be useless and inapplicable. Valid syllogisms, in the first three figures, may be constructed of propositions with quantified predicates, in defiance of the special laws. The rules of the first figure are, 1st. *The major*

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* Each of the *four* propositions above enumerated, may be a major premise; every one such major premise may have *four* different minor premises, making *sixteen* pairs; and each pair in its turn may have four different conclusions, giving a total of *sixty four* moods.

premise must be universal and 2nd. *The minor premise must be affirmative.* Quantify the predicate, however, and both rules may be violated with safety, thus.

First rule falsified

Some learned are some poor
Some praiseworthy are all learned
Some praiseworthy are some poor

Second rule falsified

All Englishmen are some Europeans
No Irishman is any Englishman
No Irishmen are some Europeans.

Our readers will observe that the proposition "No Irishmen are some Europeans" is not the same as "No Irishman is a European;" the latter would be expressed thus, "No Irishman is any European." The "some Europeans" in the conclusion of the above syllogism, refers to the class equated with "Englishmen" in the major premise.

Further, as regards the second figure, the following rules have been deemed necessary; 1st. *One of the premises must be negative* and 2nd. *The major premise must be universal.* Quantify the predicate and both rules fall to the ground, e. g.

First rule falsified

All risible is all man
All philosophers are some men
All philosophers are some risible.

Second rule falsified

Some mortal is all man
All rational is all man
All rational is some mortal

It is needless to illustrate further; it will be obvious from the above examples, that the quantification of the predicate sweeps away the special laws.

As regards the figures themselves, Mr. Baynes considers that logicians have misconceived their real nature, in representing them as true and original varieties of syllogistic form: for, reverting to our remarks at the opening of the present section of this article, there is in them no subordination of lesser parts to wholes through greater parts, a condition which is indispensable to entitle a figure to the character of a *primary form.* The validity or invalidity of a syllogism can be determined only by its obedience to, or its violation of the laws of thought. If, in spite of the great law of thought referred to, the figures are to be considered as true primary forms, the whole science of logic grounded on the laws of mind must fall to the ground. If, on the contrary, the principle of identity be recognized as sound, the figures must for ever abandon their pretensions to be regarded as original varieties of syllogistic form.

In the next place we observe that the claim of the figures to the authority of primary forms, is utterly inconsistent with the fact of the existence of such a process as *reduction.* For if a figure be an *original form,* it is incapable of higher reduction. If susceptible of greater simplification it cannot be an ultimate or primary form. The doctrine of reduction lays the axe to the root of the theory which would consider figures as such forms. Since, therefore, the three last figures are capable of reduction to the first, they cannot be regarded as original varieties of form. Unlike probable reasoning, there can be no degrees of cogency in *formal proof.* Every original form of syllogism therefore must have a conclusion equally direct and valid. If confusion or complexity adhere to a process of proof, that process may be simplified ; but it cannot without such simplification claim the character of formal evidence.

Should our readers inquire in what light the assailants of the common system regard figures, we reply, they consider them as hybrid reasonings in which all the steps of the process are not expressed, but the mind is left to infer some of them and to interpolate its inferences so as to complete the process. That this view is correct will appear to any candid person from a perusal of Dr. Whately's remarks on reduction. But we shall recur to this part of the subject in our remarks, in the next number, upon the syllogism as developed by Sir W. Hamilton's principle. It will suffice, for the present, to remark that syllogisms in the 1st figure alone can be regarded as ultimate forms.

In regard to *Moods,* Mr. Baynes objects that moods which are considered as valid in one figure are rejected in another; thus A. A. A. is reckoned valid in the 1st figure and is, at the same time, excluded from all the rest : while A. I. I. is admitted in the 1st, 3rd, and 4th figures and is debarred from a place in the 2nd. If a mood, thinks Mr. Baynes, is valid in one figure it must hold in all ; and if unsound, it cannot have a place in any. "We find a certain mood" he observes "rejected under a given figure we presume because it is invalid ; but it can be invalid only because it violates the laws of thought. Presently after we find this same mood reappearing in another figure, and recognized as scientifically true. What the laws of thought erewhile condemned, the schematic difference now triumphantly interposes to allow. What we had supposed to be rejected from the science as logically false, now boldly returns under express scientific sanction."

Exception is also taken to the fact that essentially the same mood is found to occur twice in one figure and is reckoned as a different mood in each occurrence. Thus :—

Cesare.—No men are quadrumanous
All ourangoutangs are quadrumanous
No ourangoutangs are men

Camestres.—All ourangoutangs are quadrumanous
No men are quadrumanous
No ourangoutangs are men

Both the above syllogisms are, it will be seen, in the 2nd figure. Now, according to every recognized principle of the common system, the two given above are one and the same form of syllogism, for they possess every requisite characteristic in common. They are both in the same *figure;* and, according to the universal acceptation of a logical mood, they are in one and the same *mood.* A mood is every where defined to depend upon the quantity and quality of the propositions of which the syllogism is composed; and if, *in these respects,* there is no difference two syllogisms, however varying in other aspects, are in the same mood.

Though Cesare and Camestres differ from one another in one point, that is to say the premises change place; yet as far as regards the only circumstances competent in logic to warrant difference in formal character, they are identical. Their only difference is caused by the *transposition of premises,* a principle wholly ignored by the theory of the science. If, however, in spite of the silence of all Logicians on this point, the principle is held to be a sound one for distinguishing syllogisms, then, as Mr. Baynes remarks, "a number of new forms will emerge of which logicians have taken no account. The catalogue of syllogistic variations will immediately be swelled far beyond its present limits, since every existing variety is capable, by the transposition of its propositions, of receiving a fivefold amplification." But this clearly would be valueless; and therefore the charge of inconsistency and caprice lies against the old system.

The above remarks apply equally to Disamis and Datisi in the 3rd figure.

MEMOIR OF M. E. BURNOUF,

THE CELEBRATED ORIENTALIST. BY M. JULES MOHL.

(From the Journal Asiatique de Paris.)

[This interesting memoir is here presented in an English dress, in the hope that it will prove acceptable to the general reader. Though the original appeared in July 1852, the lapse of a few months will not, it is presumed, diminish aught from its interest, especially as the literary and scientific journals of continental Europe are accessible to but a very few in this country, and as no notice worthy of the name has, to our knowledge, appeared in any English Journal, of this great Philologist, whose wonderful discoveries have effected a complete revolution in the aspect of the studies he so successfully cultivated, and paved the way for others to which no limit can be assigned. Subsequently to the appearance of this memoir, an interesting notice of Burnouf's works by M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, was inserted in the *Journal des Savants,* from which a few additional facts have been gleaned and embodied in the form of foot-notes to this article.—TRANSLATOR.]

Oriental literature has sustained an irreparable loss by the death of M. Burnouf, the late Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Paris. Little need here be said of his life, as it is entirely reflected in his own works; for no philosopher was ever more thoroughly devoted to his pursuits, or less covetous of influence, of fortune, of reputation; in short of everything that has a tendency to excite human ambition. It may even be doubted whether he was ever cognizant of the full extent of his European and Asiatic fame, which had, without any personal effort or any extraneous aid, gradually and spontaneously spread, as the natural and inevitable result of his own scientific discoveries.

Eugéne Burnouf, born on the 8th of April 1801, was the only son of M. J. L. Burnouf, the celebrated author of the Greek Grammar. Reared up under the eyes of his father, who intended him for the legal profession, he in due time passed an examination before the Faculty of Paris, and being admitted on the roll of Barristers, served for some time in a Lawyer's office. Classical and Grammatical studies, however, had not lost their charms for him. While qualifying himself for his intended profession, he attended the Sanscrit course of Chézy and those of the Ecole des Chartes; and often subsequently has he depicted to his friends the horror and astonishment of the old lawyer on discovering on his table the Nalus of Bopp and the Sanscrit Grammar, which had usurped the place of the Civil Code. In short, abandoning law, he devoted all his time and attention to Oriental studies. He became one of the founders of the Asiatic Society, Lecturer on General and Comparative Grammar at the Ecole Normale in 1829, Secretary of the Asiatic Society in 1830, and member of the Academy of Inscriptions in 1832; soon after he was appointed Professor of Sanscrit at the French College in the room of Chézy, and succeeded M. de Sacy as Inspector of Oriental Typography at the Royal press in 1838, faithfully discharing his multifarious duties till the day of his death.

Never was there a truer calling than that of M. Burnouf for philology and especially for the study of Sanscrit. Endowed with a mind eminently analytical, he took delight in diving into the philosophical structure of that language, and in grammatically and historically following its words, which have exercised so great an influence on human ideas. A Sanscrit root was to him like the germ of a plant, which contains within its folds all the elements of its future growth; and nothing could equal the sagacity with which he traced its development, its transformations, the various phases it assumed at different epochs and in derived languages, and their influence on the formation of ideas.

At the time that M. Burnouf entered upon the study of Sanscrit, the knowledge of that language was almost entirely restricted to grammars, dictionaries and a few texts; and but a faint conception was entertained of its various ramifications and the great light they throw on the entire history of the human family, by proving the consanguinity of so many nations with the Hindoo race, a fact which the Sanscrit could establish.* A few adventurous minds had anticipated such results, and M. Bopp, by demonstrating the identity of the Sanscrit grammar with that of the Greek and Latin, paved the way for that brilliant series of discoveries by which comparative grammar has enlarged, determined and enriched the field of history.

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* "Sanscrit literature," says M. St. Hilaire, "beautiful as it is in certain respects, cannot bear any comparison with that of the Greek; but there is something more in Sanscrit than literary beauties. The philologist here discovers, clearly and unmistakeably, the origin of all the principal languages that are, or have been spoken in Europe. The Greek, Latin, Celtic, German, Sclavonic, as well as the dialects derived from them, have all sprung from this common origin. This fact, as unexpected as it is astonishing, has been established with a more than mathematical demonstration; and history will henceforward, though it may not know the exact route, trace by means of languages the entire civilization of the West to the elevated plateaux of Central Asia." Further on he remarks that if any one would make a serious study of the Greek and Latin, he must not expect to do so without an adequate knowledge of the Sanscrit. So much for those who despise the claims of the Vernaculars. *Tr.*

M. Burnouf entered upon this career with all the ardour of a youthful and inquisitive mind. The attention of the learned in France was at that time much occupied with what was called universal grammar, a very barren study; while comparative grammar, a science remarkable for its method and its historical and philological results, was almost entirely neglected. M. Burnouf introduced it into France by his course of lectures at the Normal School. This course was some years after discontinued; but, charmed with his novel views on the mutual relations of languages, the laws of their development, the affinity of idioms apparently quite different, and the rules of genuine Etymology,—thereby elevating to the dignity of a science that which had been the by-word of shallow minds, and the reproach of philology,—the school carefully preserved his instructions, which still circulate among that body of intelligent youth.

Though M. Burnouf did not publish these lectures, he soon gave a proof of the power of the system he had taught. Abel Rémusat, who had already engaged in the study of Buddhism, called his attention to the sacred books of the Buddhists of the trans-gangetic peninsula and of Ceylon, written in Pali, a language then entirely unknown, there being only an imperfect alphabet brought by Laloubére two centuries ago.* In 1825, M. Burnouf and his friend M. Lassen conjointly presented to the Asiatic Society an "Essay on the Pali," in which they explained the different writings used in that language, reconstructed its grammar, proved its derivation from the Sanscrit, settled the distinctive characteristics of the two dialects, and gave an analysis of the Pali works at their command. This discovery, at a later period, might have furnished M. Burnouf with important materials for the history and doctrines of Buddhism, but he now turned his attention towards the solution of another and still more important problem.

Anquetil Duperron had brought from India the books of Zoroaster which were still extant, and of these he published a translation, which during sixty years formed the basis of all the researches upon ancient Persia. This work, carried out with a perseverance and fidelity that cannot be sufficiently admired, was as perfect as the state of knowledge then rendered possible. The translation, however, was not made from the original Zend, but from another ancient translation in Pehlevi, in the possession of the Parsis of Bombay, who did not themselves comprehend the original, and even understood the Pehlevi translation imperfectly and with difficulty. The subject now began to attract the attention of the learned; some ventured to deny the authenticity of the books of Zoroaster and to affirm that the Zend was a fictitious dialect; others hoped by means of the modern Persian, to arrive at the knowledge of the ancient dialect; but this process never yielded satisfactory results, since the interval of time between the two dialects is so very considerable. The question thus remained undecided, and M. Burnouf found himself before an unknown language, with such assistance only as could be derived from a scanty vocabulary, an ill-determined alphabet, and a suspected translation. He, it is true, had at his command, a resource of which Anquetil could not avail himself, viz. a Sanscrit translation* of a portion of the books of Zoroaster, but this instead of having been made from the original was only a re-translation of the one used by the Parsis, and consequently more fitted to assist them in their comprehension of the Pehlevi, than to aid in understanding the original. Nevertheless, this assistance, precarious as it appeared, was of great utility to M. Burnouf, who soon satisfied himself that the ancient Persian was a dialect of the Sanscrit, and from that time he was quite sanguine of succeeding in the reconstruction of the language of Zoroaster. In his "Commentary on the Yasna"† one cannot fail to be struck with the ingenuity and wonderful sagacity displayed in this research. He was completely successful in recovering the grammar and dictionary of that language,‡ and in rendering the genuine sense of this ancient and obscure book, made still more so by the glosses and comments of the Parsis. This commentary was not completed; but M. Burnouf afterwards published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Paris, a series of memoirs on the most important and difficult terms of that language, in which he elucidated a part of the dogmas of Zoroaster, indicated their points of resemblances with the doctrines enounced in the Vedas, and determined the exact relations of the ancient Persian language with the still more ancient Sanscrit. His death interrupted the continuation of this beautiful series of memoirs, replete with original ideas, and touching upon the most obscure points of antiquity; nor was he even permitted to give the finishing stroke to his Zend dictionary, left in three folio MS. Vols., which the government ought to publish for the honour of French literature.

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* The Pali was first brought to the notice of learned Europe by Laloubére in the narrative of his Voyage to Siam in 1687; the language, however, was so little known towards the end of the 18th century that it was often confounded with [illegible], which had [illegible]placed the ancient Zend in Persia. Father Paulin de St. Barthélemy, a Catholic Missionary, who lived about a century after Laloubére, was the next individual who noticed it; he affirmed, without however satisfactorily proving, that the Pali could not be understood without a knowledge of the Sanscrit. Dr. Buchanan and the celebrated Dr. Leyden also devoted some attention to the subject and published a few interesting papers regarding it in the *Asiatic Researches* (Vols. VI. & X.); the latter especially pointed out the indisputable relations of the Pali with the Sanscrit, the Pakrit, and the Zend, and contemplated publishing a grammar of that language; but his death prevented the execution of this design. The subject remained in this state, when it was taken up and throughly investigated by Burnouf, who had then scarcely reached his 25th year. *Tr.*

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* The translation here alluded to, is that of the *Yasna*, made, about the end of the 15th. century of our era, by Neriosengh, a Parsi priest. *Tr.*

† The Yasna is the Parsi liturgy, and forms part of a collection called Vendidad Sadé, which comprises, besides the *Yasna*, the *Vendidad* properly so called and the *Vispered*, or collection of invocations. The Vendidad Sadé itself is only a very inconsiderable portion of the books which bore the name of Zoroaster, and which the Parsis regard as the foundation of their law. It is merely a fragment of the twentieth section, or naska, of these books, of which there were twenty-one in all. Together with a few hymns to the presiding genii of the world, it is all that remains of the sacred books of the ancient Persians. *Tr.*

‡ The secret of his success in this wonderful discovery, as he himself informs us, is this. Anquetil's translation, though it could afford him no clue whatever to the Zend itself, gave him the general sense of the sacred books, as likewise did that of Neriosengh, which notwithstanding the barbarous Sanscrit in which it was written, had the advantage of being three centuries older. The latter, moreover, enabled him to understand, and when necessary to rectify, a multitude of words whose roots approached those of the corresponding Zend words, and in some instances were even identical with them. *Tr.*

This 'great discovery of the ancient Persian language is far from having yet yielded all the fruits which it promises. It opens a field for numberless researches on the most curious points connected with the history of the religion, legislation, geography and languages of antiquity; and its full importance can be appreciated only when all the consequences shall have been deduced and all the applications made of which it contains the germ.

M. Burnouf himself reaped one of the most splendid and unexpected results from his discovery. Some magnificent inscriptions in an unknown character, called the Cuniform, were found in Persia, on rocks, tombs, and on the remains of the palaces of Persepolis. These appeared to present an insolvable problem; there was no translation of them; no indication of their import; no knowledge of the language in which they were written, or any means of reading a character which bore no manner of analogy to any other. At length, M. Grotefend, admitting the accuracy of an observation of the ancient authors upon the tombs of Darius and of Xerxes, assigned, by a very curious process, the place which the names of these two monarchs, and their title of king of kings, should occupy on two of these inscriptions, and formed an Alphabet by the analysis of these names. As the language of the inscriptions was unknown, further progress could not be made, and the results even of Mr. Grotefend's attempt could neither be confirmed nor refuted, the question thus remaining for thirty years in a state of plausible conjecture. Some eminent men, MM. Rask and St. Martin, engaged in this great problem, without, however, making any sensible progress towards its solution, or removing its conjectural character.* The discovery of the Zend furnished M. Burnouf with the clue to this Enigma: for if the inscriptions, thought he, were really those of Darius, they must have been written in the same language as the books of Zoroaster, who was nearly contemporary with that monarch, and his knowledge of its words and grammatical forms ought to enable him to determine with certainty the Alphabet as well as the sense. Accordingly, applying his knowledge of the Zend to the two inscriptions of Darius and of Xerxes, he succeeded in deciphering them, and proved that the conjecture of Grotefend was well founded; that the Alphabet which he had discovered was partially true; and that the language of the inscriptions was a dialect allied to the Zend. He at the same time gave a full translation of the two inscriptions as well as a nearly complete Alphabet.' Thus, for the first time since the days of Alexander the Great, were any of these inscriptions actually read, and a problem which seemed to defy the utmost efforts of human sagacity, was at length solved, as a natural consequence of the discovery of the Zend. The question was now come to maturity, and M. Lassen, following in the wake of M. Burnouf's labours, discovered, almost at the same time, the key to the reading of the Cuniform Persian inscriptions.

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* The former succeeded in deciphering the name of Achemenes, written Aquamnosoh in the inscriptions. *Tr.*

This study has since made considerable progress; all the Persian inscriptions have been deciphered; the alphabet has been completed and in some points rectified with the help of new inscriptions; the significations of the words have been determined, and the relations of the dialect of the inscriptions with the Zend and Sanscrit established with the greatest clearness. The history of ancient Persia now rests upon the accurate interpretation of the most authentic monuments, and we can confirm or rectify the accounts of Herodotus and Ctesias, by the autobiographies of the great kings and the descriptions of their Empire, which they caused to be engraved upon their monuments.

This glorious discovery has in its turn become the starting point of a series of researches still more considerable. The deciphering of the Persian, furnishes the only possible key to the reading of the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions. There is scarcely any one now who does not know that the kings of the dynasty of Cyrus were in the habit of causing, by a happy vanity, all inscriptions to be engraved in three languages and in three characters, viz. the Persian, Median, and Assyrian or Babylonian. The deciphering of the Persian columns naturally affords the means of reconstructing, by the comparison of proper names, the aphabets of the latter languages, and permits us to hope that we shall recover the languages themselves, and succeed in reading that enormous mass of Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions, for which we are indebted to the excavations of M. Botta and his successors, and which are daily becoming more numerous.

These monuments ought to furnish the entire history of the great monarchies of Mesopotamia, and the innumerable difficulties of their study are already beginning to yield before the efforts of the learned. M. Burnouf intended to take an active part in this harvest, which his own discoveries had prepared and matured; and he has left a volume of translations of Assyrian inscriptions, which unfortunately will remain unpublished.

All these discoveries were but so many applications of his Sanscrit studies, which never ceased to be the grand occupation of his life. Several considerable works on Sanscrit literature were prepared by him, one of which alone—the Bhagavata Purana,—has been published. This is the most popular of the Indian Puranas, and it contains the mythological life of Krishna, interspersed, according to the custom of the country, with moral and metaphysical speculations. His own estimate of this laborious undertaking, which alone would have sufficed to establish the reputation of any other individual, was but small. His natural inclination incessantly impelled him towards the study of the Vedas, which possessed an irresistible attraction for a mind ever seeking to ascend to the origin and primary expression of ideas. He as it were lived upon the Vedas. He delighted to penetrate through the hard envelope within which the Hindoos have enclosed their primitive thoughts, and to trace their development and, so to speak, their lethargy which was the natural result of the progress of time and the transmission of ideas. Whoever has heard him speak on these subjects must have been struck with the clearness and perspicacity of his intellect, the assiduity with which he sifted to the bottom questions of seeming insignificance, and the confidence with which he engaged in the most difficult questions, relative to the history of the ideas of the Indo-European race. It is not surprising, therefore, that one of his most distinguished pupils, in speaking of his course on the Rig Veda, should have characterized it as an enchantment. He prepared several considerable works on the Vedas, none of which have been published. All his productions, however, bear the impress of his incessant study of the subject, without which indeed, they would have been impracticable, especially the last, his "Introduction to the History of Buddhism," which will be presently noticed. We have already seen that M. Burnouf began his career with a Grammar of the sacred language of the Buddhists of the ultra-gangetic peninsula and of Ceylon. He continued to explore the mine which he had opened, and devoted a considerable portion of his time to the study of Pali and Cingalese works. At this period, the study of Buddhism was making rapid progress, the materials for its prosecution being gleaned from various sources. M. Remusat took up the subject in China, Mr. Hodgson in Nepal, Mr. Turnour in Ceylon, M. Shmidt among the Mongols, and Csoma de Körös among the Tibetans. Each believed that he alone was in possession of the only genuine doctrines of Buddhism, and the confusion arrising from theories based upon conflicting chronological data, and drawn from such diverse materials, became extreme. Whilst matters were in this state, Mr. Hodgson discovered, in the monasteries of Nepal, the Sanscrit originals of the principal Buddhist works, which hitherto were known only through Chinese, Mongol or Tibetan translations. He himself drew from them some very beautiful results, and had the generosity to send to the Asiatic Society of Paris, a nearly complete collection of these books, consisting of eighty-six volumes. M. Burnouf entertained a lively sense of the importance of these new materials. He translated one of the books, entitled the "Lotus of the good Law," which he proposed to publish, accompanied with a commentary and an introduction, in which he intended to examine summarily the fundamental ideas of Buddhism, and determine the relations of the Nepalese books to the literature of other Buddhist nations. But while the translation was going through the press, he thought that the introduction should form the principal part of the work, and at once resolved upon producing a book which should embrace the entire history of Indian Buddhism, explain its fundamental doctrines, and point out the changes they have undergone among the different sects, as well as the relations in which the two great divisions of Indian Buddhism, the school of the North and the school of the South, stand to each other. In 1844, the first volume of this introduction, treating of the School of the North, was published. In this he analyses the works of that School, discusses their age and authenticity, and classes them according to the epochs to which they belong, and the councils from which they emanated; he also explains the principal doctrines of the religion, the changes they have undergone, their relations with Brahminical doctrines, and the results which may be derived from them, bearing upon the history of India. It is impossible to indicate within this small compass, the numerous new and interesting facts which this beautiful work contains: it is a flood of light breaking upon the chaos of Buddhist doctrines, and re-establishing order and harmony.* We are now made acquainted with the various epochs and schools to which the books of the several Buddhist nations belong; all these conflicting elements are systematized, and their real importance accurately exhibited, so that we know what to expect, and what we are able to realize from them. This book received the unanimous applause of all who were engaged in the study of the subject, and of all who took an interest in the history of religions. M. Burnouf contemplated the completion of this work by the publication of a second volume, devoted to the school of the South. The knowledge he had previously acquired of the Pali and Cingalese books would have been brought to bear upon it, and he had further qualified himself for the task by the study of Burmese. Of the extent of these preliminary labours, a single example will suffice to give an idea. Finding the Burmese dictionaries defective, he compiled a new one, infinitely more complete, which alone would have contributed largely to the preparatory matter of the second volume.

But as he advanced he found that there were some points which it would be necessary to treat more minutely, than it was possible to do in the first volume. He accordingly determined upon re-undertaking the publication of the Lotus, accompanying it with twenty memoirs, ~~elucidating~~ some obscure parts of the Buddhist dogma, and dealing with certain historical points of great importance, as for example, the monumental inscriptions of the Buddhist kings of the times of the Seleucidæ, which Mr. Prinsep was the first to decipher, and of which M. Burnouf has given new translations. This volume, which is now entirely printed, will be immediately published, and will add to the admiration of learned Europe, as well as to its regrets for the loss of this powerful genius.

Incessant labor unfortunately undermined M. Burnouf's constitution; he never paid much attention to his naturally delicate health, thinking that the perfect regularity of his habits afforded a sufficient safeguard. His ardent love of science concealed from him the decay of his constitution; and he has thus died a true martyr to its cause.

Some months ago, government offered him a place in the Council of Public Instruction, in which he would have rendered great services; but he could no longer assist at its meetings; and when some weeks later, the Academy of Inscriptions nominated him its perpetual Secretary, the hand of death was upon him. He had the true genius for discoveries, a wonderful sagacity, an unalterable love of truth, a bold conception, and a prudence and foresight almost infallible. He was not permitted to bring his labours to an end, or to draw all the consequences of his great discoveries, but their influence will not therefore be the less durable. He has raised the glory of French literature, and his name will continue to flourish with the studies he has created.

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* If time permit us, we intend presenting to our readers, a masterly analysis of this great work by M. Biot. *Tr.*

MR. COSTA AND HIS WEDDING.

From the Note Book of An Observer.

CHAPTER I.

Full many a gem of purest ray serene
The dark unfathom'd caves of ocean bear;
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air.

Mr. Costa, yes kind and courteous Reader! Mr. Costa is to be the burden of our song on the present occasion. We must, however, confess that thrice did we take up our pen, and thrice did it drop from our fingers, as if conscious of the august nature of the subject about which it was to be employed. Shall we invoke the muse, and crave her aid? —shall we with the Mantuan bard say, "O musa, mihi dicere," &c. or with the bard of Avon exclaim, "O for a muse of fire."—But no matter, —let us see what we can do with our truant stump: we shall give it another trial, and take care that it does not slip again through our digits, until we have fairly commenced our article. We have come thus far, and here we are at a stand again: we are at a dead stop. Go on stump, go on, halt not, for the theme is worthy thy labor. We invoke thee now, the stay of our hope! run on, let the ink flow freely, and we shall never forget thee. How far are we come? a dozen lines and upwards—quite enough for an exordium—this however, we must not omit to add, that we intend to devote a few pages to a running sketch of Mr. Costa's early life, and to an account of the interesting occurrences of his wedding day.

We must indeed acknowledge, that we are not in possession of the records by which we could ascertain the real line of Mr. Costa's descent, though it has been rumoured, and we are inclined to give credence to the report, that he sprang from that race of the Costas, who were the contemporaries of Vasco de Gama. Be that as it may, the knowledge of our hero's origin will neither exalt, nor lower him in our estimation. We have to speak of the man, and need not trouble ourselves with enquiries concerning his ancestors. Suffice it to say, that Mr. Costa became an orphan at a very early age. His father, who passed for a man of penetration and discernment among his friends, used to say, that his son Anthony would one day cut a figure in the world. What the progenitor of Anthony Costa had seen in his son to make him venture upon such a prediction, we know not; but of this we are certain, that if he had no other qualities, he was universally acknowledged to have had a genius for scaling walls, robbing gardens and riding donkeys. The Benevolent Institution witnessed the dawning of our hero's intellect; to it he owed all that he possessed of book-learning, the extent of which may be known from the fact, that he had on an average attended school two days in the week, which he deemed quite sufficient for all earthly purposes. When Anthony arrived at a proper age, his guardian thought fit to remove him from school, and here commenced Costa's eventful career. To suit his qualification it was thought that nothing less than a Printing Office would do for him, and accordingly to a Printing Office of a Daily Paper he was transferred in due form. Here was an ample field for the exercise of his talents; and we learn that our hero displayed such aptitude in acquiring a knowledge of the art, that it took him the short space of only three years to be promoted from the post of a distributer to that of a compositor. In the latter capacity there are many things related of him, which throw some interest into the life of this great genius. It is said, that on one occasion, an error was passed by the printer, who in making his apology the next day for it, shouldered the blame on the "printer's devils." This at once fired the indignation of Mr. Costa, who wanted to wait upon the printer, and call for an explanation of the term he made use of, with reference to the compositors. He was not a "devil" he said, and how dare the printer give him that designation. He must tell him that a compositor had as much sound "meat, blood and bones" in his body as any body else, and no body had a right to call him a devil. "Oh never mind, Costa," said one of his companions more shrewd than the rest "never mind. You know if we are devils our printer under whom we are is our chief." "Yes, yes" said Costa, I never think of that,—that is a very good co-parison—I tell him so." The remark seemed to have a very good effect upon our hero, who, it is said, soon cooled down, and resumed his work with his usual cheerfulness.

CHAPTER II.

"*Is there a heart that never loved?*"

Mr. Costa vegetated on 30 Rs. a month, with which he made things run pretty far. He had a great predilection for dress, and whatever may have been his week-day habiliments, he was anxious to cut a figure on a Sunday. The Calcutta Cheapside he always resorted to, in order to pick up odds and ends, and thus he was enabled to make up a suit, which he denominated his "holiday suit." This, however, was so singular, that it could not but be remarked by every body who saw him. He was passionately fond of red neck-cloths, green waist-coats and japan boots, and for these he paid very liberally, in accordance with his means.

On a Sunday evening, in the month of September, Mr. Costa was dressed in his usual fashion, and was walking up and down a lane somewhere in Bow-bazar. Now as Mr. Costa's height was below five feet, and he was moreover a man of no proportions, he must indeed have looked particularly interesting. A skull cap covered his pate, and he had his favorite whale-bone in his hand. He paced about the lane, as if watching for some body, and so it was; for he stopped suddenly, and looked towards the window of a bungalow, at which appeared the head of a young lady, that thrilled the heart of Mr. Costa with joy. This was no other than Miss D'Silva, our hero's first love, for whom he was willing to sacrifice his life, his fortune, his all. Miss D'Silva smiled, and Mr. Costa bowed and drew near the window. "I have been walking up and down the lane this twenty time for the sake of you," said Mr. Costa, "and I am happy you did come to the window."

"I had much to do," said Miss D'Silva, "and yet I have left plenty of business, which I will attend to by and by."

"O sweet Miss D'Silva," exclaimed Mr. Costa, "how happy I feel upon seeing you—my inside is quite glad. I cannot tell how much I love you, O dorable Miss D'Silva!"

"Who is that?" asked an individual within the bungalow. "Who is that Katy?"—Whereupon Mr. Costa was about to scamper off, but Miss D'Silva stopped him saying, "Dont go Mr. Costa, don't you go, but come in, come in." "Go in!" exclaimed Mr. Costa "how can I go? you want to see your mother turn me out."

"Oh no—come in, my mother knows you are here—come in"—and so Mr. Costa went in with fear and trembling; but he was welcomed. Mrs. D'Silva made a great deal of him; she told him that she was very happy to see him, and that he should stand upon no ceremony to visit her whenever he chose to do so. While Mrs. D'Silva was thus speaking Mr. Costa bowed and smiled alternately; and rubbed the palms of his hands against one another, as if to remove the dust which had accumulated on them. Then to crown all, he put his pocket handkerchief into his mouth.

Miss D'Silva gazed at her lover with an admiring interest; every movement of his tended to elevate him in her opinion. The very act of his putting his handkerchief into his mouth, convinced her he was a very modest young man; and his bowing and rubbing his hands were, she conceived, indications of polite manners. Mrs. D'Silva after her short speech retired, and the two lovers were left to themselves. Mr. Costa availed himself of the opportunity, and pledged his love to Miss D'Silva,—in a word he proposed to her.

"Miss D'Silva," said Mr. Costa," "Miss D'Silva, I am happy we are alone, I have to ask you one question, answer me."

"What is that Mr. Costa?" asked Miss D'Silva.

"Tell me true, do you love me?" interrogated our hero.—Upon this Miss D'Silva took her handkerchief, and put it upon her eyes, while she rested her head upon one of her hands.—"Do you love me?" inquired Mr. Costa again.—"Do you love me?" saying this he took her by the hand—"Yes, chee, you know that," was the reply of Miss D'Silva.—O this was the happiest moment of Mr. Costa's life: he knew he was loved, and that by Miss D'Silva, the object of his idolatary, and the polar star of his existence. Mr. Costa soon afterwards retired, and from this day forward he made it a practice to see Miss D'Silva every day. The Doorgah Poojah soon followed, and he took the family upon a river excursion at his own expense. How he sang on his beauleah, how he pinched Miss D'Silva, why he took umbrage and left the boat, how he walked about with her on the Promenade, how they were both dressed, how the tassel of Costa's cap oscillated, are these not recorded in our article, headed the "Dusserah Vacation?"

On Mr. Costa's return from the river trip, he wrote to Mrs. D'Silva a formal letter proposing to take her daughter "for better and for worse,"—to which, as might have been expected, he received a favorable reply.

(To be continued.)

THE HEALING ART.

(Continued.)

Hippocrates having given a proper turn to the study and practice of medicine, it might have been expected that those who succeeded him in the healing line, would have trodden in his footsteps, and thus rapidly brought the art to a highly advanced state; but this does not appear, from what we can learn, to have been the case. The physicians, who came upon the stage, after his time, seem not to have appreciated the just principles by which he had been guided, but to have attached themselves to fanciful theories, which they framed in their minds while speculating on the subject, instead of drawing conclusions, in imitation of the example set by the great father of medicine, from careful attention to, and investigation of the operations of nature. But though the progress of medicine thus received a considerable check, the impulse given it by Hippocrates was not entirely lost; nor was it likely, in the nature of things, that it should be so. Accordingly we find that the art, though not making large strides, still continued in the path of improvement; and the first physician of celebrity we hear of, at this period of the history of medicine, was Praxagoras of Cos, a lineal descendant of Æsculapius, who is reported to have been the first to distinguish between the arteries and the veins, and to have made considerable use of venesection in his practice, as also of emetics, to which latter he resorted very extensively in the iliac passion. One remarkable circumstance, recorded of him in connection with this subject, is, that in inveterate cases of the last mentioned disease, it was his custom to make an incision, through the integuments of the abdomen, in the proper intestine, and extract the matter that had accumulated in it; after which the parts that had been cut open, were sewn up.

We pass over several physicians of minor fame, and come to Erasistratus and Herophilus, two contemporary practitioners of considerable eminence, who had acquired their art in the school of Alexandria, established by the Ptolemies. Of these, Erasistratus, who flourished in the time of Seleucus, about 300 years before Christ, pursued a course differing in several respects from that of Hippocrates. He had considerable aversion to venesection and purging, especially to the former, and resorted to them as seldom as possible. His reasons for disapproving of phlebotomy were, chiefly, the difficulty of fixing on the proper vein to be opened, the chance of removing too small a quantity of blood, in which case the design of the operation would be unanswered, and the danger of letting out too much of that fluid, whereby the life of the patient would be jeopardized. With regard to purging, his idea was that the matters discharged through such instrumentality, were not the same as they had been while in the body, and that the medicines used for the purpose materially altered and corrupted them. As the object of blood-letting and purgation was to reduce the plenitude of the body, it was his opinion that this end could be as well attained by other means, which he conceived to be less detrimental, or less likely to prove so, to the human constitution. Accordingly he recommended the use of emetics and enemata; a practice which he derived from the example of his teacher Chrysippus. When these remedies failed to remove the fulness already mentioned, and which, in his opinion, was the occasion of most of the ailments with which humanity is afflicted, he had recourse to exercise. From what has been said above, it will not be thought surprising that he looked with no favor upon compounded medicines; and the simple one, which may be regarded as his favorite, was the plant succory. He considered it of beneficial efficacy "in diseases of the viscera and lower belly, and especially in those of the liver;" and it underwent, by his direction, a peculiar process of preparation by boiling, before it was deemed fit for use. As a surgeon, he was a bold operator; and was one of the first who practised human anatomy. Before his time, there is reason to conclude, that human bodies were occasionally dissected by the curious and persevering practitioner; but this was done clandestinely; as the universal prejudice, which in that age prevailed against what was considered the sacrilege and indignity of subjecting the "human form divine" to an operation so revolting to the sight, was sufficient to deter most men from the practice. However, in counteraction, as it were, of the effects of this prejudice, the bodies of quadrupeds were substituted for those of human bipeds; and from the dissection of these, the anatomical knowledge which then existed was chiefly derived. Erasistratus and Herophilus, it would appear, were the first, or among the first, who practised human anatomy in an open manner. The spectacle must have been indeed startling, and eventually gave rise, as might naturally be expected in the rude and credulous age in which they lived, to the grossly exaggerated report that they subjected the living bodies of criminals to the operation of the dissecting knife, and that they thus put to death, with the most cruel torture, a large number of human beings in the prosecution of their anatomical researches. There is however every reason to conclude that this charge is without foundation. It was first made by Celsus, and repeated afterwards by Tertullian, one of the early fathers of the Church; but as Galen, whose peculiar solicitude for the fame of the great Hippocrates made him in a singular manner blind to the merits and unduly severe to the memory of others, who were likely to rival his hero in reputation, makes no mention of the alleged fact in his accounts of these two physicians, which from the reason just stated he would not have failed to do, had the assertion been based upon any thing like truth, the inference fairly to be drawn is, that the rumor of their inhuman practice arose, as already remarked, from the tendency of the human mind in uncultivated periods to view, as it were, with magnifying eyes innovations of a startling character, and was subsequently adopted by a few, whose character for intelligence would warrant the expectation of a more judicious proceeding on their part, without sufficient examination as to its origin. To return to Erasistratus, who, from his anatomical studies, which he pursued in Alexandria, had attained to a considerable knowledge of the internal structure of the human frame, it is recorded, as the result of his enquiries, that he divided the nerves into two sorts, the organs of sensation and those of motion, that he put forth some accurate observations concerning the heart and the valves which guard its several orifices, and that he has left a description of the brain, which, with reference to the then comparatively infant state of the art, is considered as surprisingly faithful. But he fell into a singular mistake with respect to the arteries, which, in his ignorance of that wonderful fact, the circulation of the blood, and from the difficulty he experienced to account for the presence of two sets of vessels, when one was sufficient for the distribution of that fluid through the various parts of the body, which office he erroneously assigned to the veins, he conceived to be filled with spirits or air and to obtain their supply of the same during the process of respiration. In surgery he is described to have been a bold operator, and to have, in certain complaints of the liver, cut through the intervening skin and integuments and applied his remedies directly to the part diseased. He however refrained from tapping in cases of dropsy, under a singular impression that the accumulated water served in some degree as a protection to the inflamed liver from the parts adjacent, and that its removal would only have the effect of either producing or increasing the pressure of these upon that viscus, and thereby occasioning the death of the sufferer. With regard to the extraction of teeth, he did not approve of the practice in any case except where they had become loose and unserviceable; and in his conversations on this subject he pleasantly alluded to an instrument of lead as existing in the temple of Apollo and intended for the drawing of teeth, meaning thereby to intimate that in all circumstances where the exertion of greater force was necessary than could have been employed by the use of such an implement, the operation was unadvisable.

The above are some of the particulars we find on record concerning the professional career of the celebrated physician under consideration; and we will conclude our notice of him with the mention of an anecdote or two which cannot fail to be regarded as somewhat remarkable of their kind. It is said that when Antiochus was suffering from a lingering disease, the nature of which it puzzled those about him to ascertain, Erasistratus discovered its cause to be his love for Stratonice from the state of his pulse, which was observed to beat more irregularly whenever she came into the room where he was. He was handsomely rewarded by the father of the enamoured youth, Seleucus, who by this disclosure was enabled to restore his son to health by giving him in marriage to the object of his affection. The manner of his exit from the world is still more extraordinary, and, in our days, may be deemed unworthy of a man of his character and reputation; for, it is added, that not choosing to suffer any longer the pain of an ulcer with which he was afflicted in the foot, he committed suicide.

Herophilus was a native of Carthage and a disciple of Praxagoras. He was, as already mentioned, contemporary with Erasistratus, and, together with him, was accused of having dissected living human bodies by Turtullian, who states the number to be six hundred that thus "expired amidst all the agonies to which the curiosity of the anatomist was pleased to subject them." This charge has been already shewn to be groundless. Herophilus is described to have been a man of erudition and a practitioner of considerable skill, and, according to Galen, to have acquired his anatomical knowledge from the dissection of beasts as will as human bodies, chiefly the latter. His practice was, in some respects, very different from that of Erasistratus, for, in the treatment of diseases, he had extensive recourse to medicines both simple and compounded. With regard to the pulses, his observations regarding them, though not perfectly just, were more accurate than those of Hippocrates, whose knowledge on this point was superficial. It is asserted with considerable show of reason that it was he who first discovered the true nerves. He appears, however, to have confounded these with others which were not nerves; for he divided them into three sorts, the first of which comprised those which were the real nerves and had their origin in the brain and the spinal marrow. By the other two, there is reason to suspect, he meant no other than the tendons and ligaments. The optic nerves, the brain, and the coats of the eye did not escape his attention. With regard to these and other portions of the human body he made several discoveries, which have been found to be, upon the whole, so correct as to give him immense authority in these matters; and, as a proof thereof, the names which he bestowed on the parts that fell under his observation, are retained to this day.

Hitherto the physician was also surgeon and the compounder of the medicines which he prescribed; or, when a division of labor took place, he merely gave advice, as in our age, and an inferior sort of physician was employed to mix and prepare the remedies required, and also, when necessary, to perform surgical operations; but about the time of the two celebrated practitioners last described, the practice of curing the sick was separated into three distinct professions. medicine, surgery and pharmacy.

About this time also came into view in a particularly distinct form the rival sects of the Dogmatists and the Empirics. These two had indeed existed for a long period before, but the latter, who had hitherto been thrown into the shade by the superior fame and authority of their opponents, began, at this stage of medical history, under their leader, Serapion of Alexandria, a man of uncommon boldness and energy, to thrust themselves more prominently into notice and draw a considerable share of the public attention. The sect of the dogmatists took its rise from the time of the great Hippocrates and was at the commencement composed of the immediate followers of that celebrated physician. Those who succeeded continued to be characterised by that name, in contradistinction to the empirics, a class of physicians who came into existence at a subsequent period. The difference in theory and practice between the two seems to have been much insisted upon among ancient writers on the subject, but what is to be found on record, connected with this point, is not calculated to convey a clear idea of the matter; and this chiefly from the circumstance of the writings of Serapion and other eminent Empirics having been lost, and the moderns being left to gather what their opinions were from the quotations from those works to be met with in the books of their opponents, who introduced the passages for the purpose of controverting the doctrines of their rivals. It does not however appear, from what we can learn upon the subject, that there was much or any difference in the medicines used by the two sects in arresting the progress of disease. In what the empiric was distinguished from his adversary seems to have consisted in the exclusive attention which he is reported to have paid, in the treatment of diseases, to their symptoms, without troubling himself with their latent causes or those internal changes in which they originated; whereas the dogmatists pretended that their course was the opposite of that pursued by their rivals; by which one might understand that the dogmatists carried their researches into the structure of the human body and sought for the causes of disease which were deep seated therein, thus placing themselves in a position favorable to a rational line of conduct in their endeavours to effect a cure. But this does not appear to have been the case, at least for a large portion of the period the sect was in existence; and what they termed latent causes would appear to refer to some fanciful theory, that they had fabricated, of certain changes or disturbance in the constituent principles of the human body, whereby disease was produced. There also seems to have been some confusion in the practice of the two sects, the members of either party occasionally adopting the mode of procedure of the other, though retaining the while their respective sectarian appellations; which goes to confirm the idea already expressed of the little substantial difference that seems to have existed between the two.

We shall pass over the names of Heraclides of Tarentum, Nicander of Colophon, and Damocrates, concerning whom our limits will not permit our making any particular mention, and proceed at once to an account of Asclepiades the next physician of reputation, a reputation, acquired by the promulgation of a theory and the adoption of a practice singularly varying from all that had preceded. Before, however, stating any thing on this point, it may be of use to make some brief allusion to the state of medicine among the Romans, with whom Asclepiades had had dealings as a physician; our remarks hitherto, on the subject of the healing art, having principally referred to the Greek Schools. The Romans then, it must be remembered, were, during a large period of their existence, a hardy people, constantly engaged in war first with their neighbours and then with more remote nations, They were strangers to the effeminacy and corruptions, which in after times crept in among them as they became gradually more and more luxurious from the riches they had acquired chiefly by conquest. Accordingly, it does not excite our surprise on being told, that for nearly five hundred years from the time of the building of their city, they had scarcely any need for medicine or the advice of physicians. No doubt, they occasionally had recourse to simples, as is the custom among rude nations before the dawning of civilization; but any thing like a system, claiming the respect and attention of the intelligent portion of the people. they had not. Towards, however, the close of the period mentioned above, the Romans happened to be visited by a grievous epidemic which threatened to destroy the whole nation. In their alarm they sent a deputation of several of their citizens to the temple of Æsculapius in Epidaurus, a city in Peloponnesus, to consult the oracle as to what course they should pursue in the general affliction to which they were subject. Instead of the advice they sought, they received one of the sacred serpents, with which they sailed back to their country. At the mouth of the Tiber the snake sprang ashore, as it is gravely related, upon a small island, where the Romans subsequently erected a temple to the deified Æsculapius. They raised several others afterwards, one of which was dedicated to Hygeia, a daughter of Æsculapius and the goddess of health, who was held in great veneration and worshipped by the Greeks, and the others were built in honor of several new goddesses called into existence by the Romans themselves, such as Febris, who presided over fevers; Ossipaga, who attended to the human bones, and Carna who had charge of the viscera, But the protection of these divinities being found insufficient, the Romans turned their attention to other quarters and began to entertain greater respect for material remedies. The first practitioners among them seem to have been slaves and freedmen, who, as their services became appreciated, were held in esteem by the Romans, and obtained several political privileges, citizenship being among the number. The first surgeon among them was one Archagathus, supposed to have come from Greece, whom the senate treated with particular honor and installed in a shop where he might exercise his profession, but it seems that the operations which he had had occasion to perform were of a very severe kind, such as the Romans were totally unaccustomed to. This raised a prejudice against him and he was banished from the city. Of Menecrates, the next physician who flourished in the reign of Tiberius, little need be said further than that he is reported to have been the inventor of the Diachylon or Lead plaister much used in the practice of surgery.

We now come to Asclepiades whom we mentioned before. He was a native of Prusa in Bythinia, and settled in Rome nearly a century before the Christian Era. He occupied himself at first as a rhetorician, but this not suiting his purpose, he subsequently took up the profession of a medical man, in which capacity, being possessed of a considerable share of impudence, he soon acquired no small degree of notoriety. He set out with ridiculing the opinions and practice of Hippocrates and other physicians. He denied that active principle which Hippocrates called nature, ascribing to it certain powers; and affirmed that it was no more than mere matter and motion. With regard to the pow of attraction supposed by Hipprocates to reside in purgatives, he laughed at the idea, and, going further, denied, as it is reported, the very existence of any such principle in nature, endeavouring however, in the instance of magnetism, to explain the fact by some unintelligible statement concerning a concourse of corpuscles with a certain arrangement of their pores. He treated with as much levity the doctrine of the crises, and denied that these took place on any particular days, because he happened to notice some exceptional irregularity on this point. Asclepiades had some curious notions of the constitution of the human body, which, in common with all other bodies, he asserted to be composed of corpuscles of various figures so disposed as to form throughout interstices or pores communicating with each other, so as to admit of certain other minute bodies of different sizes continually passing and repassing through them. Of these particles, the largest formed the blood, and the smallest the spirits or heat. Health he pretended depended upon the manner in which these molecules pass through their respective pores; obstruction thereof or a too rapid motion of the particles owing to the unnatural enlargement of the interstices, constituting in his opinion the causes of disease.

The practice of Asclepiades was as extraordinary as his theory. His three great remedies were exercise, friction and wine. By the first he intended to open the pores for the purpose of removing the obstruction which occasioned the disease; not omitting it, even in burning fevers, where, reversing the practice of other physicians, he compelled the patient to take exercise from the very commencement of the attack, and to abstain from water while suffering from intense thirst; relaxing however in his rigour at the end of the first few days. Friction was used with the same object as exercise, to open the pores; while, with a singularity of the most perverse kind, he denied exercise to those who were in health. Wine he allowed in fevers when their violence had subsided, and to phrenitic persons to induce sleep: to the lethargic he gave it also with the opposite purpose of rousing them. As to food, he withheld it entirely from his patients at the commencement and during the exacerbations of diseases, extending this system of abstinence, in some cases, it is said, so far as the seventh day. He was not partial either to emetics or cathartics, and in place of the latter he recommended enemata. He looked upon bleeding not unapprovingly, and the use of cold water both internally and externally was frequently resorted to in his practice. He is said to have been very popular with the Romans, which may probably have been owing to his giving wine so plentifully to his patient.

We have now to take notice of a new sect which sprang up about this period in the history of medicine, called the Methodic sect, the author of which was Themison, a native of Laodicea, and which was afterwards reduced to a system by his successors Soranus and Thessalus. We shall endeavor to present to our readers, in as few words as possible, the leading features of this system. Themison was a disciple of Asclepiades and founded his scheme of medicine upon the opinion and practice of his instructor. Setting therefore aside the principles, which regulated the conduct of Hippocrates and the physicians of the dogmatic school as well as of those of the Empiric, he formed, with a view to simplify medical practice, a plan of his own, which consisted in the distribution of all diseases into three classes, according as they resulted from three different states of the body, namely, those of constriction and relaxation, and a state of which it is difficult to form any intelligible notion, but which according to him occupied a middle place between the two. There were certain remedies for each of these classes of distempers, and the duty of the practitioner of this new school was, as soon as a patient was presented to him, to discover under which of these classes his particular disease fell, and then to administer indiscriminately to him those remedies which were appropriated to that class. A general feature in the practice of Themison was, that, in imitation of Asclepiades, he prescribed rigid abstinence in the begining of diseases, and the use of stimulants afterwards to counteract, as it were, the effects induced by long and severe fasting, Thessalus, one of the successors of Themison and who lived in the reign of the Emperor Nero, is represented to have been a person of mean origin, whose insolence was unparallelled and whose vanity was such that he assumed the title of Vanquisher of physicians, a designation which he caused to be eventually inscribed upon his tomb in the Appian way. He proclaimed that he was able to teach the art of medicine in less than six months; and, in his visits to his patients, was generally accompanied by a number of men, ambitious of receiving instruction from so able a professor as he was conceived by them to be, and whom, from time to time, within the term mentioned, he dismissed from attendance on him as proficients in the science of healing.

ENIGMA.

It guardeth our slumber, refreshens our rest,
And awakens the sympathies swelling the breast.
It beginneth our sorrows, yet endeth our woes;
It sanctifies friendship and sweetens repose,
And though it may be the beginning of strife,
'Tis the centre of every blessing in life.
It boundeth our cares, and to each fond caress
Gives the seal that is sacred to Happiness.
It sheds o'er the soul a halo of bliss,
Nor e'en 'midst the shadows of Hope is amiss.
It softens the sigh while the bosom receives
The silent impression of ease that it leaves.
Without it the sailor and soldier would feel
That his ship would be lost and unsharpened his steel.
It is found in the sea, yet the spirit may soar
And find that the waves wash it back to the shore.
Every beautiful shell, every silvery sand,
Every perfume of spice from Arabia's land:
All bear in their bosom its esquisite spell;
But in silence we name it, then bid it farewell.

R. G. T,

PICKINGS FROM MY POCKET BOOK.

(For the Oriental Miscellany.)

Of all the *desagremens* incidental to camp life in India, the worst are those occasioned by a succession of wet or of dusty days.—A dust storm, especially in a place like Ferozepore, will sometimes last for two whole days; and the miseries endured by a campaigner during that time, are of a description that would have upset the stoicism of a Seneca, disturbed the jollity of a Mark Tapley, checked the volubility of a Gratiano, and shaken the hardihood of a Madame Pfeiffer! For who could, without feelings akin to those of Mariana in the Moated Grange, be victimised for two or three successive days, by the pitiless particles of fine sand or dust blinding his eyes, grating between his teeth, rushing up his nostrils at each inhalation, making his tongue like a "neat's tongue dried," forming a coating of mud on his lips, accumulating on his head, and penetrating into every pore of his body in such a way, that the cuticle is in a state of irritation for a fortnight after, in spite of all the rubbings and scrubbings that can be given with wet towels.—Reading and writing under these circumstances, become painful tasks. For not only do the "organs of vision" become glazed and unable to perform their functions with ease, but it is impossible to prevent the dust, which is of exquisite fineness, from settling on your paper or clogging your pen, which it does in half a minute.—To men of literary habits to whom spectacles may be indispensable, this evil comes in an aggravated form. To wipe the glasses is to increase their dimness.—In fact no one but an idiot would undertake the Sysiphean labour of attempting to clean any thing.—And as to the pleasures of the table! I believe it is admitted as an axiom that man cannot exist for any length of time without eating aud drinking; the cases cited by Dr. Elliotson, on the authority of Col. A. H. E. Boileau, being merely exceptions to the general rule. Hence it is apparent, that during a dust storm a person *must* eat and drink, even if his soup happens to be thickly impregnated with the loose soil of the encamping ground, if his bread happens to be dry and excruciatingly gritty, and if the gravy happens to be converted into a paste,

Not less wretched does one feel during a succession of wet days in Camp. A dark, heavy, slushy, sloppish, pattering sort of day is in all places the source of yawns and *ennui* to those who find themselves accidentally separated from all congenial society. Every one remembers Washington Irving's inimitable sketch of a wet Sunday in a country inn, in which he gives us the sharp outlines of a kitchen wench, who was tramping backwards and forwards through the yard in pattens, of a wall eyed horse that was poking its spectral head out of a window, of a half dozing cow that was standing patiently to be rained on, of a crest-fallen cock and some half dead-fowls that were crowded together under a cart, of some hard-drinking ducks that were making a riotous noise over their liquor, of a candle that seemed to fall asleep as the wick grew long and black and cabbaged at the end, and of various other common-place objects which, in the absence of something more interesting or picturesque, grew into temporary importance. Now I confess that I am impressed, with a forcible idea of the dreary and yawnish state of affairs which drove Washington Irving to the necessity of killing time by fixing his attention so *keenly* on *such* objects. But he was certainly mistaken in supposing that he had reached the *ultima thule* of sublunary misery. When he asserted that there is nothing more "calculated" to make a man sick of this world than a wet stable yard on a rainy day, he spoke from a very limited experience.

He was not aware that to reach the climax of *ennui* and wretchedness, a person must pass some portion of his life under canvas. I do not allude to the hardships which are sometimes entailed on a campaigner by his having to ride over several miles of a desolate and inundated country; to break his fast at one o'clock in a cooking tent on a few fragments of meat; and to sleep all night on a table; while of the Natives who make their beds on the bare ground, perhaps several may sleep the sleep of death. These are only hardships, as distinguished from the feeling of disgust caused by seeing "water, water every where," added to the wearisomeness produced by being made a prisoner on your chair or your bed for two or three days, and having nothing interesting to engage your attention.

Now I assert that a rainy day in Washington Irving's country Inn, or even in the bleakest house in Lincolnshire, with no better companion than Mr. Tulkinghorn, is not quite so "calculated" to make one sick of this world, as a day passed in a tent over which there is the alternate mizzling of a thin rain, and the heavy down-pouring of "the big rain that comes dancing to the earth" with a pattering noise, something like that produced by a *staccato* reading of Virgil's *Tytire tu patulæ*, or by one of the glees lately sung by the "accomplished" members of the Glee Club,

> "Patter, *patter*, patter, *patter*,
> Let it pour! Let it pour!
> Patter, *patter*, patter, *patter*,
> Let it roar! Let it roar."

I well remember the feeling of disgust with which I opened my eyes one morning, and beheld the area occupied by my tent completely inundated. The sky had a dull and leaden appearance. The clouds were exuberant with moisture. Instead of the cheerful radiance, the picturesque lights and shades, of a sunny day, there was a pale twilight which subdued the natural colours of objects, and took away from me all desire for reading, although the postman had on the previous day placed in my hands two very good numbers of *Blackwood* and *Fraser*. There was not the slightest rumble of thunder or the faintest flicker of lightning to relieve the tameness of the scene; and the monotonous dripping of the rain was only disturbed by an occasional splashing when my servants renewed their vain attempts to exclude the water from my tent, and toraise small barriers of mud all round. I had one pastime, however; one source of reflection and reverie! Yes, let me name with gratitude—the weed!

> "Sublime tobacco! that from east to west,
> Cheers the tar's labour or the Turkman's rest."

There was also a gleam of comfort when my servant entered the tent in the afternoon with a smoking brace of *cotelettes* flanked by an array of hill "murphies." This was a more sumptuous dinner than I had any reason to expect, and I ate it with my legs crossed on the bed *a la Turque*, and the plate on a large copy of Smollett.

Meanwhile, the water continued to creep into my tent, and my servants to bale it out. By a little effort on my part, I managed to get a glimpse of the world outside. The horses were shaking their ears, looking pathetic and slowly chewing their wet hay. The *pariah* dogs drew in their dripping tails, and sneaked along like the members of some ultra religious sect. I could even read in their cunning but tearful eyes that they wanted me to believe that *they* were not the fellows who had so often been guilty of petty larceny in the kitchen tent, and that they actually believed themselves to be "miserable sinners." The camels every now and then raised their heads, which seemed bursting with the philosophy of a Buist, and took a calm and calculating survey of the clouds. The large elephants were standing perfectly still, as if they had been converted into inaminate masses of flesh. They did not display any of that restlessness—the constant swaying of the body to and fro, the whisking of the tail, the flapping of the ragged and leathery ears—which makes one suppose that it is irksome for them in sunny weather to remain still for even half a second.

Night set in earlier and gloomier than usual, and yet the monotonous pattering went on, and every thing outside looked damp and dreary. With a reading lamp shedding a brilliant light, a steaming cup of tea, a few cheroots peeping from the case like the broadside guns of a frigate, and an open volume, all on the little table beside me, I found that at length my means and appliances for a few hours' enjoyment were ample. Not to mention a bottle of something that was winking merrily and showing its ruby vest in a manner that was highly pleasing on a damp day! Scarcely, however, had I read a dozen lines, ere a distant noise was heard, like the rushing of many waters! A new enemy had arisen! It was the wind! I quietly waited for the moment when it would come in collision with my tent, and sincerely hoped that the pegs would stoutly resist this creature of impulse. There was a feeling—I will not say of sublimity, but of anxious interest, in listening to the fierce "hurly" of the hurricane as it came onwards, mingled with a variety of sounds—human voices, the knocking in of tent-pegs, the striking of gongs or *ghuntas, &c.* At last it pounced upon my canvas habitation, and then there was a conflict like that between Arimanes and Oromasdes! It shook it, and rumpled it, and puffed up its sides, and made it for a moment even flutter with apprehension. But in the end the tent stood its ground firmly, and its baffled and invisible assailant abated its violence. All possibility of reading with comfort was, however, out of the question. But I made the attempt. "Sweet breeze," said I, quoting from the City of the Plague. "Whew!" whistled the wind.

> "That hymning like a spirit of the lake,
> Came through the tall pines in yon little isle
> Across to us upon the vernal shore
> With a kind friendly greeting——,"

"Wooh! wooh!" quoth the blustering wind, as if it had a great contempt for John Wilson's "pottery."

> "Frankfort blest
> The unseen musician floating thro' the air
> And smiling, said, wild harper of the hill!
> So mayst thou play thy ditty when once more
> This lake I do revisit!

"Woo—oo—ooh!" gruffly shouted the wind, adroitly darting an airy missile through a chink, which proved fatal to the existence of my light. Thoroughly disgusted with this rudeness, I betook myself to my pillow, and dreamt of sunbeams and bliss.

SELECTIONS.

VARIETIES.

BYRON'S OPINION OF SHERIDAN'S WORKS.

The noble poet and some of his companions were all delivering their different opinions on Sheridan and other literary characters, when Byron said, "Whatever he has done, or chosen to do, has been, *par excellence*, always the *best* of its kind. He has written the *best* comedy, (School for Scandal,) the *best* drama, (the Beggar's Opera,) the *best* farce, (the Critic,) and the *best* address, (Monologue on Garrick,) and to crown all, delivered the very *best* oration, (the famous Begum Speech,) ever conceived or heard in this country." Somebody told this to Sheridan next day, and on hearing it he burst into tears. "Poor Brinsley," exclaimed Byron, "if they were tears of pleasure I would rather have said these few but most sincere words, than have written the Iliad or made his own celebrated Philippic. Nay, his own comedy never gratified me more than to hear he had derived a moment's gratification, from any praise of mine, humble as it must appear to my elders and my betters." Byron describes his person thus:—"The upper part of Sheridan's face was that of a god—an expansive forehead, an eye of brilliancy and fire; but below he showed the Satyr."

SHERIDAN GETTING HIS CARRIAGE.

He kept his carriage at the livery stables of one Edbrooke, from whom he also hired his horses for the season. Always in difficulties as he was Edbrooke was no better off than the rest of those, who had the honour of serving Sheridan; the bill amounted to several hundreds. Edbrooke himself was an easy man, but his wife had an extra share of business habits about her, so that she took good care, at every opportunity, to dun Sheridan for the amount of the bill. One day Sheridan and she met, and after a short conversation as to the money, he called for his carriage, but the lady would not allow him either coach or horses. Sheridan flattered her somewhat, and then begged of her to drive with him to his house, and that all should be settled. Glad of the offer, she accepted the honour, and the horses were soon in harness. On reaching Sheridan's she was ushered up stairs, when he instantly jumped into the carriage and drove away, leaving Mrs. Edbrooke to get home as well as she could.

SHERIDAN AND THE BAILIFF.

Sheridan had two persons dining with him one day, one a young friend of his, the other rather a rough-looking person, coarse and repulsive. No sooner was dinner served, than this queer fellow examined all the dishes, stirred up the sauces, and seemed to have more appetite for his dinner than for an imperial crown. Sheridan's young friend was astonished when he heard from the host that this queer fellow was an intimate friend of his; but he thought that perhaps the flash of his genius would throw a halo of light over his barbarous breeding. Sheridan treated him with marked politeness. The youth sat looking on in mute astonishment, but was soon divested of any notion he might have entertained of this rude fellow's genius, for, alas! he had none. Sheridan helped him to enormous pieces of beef, and then plied him with wine till the fellow's eyes glistened. He drank bumpers to the "Poeters of England," and declared Sheridan the greatest of all. He was soon floundering under the table, when Sheridan sent for the watch and gave him into custody. *'Twas the bailiff.* Sheridan was in London next day.

Paddy's expedient for reducing a fine.—An Irish weaver just imported from the sister isle, took to his employer in Kilmarnock, the other day, the first cloth he had woven since his arrival. His employer detected in the cloth two holes, within half an inch of each other, and told him he must pay a fine of a shilling for each hole. "And plaze ye," returned Pat, "is it by the number of holes, or by the size of them, that ye put the fine on us?"—"By the number of holes, to be sure."—"And a big hole and a small one is the same price!"—"Yes, a shilling for every hole, big or little."—"Then give me a hould of the piece," replied Paddy. Getting the cloth into his hands, he tore the two small holes into one, and exclaimed, "By the Hill of Howth! and that saves me one shilling, any how!"

Beneficial Effects of Cod Liver Oil.—*Novel Mode of Application.*—For some months past a lady, residing at Kingstown, in this city, has been labouring under unmistakeable symptoms of consumption. The aid of the most eminent of the faculty was called into requisition, and the disease having made rapid progress, large doses of cod liver oil were ordered as the only effectual means of restoring the sinking constitution. This medicine the lady found it impossible to take, as the vomitings it produced rendered it of no avail. Her medical attendant then recommended change of air, and advised his patient to proceed immediately to Sidmouth, in Devonshire. Here she again sought the advice of a medical gentleman, who recommended the use of the same medicine as our fellow-citizen had been previously giving her. She told him it was impossible for her to retain the medicine on the stomach, when the doctor recommended the application of the oil externally, which system was adopted by means of completely saturating linen cloths with the oil, and applying them to her chest. These were continually changed by day and by night, and in less than three months the lady returned to her family in perfect health.

"**Nine Tailors make a Man.**"—I have heard it stated that this saying orignated in the custom, at the close of the passing-bell, of tolling three times three in the case of a man; whereas for women and children, the number of closing strokes upon the bell is respectively fewer. Can any better account be given of its origin?—J. Sansom. [This saying, we believe, had its origin in the following manner:—In 1742 an orphan boy applied for alms at a fashionable tailor's shop in London, in which nine journeymen were employed. His interesting appearance opened the hearts of the benevolent gentlemen of the cloth, who immediately contributed nine shillings for the relief of the little stranger. With this capital our youthful hero purchased fruits, which he retailed at a profit. Time passes on, and wealth and honour smile upon our young tradesman, so that, when he set up his carriage, instead of troubling the Heralds' College for his crest, he painted the following motto on the panel:—"Nine tailors made me a man."]

Feather in the Cap.—Among the ancient warriors it was customary to honour such of their followers as distinguished themselves in battle, by presenting them with a feather to wear in their caps, which, when not in armour, was the covering of their heads, and no one was permitted that privilege who had not at least killed his man. From this custom arose the saying, when a person has effected a meritorious action, that it will be "a feather in his cap."

Honeymoon.—It was the custom of the higher order of Teutones, a people who inhabited the northern part of Europe, to drink mead or metheglin, a beverage made with honey, for thirty days after the wedding. From this custom comes the expression, "to spend the honeymoon."

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THE PROFESSION OF THE LAW.

Not a few people entertain a prejudice against the profession of the law under the impression, that the exercise of it subjects its follower in a peculiar manner to temptations, and often to a sort of necessity, to swerve from the line of probity; and that success in it is almost unachievable without recourse to practices and modes of conduct demanding the sacrifice of truth. Independently of the fact that the law is accounted an honorable profession, and that many, who have attained to eminence in it, are of a character that precludes every suspicion of their integrity—circumstances in themselves sufficient to set at rest the question of the honesty or otherwise of the profession; a few words with reference to one or two particular departments of its practice may not be deemed amiss by the reader.

One of the objections commonly made to the law as a means of livelihood, is that the lawyer is not unfrequently, when advocating the cause of a client, whom he knows to be in the wrong, under the conventional necessity of combating proofs adduced, to show the criminality of the accused, and putting forth all his ingenuity to confound a witness so as to make him contradict himself, with a view to produce the impression that his testimony is false, while all the time he is secretly conscious that the evidence given is perfectly correct; a line of conduct unquestionably involving no small measure of violence to truth. There can be no doubt that a lawyer often discovers or thinks he discovers, after he has been engaged to defend a case and has made some enquiry concerning it, that his client is culpable and that to defend him would be plainly an attempt to divert from the guilty object the course of public justice. What must he then do in such circumstances? Ought he to abandon the cause of his client? In a large number of cases such a step is not necessary. Society has already established certain forms of procedure in such matters, and the breaking through them, as would be done in the abandonment of a client's cause, is likely to be mischievous in its consequences to an extent greatly disproportioned to the amount of individual satisfaction which the honest lawyer would derive from abstaining to proceed in the defence of a man whom he believes to be criminal and consequently deserving of penal visitation. We would not be here understood as advocating the disregard of truth for the sake of obviating public inconvenence, though this is a consideration that must not be treated with levity. We will explain afterwards how a lawyer may, under the circumstances we have supposed, continue on many occasions in the defence of his client until the termination of the cause. We will previously advert to one or two of the evils which the desertion of a cause, in the manner alluded to, must almost inevitably engender.

The first will be the impression produced that the cause so repudiated is a bad one and that the accused has been really guilty of the offence laid to his charge; for it must be recollected that such a proceeding cannot in general be kept a secret, and people, the majority of whom love scandal, will make it the subject of their conversation. This of course will raise a prejudice in the public mind against the defendant, who will thus be in a manner condemned before he has been properly tried; independently of the danger of an unfavorable bias being created in the tribunal which is to decide on his destiny; and all this will have arisen solely from the conduct of a single individual—the lawyer, who has relinquished his defence and whose judgment may have been founded on an erroneous view of his client's case.

Another evil will be, when a lawyer thinks himself at liberty to give up a defence in which he has been engaged, because he supposes the accused party guilty, that, after two or three instances of such conduct, he will never more be trusted with any cause; and he might as well take to some other profession for his subsistence.

But it will be asked, must a lawyer then, when he is conscious that his client is wrong and deserving of punishment, persist in defending him, and endeavour thereby to produce an impression that he is innocent, thus violating truth and justice? It is indeed difficult to solve this question satisfactorily. Truth is supreme and must not be sacrificed at the shrine of convenience or expediency. Nevertheless, a lawyer may, in the generality of such cases as we have supposed, acquit himself of his engagement without outrage to it. The maxim of the British law is 'that every man, tho' accused, must be presumed to be innocent until he is formally condemned as guilty. Whatever may be his individual impression and however arising, if the accused or his friends affirm that he is innocent, the lawyer ought to hold him as such: though retained as his advocate, he ought to put himself in the position of one of the general public, who must not condemn an accused person till he is proved guilty, and defend his client with zeal and fidelity, tho' his private opinion, which he ought to consider as likely to be the result of false impressions as that of any other person, may be that the accused is culpable. But when he is convinced beyond even the shadow of a doubt that his client is guilty, as he would be, for instance, from the latter's own confession or from such notoriety as unerringly point to his client as the party guilty, the matter becomes still more difficult. Here the lawyer is not in a position to consider himself as one of the general public whose impression of the guilt or otherwise of the accused may be either right or wrong. If he continues in the defence of his client under such circumstances, he does so against his own conviction—against his own conscience. He does so while he is conscious that he is using his endeavours to avert the course of justice from overtaking the guilty. So situated, a strictly conscientious lawyer, if he continued in the defence of his client, would considerably modify his line of conduct. He would make himself properly useful during the trial of the accused. He would watch the proceedings of the opposite party; he would examine the witnesses for the prosecution, not with the object of confounding them and making them contradict themselves, but of seeing that they do not exaggerate or add any falsehood to their statements; he would also keep an observant eye on the conduct of the advocate opposed to him, and point out to the judge and jury where his opponent has used strong language not warranted by the facts, language that may have the effect of painting his client blacker than he is. In a word he would see that, if his client be condemend, he is so condemend strictly in accordance with the law, in order that, having previously taken the precaution to provide that his offence is not made out to be greater than it really is, the punishment awarded to him may not be severer than is due to the offence.

It may however be objected that a lawyer in pursuing such a course would not be acting faithfully towards his client, who, when he engaged his services, must have done so on the condition, expressed or implied, of his defending him with active zeal, and not in the negative manner he has chosen, which can only tend to facilitate his condemnation. True; and therefore it will be proper, before he adopts this mode of defence, to communicate his intention to his client, and then leave it to him to determine whether he shall continue to employ him or entertain another. Of course, the result in such a case will uniformly be that the accused will dispense with his services. This however is better than that an honorable man, who has a keen sense of what is right and what is wrong, should degrade himself in his own estimation by doing violence to his moral nature and the cause of truth.

It may nevertheless be urged on the other side, in continuation of the argument already employed, that our social arrangements render necessary a lawyer's defending his client under all circumstances, whatever may be his private impression of his guilt or otherwise; that the checks which these arrangements provide in the constitution of a judge, jury, &c. are in most cases sufficient to prevent the commission of injustice or the defeat of public justice; that whatever he may himself think of his conduct, he does not incur public censure even where it may appear that he could not have been ignorant of his client's culpability, because the public are aware that such a line of conduct is by prescription allowed to the counsel for the defence; that this mode of procedure is intimately connected with the general system of criminal defence, which has been found to be a beneficial institution; and that the authorizing any departure from the line, which custom has established, at the mere will of the lawyer, would have the effect of disturbing the whole arrangement and producing mischief much more extensive than the isolated instances of evil which may under the existing system occasionally take place. There is, we must confess, a great deal in the above reasoning. But still, in our apprehension, it does not alter at all the immorality of the practice, thus attempted to be justified by an argument, which, we suspect, owes at the same time much of its origin to human cupidity. The fact remains the same that an advocate, who defends an individual (except in the manner we have pointed out) with the consciousness that his conduct has been positively and unmistakeably criminal, defends a falsehood, namely, the assertion of his innocence, which is a piece of conduct that all right thinking men, who appreciate truth, must condemn.

TO MY MOTHER.

I.

If there is one I love on earth
Far better than another,
'Tis that sweet soul that gave me birth,
My own, my gentle mother,
Who watched me through the tender age
Of infancy and youth;
Who did my opening breast engage
To righteousness and Truth;
Who guided with unceasing care
Each footstep that I trod;
And led me to that temple fair,
Of Thee—the living God.

II.

But where is she? and where am I?
Alas! Time best can tell—
My breast responds but with a sigh
Our parting word—"farewell."
A few short years that scene of bliss
Had changed to one of woe,
And taught the chequer'd state of this
Unhappy life below.
One parting kiss—the hearts warm tears
She ne'er distill'd before,
And we had parted then for years
Perchance for evermore.

III.

To distant climes, to foreign lands,
I then was doom'd to roam;
And cast asunder all the bonds
Of kindred, love and home.
Alas! what pangs rose in my breast,
Which manhood tried to smother,
As one by one, I had to part
With brother, sister—mother.
Aye—few, and few alone conceive
What agony attends
The farewell scene of those, who leave
Their earliest, dearest friends.

IV.

To fair Australia's golden shore
My wandering steps were pressed;
Yet England, dear old land before
All others seem'd the best:
And as its cliffs in distant view
Were melting from my sight,
I sighed and bid a long adieu
To every fond delight.
Some years since then have fleeted by,
And Time's unerring hand
Has wrought full many a change upon
That happy household band.

V.

O'er earth's broad space the broken chain
In separate links are spread:
Some far across the trackless main,
Some resting with the dead.
And where, dear mother, where art thou ?
Perchance that age and care
Have left their impress on thy brow,
And silver'd thy dark hair.
To feel these fondest ties of life
Thus one by one depart,
I'm sure, my dear old mother, must
Press heavy on thy heart.

VI.

Yet dost thou angel mother steer
For that bright world of bliss
With unstained heart, and conscience clear
Of duty done in this.
For when thy thread of life is spun,
And ended are thy days,
Thy Christian worth for ages will
Perpetuate thy praise;
And we thy children—wheresoe'er
Our wandering footsteps tread
Still worship, as we do in life,
Thy memory when dead.

R. G. T.

THE HEALING ART.

(Concluded.)

Soranus, though belonging to the methodic sect, was a person of a different stamp altogether. He was a native of Ephesus, and settled in Rome after having finished his studies in Alexandria. He prosecuted anatomical researches with considerable success; and has left to posterity a biographical account written by himself of the celebrated Hippocrates, which has the merit of possessing much important information concerning that distinguished individual. Soranus flourished during the reigns of Trajan and Adrian.

The next physician of eminence was Cœlius Aurelianus, who wrote several works descriptive of the symptoms of diseases and the manner in which they were treated by the ancients. In particular, his account of that dreadful malady, the hydrophobia, is highly esteemed by reason of the fulness of its details and as embracing the opinions of other physicians on the subject. In one of his works he makes mention of the beneficial tendency of music in the Sciatica, a rheumatic affection of the hip joint, to the relief of which it contributed, as well as in cases of epilepsy. This is a suggestive fact, and acquires importance when viewed in connection with that mysterious influence which harmony is so generally believed to exercise in alleviating the pain occasioned by the bite of the tarantula.

Meanwhile surgery and anatomy, as well as pharmacy, continued to advance in the hands of different practitioners, who displayed unwearied zeal and persevering industry in the prosecution of the work to which they devoted themselves; but it would swell our paper to an inconvenient size, were we to detail the achievements of each in the respective departments of their several studies. We shall therefore, overlooking these, proceed to make some mention of Celsus, who has earned an undying reputation in the province of medicine. It is however doubtful whether he really exercised it as a profession, though some believe him to have taken an active part in one or other branch of it. He wrote a number of treatises on various subjects, which are all lost except those concerning medicine. These writings, which have undergone a multitude of editions, both contain his own opinions and, moreover, present an account of the practice of the physicians who had preceded him. He drew largely upon Hippocrates, so that he was called the Latin Hippocrates. At the same time he differed in several particulars from that distinguished physician, and preferred the opinions of others, among whom was Asclepiades. Like the latter, he treated the doctrine of critical days with levity, and intimated that it was derived by Hippocrates from the Pythagorean doctrine of the mysterious influence of numbers. On the subject of phlebotomy, he was averse to the drawing of much blood at a time by reason of its weakening the patient considerably, but recommended the repetition of the operation at convenient intervals till the proper quantity was drawn. In common with most physicians of those days, he enjoined abstinence in the beginning of diseases; and, in connection with this point, he gives some directions with regard to the aliments to be afterwards given to the patient as respects time, quality and quantity. On the subject of the pulse, he makes several pertinent remarks, having for their object to shew the extreme liability that there arises from a variety of causes enumerated by him, to erroneous conclusions on the matter, and to point out the course which should be adopted for the purpose of diminishing the chances of such misconception. The above are only a few scanty notices of the opinions and observations of Celsus, but we are constrained to this course by reason of the narrow limits within which we must confine ourselves. Merely mentioning therefore the names of two other sects of physicians, the Pneumatics and the Eclectics, which sprang up about this time, but of which we must forego a description in this paper, we pass on to

Galen, an illustrious physician of antiquity and who may justly be styled, if we may so designate him without being guilty of a solecism, the second father of medicine. He was born at Pergamus, a city of Asia Minor, about the year 131, and received under his father, a wealthy and accomplished individual, the best education that could be obtained in that age. After completing his studies in philosophy and general literature, he selected medicine for his profession and studied with that view, in an especial manner, the works of Hippocrates. Having exhausted the sources of information in his own country, he commenced a course of travels for the purpose of improving himself in medical and anatomical knowledge. With this object he first proceeded to Alexandria in Egypt, where he resided some time, and thence passed through Cilicia and other eastern countries. After a tour of several years, he retraced his steps to his native city, where he entered on the exercise of his profession and met with distinguished success. He had been about four years in Pergamus, when, in consequence of some general disturbance in the place, he was induced to go to Rome and settle there. In that imperial city, his superior judgment and skill in the pursuit of his vocation, which drew to him the attention and respect of several persons of eminence, excited the enmity of many of the physicians of Rome to such an extent as to induce him to retire, after a stay of some four or five years, to Pergamus. He had however been not long in the latter place, before he was recalled by the mandate of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, who held him in such esteem as to commit to his medical charge, after his return to Rome, his son Commodus before proceeding on an expedition he had projected against the Germans. He afterwards went back once more to his native country where, notwithstanding that he was a person of a delicate constitution, he lived to the advanced age of seventy, his longevity being ascribed to his abstemiousness, it having been his practice to rise from his meals without satisfying his appetite to its full extent. His death took place about the year 200. He wrote a vast number of treatises, but a large part has been lost, while those that are extant are comprised in several folio volumes. We must not omit to add that he performed so many wonderful cures that his success was attributed by many to magic, with which they supposed him to be familiar.

About the time that Galen commenced his career, the pursuit of medicine was divided among the four sects already mentioned. Of these, that of the Methodists was the most popular, while the Empirics were held in the smallest esteem. Galen, however, endeavored to introduce a reformation, and set out with giving a preference to the Eclectic sect, whose members professed to follow no particular party, but select what was good in the system of each. But though he expressed himself in favor of the Eclectics, his own course was considerably at variance with the maxims which regulated the conduct of the school last mentioned; for he followed almost exclusively Hippocrates, and wrote a voluminous commentary on his works, a labour which he conceived it incumbent on him to undertake for the purpose of conveying a clearer idea of the opinions of that celebrated physician than could be afforded, as he imagined, by the annotations of authors who had preceded him. After this, he addressed himself to the task of composing a system of his own, concerning which we shall present our reader with such notices as we may judge interesting to him. With regard to the practice of medicine, he laid stress on three conditions of the body, the sound, the unsound, and the neutral. In a sound body there was a just proportion in the organs and the parts: the reverse was the case, when the body was unsound; and the neutral was a state between the two. He likewise divided the signs, indicative of health or otherwise, into three classes; the first of which referred to the sound state and gave promise of a continuance of it; the second evidenced the presence of disease, or portended its advent, and the third of course pointed in neither direction. The causes of disease he classified in the same manner. Under the category of the sound state, he included eight varieties of constitution, four of which were, the hot, the cold, the moist, and the dry, and the other four were combinations of any two of the first four. Galen talks of a still further variety, which arises from occult and latent causes. This state he terms an idiosyncrasy of constitution, and ascribes to it that singularity by which some few persons are distinguished from all others by an aversion to certain kinds of food or smells. The varieties of constitution just noticed do not, according to Galen, form a perfectly sound state, which, he remarks, is a condition of the body seldom or never to be met with. Nevertheless, they are not to be looked upon as indicating the presence of actual disease; which latter is to be concluded as then only existing in the body when an impediment in the action of its parts becomes manifest.

Galen discourses upon certain signs which being derived from the above mentioned qualities, cold, hot, moist and dry, in connection with the organic parts, denote either a good or bad or a neutral constitution. In imitation of Hippocrates, he speaks of three constituent principles of the animal body, the parts, the humors, and the spirits; the first of these being the solids and subdivided into the similar and organical; the second, four in number, being the blood, the phlegm, the yellow and the black bile; and the third being of three kinds, vital, animal and natural. After describing how these spirits are formed, he informs us that they act as agents to three kinds of faculties, one of which, as he fancied, had its seat in the liver and presided over nutrition, growth, &c., of another, which resided in the heart, the function was to impart warmth and life to the body through the instrumentality of the arteries; while the third, in conjunction with the reasoning principle, took up its position in the brain, controled the other faculties, and with the aid of the nerves communicated a power of sensation and motion to the various parts. Over the whole of these ruled that original active principle to which Hippocrates alluded under the term Nature.

According to Galen, there were three principal kinds of diseases. The first consisted in an intemperature of the similar parts; the second arose from irregularities of the organic, and the third referred to both these parts when cut, bruised, or corroded so as to produce a " solution of continuity," that is, an interruption of their entireness. The distinction between the acute and the chronic complaints, which was first made by Hippocrates, is retained by Galen in his system. He then describes the causes of disease as being external and internal.' The external, being food, air, &c. operated in stirring up the internal, which consisted in certain states or dispositions of the humors. After treating of the symptoms of diseases, which he describes as of three kinds, he enters upon the consideration of their signs as being diagnostic or prognostic; the first are those by which diseases are distinguished from one another, and as to the second, we need scarcely say any thing concerning them, but refer the reader to the prognostics of Hippocrates noticed in a former number of this paper.

In our treatment of the matters immediately preceding, we have been rather concise; but, besides a detail would scarcely be interesting or even instructive to the general reader, our article has already extended to an inconvenient length, and we were anxious, in consequence, to come to a conclusion on the subject in our present issue; our design having been, as mentioned before, to attempt a sketch of the course of medicine in the earlier ages of the world.

INDIAN SKETCHES.—NO. 1. THE DACOIT.

The piece of land which extends for miles between the Hooghly and Bhuggarutty, was at one time specially inhabited by Dacoits, whose daring exploits, and unheard-of cruelties are still in the recollection of many in this part of the country. The locality afforded these heartless marauders ample facilities to carry on their depredations; and very frequently boats of considerable size passing on either river were attacked, and the men belonging to them murdered with a brutal ferocity which can scarcely be imagined. Rich merchants either taking their goods to the Upper Provinces, or bringing down such commodities as were in demand to Calcutta, were pillaged of all their property; and few there were who escaped with their lives. The plans which the Dacoits adopted in their predatory excursions were as various, as the circumstances in which they were placed. Sometimes they went boldly to work, as if unmindful of the dangers to which they exposed themselves; at other times they observed great caution and circumspection when in pursuit of their prey. At one time they gave due notice to the party whom they intended to rob;

on another occasion they came suddenly upon an individual giving him no time or opportunity to save his life by flight. Neither the Buccaneers of America, the Brigands of Italy, nor the high-way robbers of Britain were to be compared to the daring freebooters of Bengal for the cruelties and atrocities committed by them. They had no sympathy for age or sex: the old man bent down by the weight of years, the woman who could not defend herself, and the child scarcely able to lisp his own name, were all equally exposed to the brutality of the Dacoits. Whenever they entered a house, they took away all the valuables, and cut down all its inmates. But their excursions were more usually directed towards the river, where their nocturnal visits were attended with great success.

When the dacoits observed a boat which from its appearance promised them a good booty, they watched its progress with great anxiety. Men were sent forward to keep the main body duly informed as to the place where it was anchored for the night, and the number of individuals likely to be in it. When the required intelligence was received, arrangements were soon effected as to how the attack was to be made; and a boat properly manned was sent to the spot where the intended victim lay. Most part of the dacoits remained concealed, while three or four only showed themselves on deck, who from their appearance might be taken for tradesmen, or Police chuprassees sent upon public business. These entered into conversation with the men of the other boat, and thus gained information on points with which they wished to be acquainted. When night advanced, and all lay buried in profound sleep, a signal was made by the Dacoits, upon which several boats, each having a number of men, came towards the spot from the creeks and canals which abounded in these parts, and in an instant surrounded the boat. The attack was then made simultaneously, and all were put to death before they were aware of their danger. All the valuables, whatever there may have been of gold and silver, were seized, and the boat sunk in the river to prevent detection of the robbery. The property was then made over to the chief, who divided the booty amongst his followers, according to his own judgment. Dacoity in the present day, though not so extensivly practised, is yet carried on in several parts of Bengal. The plan of operation adopted by the men, who prefer this method of gaining a livelihood to honest employment, varies very little from that pursued by their predecessors. The only difference is, that the present dacoits are less daring than those who in former times figured in the annals of mofussil crimes and misdemeanours.

At the time to which this sketch has a particular reference, there was an individual who was the most adventurous amongst the dacoits in this part of Bengal. His name was Rogoo—He was a man of ordinary stature, slim and exceedingly active. He could run without stopping for miles, and jump over walls and hedges with perfect ease. He generally took a club in his hand which he used so dexterously, as to foil a man armed with a sword in an instant. His face at once indicated his true character. His large eyes, which protruded from their sockets, and a pair of thick moustache which he cultivated with some care, gave him a very forbidding appearance. The fame of Rogoo's deeds was spread far and wide, and the very mention of his name at one time inspired with dread most part of the inhabitants of lower Bengal. The head quarters of Rogoo were situated somewhere in the territory between the rivers of which we have already spoken; but he was never in one place for any considerable time. He moved about with the rapidity of a general, who is bent upon making conquests, and is desirous of taking his enemies by surprise. If he was at Tripinny one day, the next day he was seen at Kishnaghur levying contributions upon some rich inhabitant of the place. He combined intrepidity with activity, and cared not whom he attacked. The Magistrates all over the district were very much alarmed, and were on the alert to apprehend a man, who had brought ruin and misery on thousands. But all their endeavours were fruitless. Rogoo was not an ordinary robber to suffer himself to be captured so easily: he evaded the vigilance of a dozen Magistrates, and all their myrmidons composed of pikes, chuprassees and goindahs. The bold and cunning Rogoo was a match for them all, and able to frustrate the designs of hundreds who were arrayed against him. Once he was informed that a Magistrate at one of the large stations was contriving some plan to take him; and he was highly incensed.—"Take me," said he "I will see how he can do that. By Ma-Kalli if I do not pillage him at the first opportunity, I shall never more attempt to put my hand upon another's property. What does he think of himself? Magistrate he may be; but I am Rogoo Dacoit, whose name is a terror to every body, and am I to be taken by him? never—I will never suffer such an idignity?" Rogoo then took a solemn oath in the name of the debtas whom he worshipped, that the first person whom he would rob next would be the audacious Magistrate, who had presumed to form plans for his apprehension. This was intimated to his companions, who one and all applauded his design; they pledged themselves to fight, to kill and rob his enemies, in a word, to shed their last drop of blood for him. This was very gratifying to Rogoo, and he stroked his moustache with peculiar satisfaction.

A short time after the communication of the intelligence which tended so much to exasperate Rogoo, preparations were made by the said Magistrate for a grand party at his house. Invites were issued to all his friends in the station, and even to many who lived twenty miles from his residence. The day arrived, and the house of the Magistrate looked quite gay and attractive. The party was one of the most magnificent that was ever given in that station. The house was fitted up in a style of elegance that was not to be surpassed; and the supper table exhibited such a display of silver, as a mofussilite never dreamed of. The Magistrate was ambitious of making a show, and what he had not at home, he borrowed from some friends about the place. He was anxious that every thing should be conducted in a proper manner. The guests enjoyed till a very late hour of the night and then departed, highly delighted with the entertainment, leaving the Magistrate and his wife to look after their things. But they were too tired and besides too aristocratic to attend to the business of locking up; and the servants suspecting no danger left the silver articles in a room, which was not properly secured. They all then retired, and were soon overpowered by sleep. That very night Rogoo and his men entered the house of the Magistrate, and robbed him of all his valuables, in spite of the posse of burkundazes who were kept watching the gate.

The first thing that was brought to the notice of the Magistrate the next morning, as may have been naturally expected, was the loss of his property. The Huzzoor was beside himself: he raved like a madman, stamped with his foot, gnashed his teeth and swore, that he would hang all the men that composed his guard on the trees which stood at the gate of his residence, if they did not produce the robbers that had dared to enter his house. But where were they to be found? they were beyond their reach, and their chief was no doubt then laughing in his sleeve at having given the Magistrate a fresh cause for exerting himself, for the extermination of the dacoits. The loss of the Magistrate was very great; it amounted to some thousand rupees; and the worst of it was, he had to make good the property of his friends, which was taken away with his own. Many a sleepless night did he pass; and when he heard from Rogoo himself by means of a letter sent by Dâk, that he whom he had been so desirous of securing as his prisoner, was the very man that had done the deed, his anger knew no bounds. The burkundazes, though not hanged, were located in a place for which they certainly had no great predilection; and the Magistrate became ten times more vigilant than before, and repudiated the idea of giving another party. In the mean time, Rogoo and his companions were enjoying their booty in peace and quietness. For months they did not stir from their abode, as they had abundant means at command to enable them to live in one part of the country for a considerable period, without the necessity of having recourse to their old practice.

One day Rogoo sat with his followers and was conversing with some zest upon past events, when a man arrived in great haste, apparently with a message, and whispered to him something which seemed to please him much. "Speak out Nokoor," said he, "speak out, we are all friends, there are no enemies;—speak what you have to say, and let us all know it at once." Upon this Nokoor delivered his message as follows: "I have been sent, Mohoshai," said he, "to inform you that a party of men is now proceeding to Kaasi on a pilgrimage, and is supposed to have property of considerable value. Amongst these men there is a Baboo, belonging to a very rich family in Calcutta who is going with money, which he intends to distribute among the poor in the holy city. Nobin says, you should make all haste to overtake the party before nightfall."

"Certainly," said Rogoo, "we shall not disappoint the pilgrims; and by Kalli Mai, we shall be with them in time just to prevent their taking a comfortable nap." So saying he arose, and with him his faithful followers.

A few miles from Santipore there is a plain, on which stood formerly several large trees, at some distance from one another, which served as a shelter against the burning rays of the noonday sun, and a resting place for many a weary traveller. Beneath one of these trees, the party of men, whose appearance in that quarter was announced by Nobin, had made a halt and were refreshing themselves after the fatigues of the day. Some were cooking their victuals, and others slept; while a few conversed among themselves. At this time Rogoo arrived with his gang. The robbers had assumed the habits of travellers, and had nothing on them, which could in any way betray their real characters. Their weapons they concealed amongst their baggage, and they took good care that no one should even by sign or gesture, give notice of what they were. As Rogoo advanced to the party who were talking to one another, he made a salam to the man to whom all spoke with respect, and he was a brahmin. "Pranam, mohashoi" said he, "I am come to ask you the favor to allow us to sit here amongst you." "By all means," said the Brahmin "we have no objection whatever;" and Rogoo and his companions sat near the group, and soon begun to converse freely with him. "Where are you bound?" asked the Brahmin of Rogoo.

"To Kassi" replied Rogoo, "where else should we go? Happy shall I be," continued the wily dacoit, "if I have the good fortune to reach the place, and breathe my last within its boundaries."

"I am glad to hear of this," said the brahmin, "we shall now have a large number with us, for we are going to the same place."

"Are you?" exclaimed Rogoo "O we shall be companions, fellow travellers for days."

"Just so," said the Brahmin "and I am glad for this reason, that we may withstand the attacks of Dacoits."

"Very true," said the other "very true. But who cares for them?"

"But I have heard that this part of the country is infested with them; and that Rogoo their chief is the dread of every body?"

"Rogoo! who told you of him?" asked the dacoit.

"A most cruel, bloodthirsty man he is," rejoined the brahmin.

"Ah! indeed!" exclaimed Rogoo.

"Yes, he is a most daring dacoit. I am told he cares for no one, and has escaped the vigilance of a host of men who were after him."

"And no body knows where he is?" inquired Rogoo.

"No, not even the goindas who are scattered all over the country, to obtain information regarding him."

"Is it possible!" exclaimed Rogoo "no body knows his haunt, his place of abode?"

"Yes, no body. I am told he is here one day, and the next day thirty miles off."

"Then the magistrates here must be a lazy set," remarked Rogoo, "they care not I believe for what happens within their zillahs. If they went vigorously to work, I am sure, Rogoo, or whoever he may be, would be easily captured."

"What you say is true" remarked the brahmin "but you know Rogoo is an extraordinary man; he is the very incarnation of the devil I am inclined to think."

"Whatever he may be, if he were the devil himself, and I had any thing to do with the administration of justice, I would indeed make short work of him." This excited some laughter; but the brahmin interrupting said, "Let that pass, we should not wish him to be here at any rate."

"Let him come only," said Rogoo, "and we shall see how his head remains entire upon his shoulders."

"How fortunate are we" said two or three of the Brahmin's friends, that we have now so many to fight with the Dacoit: we care not if the whole of Rogoo's gang come amongst us."

"Well said, well said" exclaimed Rogoo, and every body repeated the same remark.

Night soon came on, and all the pilgrims after partaking of some food laid themselves under the tree, and soon fell asleep. The dacoits laid themselves down likewise, but did not close their eyes; and when the night had far advanced they rose, and taking their weapons which they had kept concealed, made an attack upon the defenceless men, many of whom were cut down, while others fled from the spot so soon as they became aware of what was going on. There was one of the number, however, who had not time to make his escape, but quickly secured himself in a large cane basket having a lid, in which the pilgrims kept a few articles for common use. The chief dacoit having observed the place was clear ordered his men to take whatever they thought proper, and make their way home as quickly as possible. "This basket" said he, pointing to the one in which the man had concealed himself, "this basket seems to be well laden, I doubt not it contains something valuable—their treasure it may be. Convey it with the utmost despatch to my quarters." No sooner was the command given, than forthwith two sturdy fellows came up, and having placed it on their heads by the help of others, proceeded with their load with rapid strides. While the dacoits were thus returning with their booty, a very considerable number of Policemen composed of burkandazes and pikes, well armed headed by the Darogah, were in their way upon a dacoit-capturing expedition, and by mere chance met Rogoo and his party as the morning dawned. "Stop, Stop," called out the Darogah, "tell me who are you, and where are you going." Rogoo finding that he had but a few men with him, the greater part having gone ahead, thought proper not to come into collision with his antagonists; he had therefore recourse to subterfuge. "What is it you want, mohashoi?" asked he of the Darogah. "We are poor men, and why should you disturb us." "Where are you going?" interrogated the police-man again. "We are pilgrims," said Rogoo, and are now making our way to Kassi.—"What have you in that basket?" asked the Darogah. "Our clothes, our clothes," called out half a dozen men. "No such thing, no such thing," cried out a voice which issued from the basket. The men who had the load on their heads were seized with a tremor; they imagined that it was an evil spirit that had taken his lodging in the basket. They threw it from their heads and tried to scamper off, but had not gone far before they were secured. No sooner was the basket thrown on the ground than the man jumped out, crying out, "Doi Companee doi Companee,"—"What is the matter" asked the Darogah—"We have been robbed by these men, *dhurmabatar* O incarnation of the deity! They have murdered all except myself." Upon this Rogoo and the other men were seized in spite of their efforts to run away. "Bind them fast," called out the Darogah, and the hands of the dacoits were immediately fastened with ropes, and in this condition they were taken to the Station, where they were secured in a prison until the day of trial. Rogoo's case was desperate, and he with a dozen of his companions was convicted of robbery and murder. The sentence of death was passed upon all, and they were to be hanged on the river side, and their bodies allowed to remain on the gibbet to serve as a warning to others. The day arrived when the dacoits were to be carried to the place of execution. An immense crowd were gathered on the banks of the river so that it was found difficult for the Police to get to the spot with the prisoners. At length the dacoits were brought before the gallows, but ere the ropes were adjusted to be put round their necks, Rogoo disappeared. He leaped over the heads of half a dozen of the Burkundazes, and was lost in the crowd. He then made his way through the dense mass, and got himself clear off within a few moments. The Magistrate who was present looked exceedingly foolish, and the policemen were struck dumb; for they could scarcely believe their senses. When they had sufficiently recovered from their astonishment, they made an attempt to run after the dacoit, but it was too late: Rogoo was no more to be seen. The other dacoits were soon after hanged, and their bodies were seen for many many days exposed on the banks of the river.—Rogoo, it is said, was captured after the lapse of some years, and likewise ended his eventful life on a gibbet.

MR. COSTA AND HIS WEDDING.

CHAPTER III.

"Marriage has its joys and sorrows."—

The day at length arrived when Mr. Costa was to lead Miss D'Silva to the altar. For several days all his leisure hours were fully occupied in making preparations for the great event. He received the arrears of his pay, and contrived to raise some money from his friends to cover the expenses of his wedding, which he was determined to keep up in a style, that would do honor to his name and profession. Mr. Costa, as might have been expected, was not a little fastidious in regard to his wedding apparel. After much deliberation, in which he was assisted by some of his colleagues in the office, he came to the determination, that he should have a blue coat with gilt buttons, a pair of corduroy inexpressibles, a white satin waistcoat, a black cravat and frilled shirt. As for Miss D'Silva, she likewise had her partialities: nothing less than a white tarlatan skirt with satin body would do for her; and when we say that a pair of gilt combs adorned her head, several strings of pearls hung round her neck, and a pair of gold earrings went dangling above her shoulders, we have said enough to give the reader an idea of the interesting appearance of the bride.

Mr. Costa had the invites printed in his own office, and had them circulated to a large number of the friends and relations of both parties. In a Nota Bene, at the foot of the card, he thought proper to add,—"To prevent intruders this ticket should be delivered at the gate." We know not whether there were intruders on the occasion; but of this we have been told, that there never was a more heterogeneous mass of beings in any party, than that assembled in the memorable wedding feast of Mr. Costa. The house was filled to overflowing, so that a great part of the gents were obliged to remain in the compound, for the purpose of enjoying free respiration, leaving the ladies in undisputed possession of the inner apartments. Amongst the latter were several who certainly proved great attractions for the young Pivas and Pascals, who had assembled on the occasion. Mr. Jugo, a young man with a head of hair resembling a cabbage of an enormous size, went up to Miss Coitoo, and making a bow *a la Francais*, asked her, "How are you Miss, I am happy to see you in the wedding." Miss Coitoo returned a benignant smile, and Mr. Jugo felt proud; he then turned to another young lady and repeated the same question. In another part of the room Mr. Pacheko carried on a game at flirtation, to the no small amusement of the group congregated there. He snatched a handkerchief from the hands of the agreeable Miss Bastiano, and pressed the scented part upon his shirt front; an act, at which the young lady seemed exceedingly wroth; for when the handkerchief was returned, she flung it at him in a pet. "Sweet Miss Bastiano," said Mr. Pacheko, "surely you cannot be angry with me!" "For shame, Mr. Pacheko," said the young lady "I wish you will not come near me." "Ha, ha, ha," exclaimed the gallant young man, and pocketting the handkerchief, walked off from the place. Whether the said hankerchief was ever returned to its rightful owner is a question involved in doubt and uncertainty.

While Mr. Pacheko and Miss Bastiano were thus engaged, Mr. Hicks was seen walking up to the new married couple and address them in terms, which he conceived were suited to the occasion. "Mr. and Mrs. Costa," said he, "allow me, though an utter stranger to you, to congratulate you on this joyous occasion. May the sunshine of prosperity ever cheer your days, and may you never know adversity but by name." Mr. Costa who did not exactly comprehend what was uttered by Mr. Hicks, grinned and bowed; and Mrs. Costa remained with her head down, as if ashamed to look at Mr. Hicks in the face. Whereupon Mr. Hicks asked Mr. Costa's permission to drink a glass of wine with his wife. This was readily consented to, and wine was forthwith brought. Mr. Hicks then gave expression to a sentiment in these words, "May your path be strewed with the choicest flowers of terrestrial bliss, and let the silken chord of love unite you both." The speech of Mr. Hicks drew a number to the spot, and some amongst these urged Mr. Costa to return thanks to Mr. Hicks for his good wishes. Whereupon Mr. Costa made bold and delivered himself as follows: "Mr. Hicks I feel glad you have drank my wife, and I thank you in my heart." "Bravo," exclaimed one who stood near him "Bravo, Costa, that is well said" and Mr. Costa looked much elated at this, and walked with his head erect, no doubt highly delighted at the applause which his first attempt at speechifying had elicited. The Music now struck up, and the gentlemen who had been located in the compound came in one by one, and strutted about the hall, looking for partners. They all ranged themselves in due order, and amongst them Mr. and Mrs. Costa of course took a conspicuous place. "I am happy to see you, Costa," said Mr. Piva, "that you are doing us the honor of dancing with us," "I cannot help it" said Costa, "in rather a doleful tone; they pushed us up." "Why, said the other, there is nothing difficult—just look at others, and you will soon go through it.". "What are they playing?" inquired Costa. "The Schottische" said the other. "The *Shottees!*" exclaimed Costa with the utmost alarm "*Shottees!* I do not know to dance the *Shottees;* I want the Country-dance, the Country-dance." "For shame!" ejaculated Mr. Hicks, who had by this time come up to him," for shame, never speak of the Country-dance in the nineteenth century, Mr. Costa; it is exploded from all decent company, never name it Mr. Costa, never." "But I can dance nothing else," returned Costa in a tone betraying that he was not quite comfortable in his then situation. "Never mind," said Mr. Hicks "I will initiate you in a minute;" and thereupon Mr. Hicks endeavoured to shew him how the Schottische was to be danced. When Mr. Costa thought he was able to go through it, the musicians were desired to strike up again, and several couples were seen to go round and round in the hall. But poor Costa, O misery of miseries! what pen can describe, or what tongue utter his misfortune! He, the bridegroom above all, the observed of all observers, he, unhappy man, had scarcely made one revolution, before he tumbled down with his partner to the utter astonishment and merriment of every body. The bride was soon helped up; but the bridegroom, whose malignant star was on the ascendant, measured his full length upon the floor. His straps had given way, and his shoes fell from his feet. Mr. Costa at length rose, very angry with himself for having given others occasion to laugh at him. "Did I not tell you, Piva," said he, "that I did not know the *Shottees*, and yet you would have me to dance it. Fool I was to have listened to you." Saying this, Mr. Costa retired into a room to adjust his clothes; while the company resumed the dance, and continued engaged so till a very late hour of the night. The party did not break up till dawn, after having done ample justice to the fare which had been served up at the supper table. Those who were in the company were very much amused, and still talk of Mr. Costa's mishap as the most acceptable treat they had ever enjoyed for many many years.

A FEW REMARKS ABOUT GENIUS, PHRENOLOGY, AND THE HUMAM MIND.

Some have said there is no such thing as genius. When one reflects upon the question, and considers the arguments advanced for and against the existence of that mental power, a suspicion is apt to arise that much of the controversy may be due to the want of precision in the idea, which the disputing parties respectively entertain of the thing signified by the term genius. In this, as in many other questions, it is not improbable, that if one of either of the contending parties had, before launching forth upon the sea of controversy, taken the trouble to ascertain what another of the opposite party understood of the subject in dispute, he would probably have found that he and his opponent were in the main agreed, and that the difference between them arose from the difference of the views in which they at first regarded the question. With regard, therefore, to the one at this moment before us, let us at the outset determine what is meant by the word genius, at least, what we understand by the term. Perhaps the definition, that it is a peculiar aptitude to excel in an extraordinary degree in any pursuit, where the mind is employed, will not be found to be very wide of the mark. Genius then must depend upon the constitution of the mind. But what is mind? It is either something distinct in itself, though acting in union with the brain, or a mere result of organization in the latter. Phrenologists, though they do not avowedly deny the existence of the mind as a distinct being, yet reduce all its wonderful phenomena to the operation of the brain, thereby indirectly pointing to the conclusion that the mind is a nonentity. It must be confessed that the arguments which they advance in support of their doctrine, are calculated, upon a superficial view, to induce us to believe that the manifestations, which we call the phenomena of the mind, are exclusively the workings of the brain; yet when we consider the physical structure of that organ, our reason is not satisfied that it is in itself sufficient to produce them. Phrenologists divide, as is well known, the upper surface of the brain into a number of portions corresponding generally with the parts which we observe as formed exteriorly by its circumvolutions, and ascribe to each of these portions a certain power or faculty, alleging that the largeness of any one or more of them, in comparison with the others, is accompanied by a proportionate increase in the force or energy of the faculty which belongs to such enlarged portion. As a proof of this assertion, among other things, they direct attention to the fact of monomania or insanity on a particular topic, which they affirm can only be explained by the supposition of the division of the brain into portions as described above and one of these, answering to the subject upon which the mania exists, being diseased, while all the others are in a healthy state; and also to the phenomenon of dreaming, the fancifulness and incoherency of which they attribute to some of these portions being awake and in action, while the others are in a state of repose, for, add they, if the brain be one homogeneous substance without the localization of faculties mentioned above, it would be simply awake or asleep, and, consequently, there would be no such thing as dreaming. On the same principle, they would establish the existence of genius, which being a particular aptitude to excel in one pursuit more than in another, is referred by them to a special development of that department of the brain with which such pursuit is connected. They do not stop here, but allege that their theory is based upon examination of a variety of heads where they have found the exterior protuberances, which they state accord with the form of the brain in the interior, to correspond with the faculties that have been respectively assigned to them, by a reference to the dispositions or aptitudes which characterized the individuals to whom those heads belonged.

The above reasoning is indeed specious and imposing, but there are some objections which it is difficult to obviate. There is no doubt that the manifestation of mind is entirely dependent on the brain, and that when the latter is in any way diseased or injured, the mind is suspended or crippled in its workings. But it has been found that the substance of the brain, though marked superficially with circumvolutions, is uniform throughout, the cortical or upper part being somewhat softer than the lower or medullary, and that there is not observable any difference of quality in the several exterior portions into which phrenologists have divided its surface, so as to afford a foundation for their theory of the localization of the intellectual faculties. One might however, notwithstanding the fact, above described, of the brain, as constituted, giving no evidence of any peculiar disposition or propensity being lodged in each of its parts, be induced to put some faith in the assertions of phrenologists, if the powers and aptitudes of the mind were limited in number in the same manner as are the exterior portions of the brain ; but the fact is that there is an immense variety of these powers and aptitudes, as observable among mankind at large, so that it is impossible to conceive that all these can be comprised within the compass of the brain, when we know experimentally that its substance is in every individual of the same kind. Phrenologists, by their method of reasoning on the subject, would reduce the mind of man to a level with that of a brute creature, such as a dog or an elephant. These quadrupeds have what may be called mind or the power of thinking to some extent, as often exemplified in the instances recorded of the *sagacity* of animals, but their mind is in no respect distinct from the substance of the brain. It is a mere emanation of the latter, and therefore possesses a small number of faculties, which are besides limited in degree. The human brain, except in the relation of quantity and form is not, we believe, substantially different. But, then, look at the difference between the mental powers of man and those of the most sagacious among the lower animals, the elephant. The interval between them is indeed vast, so as to place it beyond any reasonable doubt that the thinking principle in man is an entity essentially distinct from the matter of the brain. There are some thoughts so elevated—so sublime—especially those which genius conceives and makes known to others, that it is impossible to reconcile to our sense of the relation of cause and effect, that they could be produced by any brain or by any combination of that substance. There is no affinity between the two such as human experience could recognize. The one is matter—the other pure intelligence.

Brain is indeed necessary, as we are at present constituted, for the operation of the mind. It is, in short, an instrument to the mind, as a chisel or other tool is to the carpenter. The latter, if his tool be defective, finds himself crippled in the execution of his art. In like manner is the power of the mind restrained, when the brain is imperfect, or diseased. So, on the other hand, a healthy and perfect brain is of limited use conjoined to an uneducated mind, as the finest instrument is in the hands of an unskilful mechanic. When the two are united, a complete and unimpaired brain with a mind elevated by knowledge, the results are indeed wonderful.

But what is mind, it may be asked again? It is strange that while our mind is thus thinking, and our pen recording its thoughts, it should not know what itself is. We are only conscious of its workings, but what the being is where these workings originate, and how they are carried on in union with the brain, we do not know and perhaps never shall while we remain constituted as we at present are.

It is the impossibility to discover what the essence of the mind is—to conceive what it can be, if it be not matter extended and occupying space, that dispose some people to materialism. But our ignorance of the manner of its existence, is no argument for its non existence. We might as well deny the existence of heat or any other subtile principle of nature, because we are unable to comprehend what it is. Dwelling on one point alone—that of what may be the substance of the mind—without considering it in connection with its operations, is apt to beget the suspicion that it is nothing in itself: but a full knowledge and just appreciation of the splendour and variety of the manifestations of the mind as exemplified in the works produced by genius and talent; and a due consideration of how incompatible these are with the matter of the brain, lead us to the opposite opinion, that mind is neither matter, nor the result of any combination of it.

Genius then, according to our view of the subject, is exclusively a power of the mind. Here the question arises whether all minds are originally equal or not. Examining it in all its bearings as far as our humble understanding can comprehend them, we do not find, as far as the capacity for possessing general ability or talent is concerned, that there is any difference between one mind and another that cannot be accounted for by the circumstances of their connection with the brain. To us it appears that all minds, with an exception which we shall presently notice, are essentially equal, and that the unequal manifestations, which we daily observe, are owing to the difference in the state of the brain. We will explain ourselves. Three or four boys of the same age are placed under the same master, who takes equal pains with them all. They all make the same or nearly the same progress in their studies except one who lags far behind, though he employs the same amount of diligence as the others. In common parlance, we say that his mental powers are feeble. By the use of such phraseology people are often misled; and, by the expression in question, one would be led to apprehend that the weakness referred to is in the mind itself. But there is no necessity to conclude that the mind is feeble. The boy, who is thus tardy in learning, may, for any thing we know to the contrary, possess a mind equally as good as those of his companions; his brain only may be defective and not so well formed as theirs. The instrument with which his mind has to work being thus blunt, he of course cannot compete with his fellow students,-as would be the case with two mechanics of equal skill, between whose respective works there would certainly be a similar difference, if the one employed tools much better or with finer edge, than those of the other. If by a reference to the inequality of the brain, with the substance of which we are acquainted and which we know to be liable to deterioration, we can account for the differences which we perceive in the manifestations of mind, we need not, and, according to the rules of philosophizing, ought not to proceed further and seek for their cause in the mind, of whose constitution or manner of existence we have no further knowledge than that it is immaterial.

But though all minds have, if there be any force in the reasoning we have employed, an equality of powers or rather an equal capacity for possessing such powers—for education or the absence of it awakens them or leaves them dormant—there are occasionally some minds, where one or other of these powers manifests itself with such unusual force as to form the exception to which we have alluded. This power so exerting itself is genius. It is however of various kinds and degrees, but now and then it so towers above all others in the minds of some individuals, such for instance as Homer, Shakspeare, Milton and others, as to have been designated emphatically by the term genius. It appears to us that those who maintain the existence of genius as an original faculty, not possessed in common with others, confine their attention to such towering minds as the above, while others of an opposite opinion include in their idea of what constitutes genius mental powers of an inferior order but still much above those which belong to the bulk of mankind. With perhaps the exception that the latter suppose that such minds are susceptible of being cultivated to the point of perfection to which the eminent individuals mentioned above had arrived, the ideas which the two parties entertain on the subject will, in all probability, be found upon examination to be in most respects identical, and that the difference existing between them arises from the greater or less range which they give to the signification of the term *genius.*

From the view here taken of the nature of mind as an immaterial being, the conclusion justly to be drawn is, that it is originally formed with capacities of certain extent which education can develop only to that extent. Material objects are capable of being refined and advanced, from stage to stage, to a degree of perfection to which we can assign no conceivable limit, but the mind which is immaterial is incapable of such changes in what forms its being. At least, we find it impossible to understand how any change can take place in a thing whose very essence—spirituality—precludes all idea of mutation. Education indeed stores it with knowledge, which it does gradually as the brain, advancing by degrees towards perfection from infancy to maturity, becomes more and more capable of conveying it to the mind, but education does not produce any alteration in its essence. The mind therefore, as it appears to us, comes from the hand of nature with germs of intellectual improvement limited in their capacity, and education can only unfold those germs to the extent thus originally fixed by nature. A sound seed, sowed in a fertile soil and with other conditions equally favorable, will grow into a tree of full size, whereas another of the same kind, if defective in any respect, though attended with the same favorable circumstances, will not attain to the perfection of the first. So it is with human minds, which can only be improved, under the most favorable conditions of perfect brain and education, to the extent of the capacities which they respectively received at their formation, such capacities being, in short, their constituent parts.

But, it must be remembered, that genius is not merely a capacity however powerful for acquiring knowledge. An ordinary mind, by dint of perseverance, may accumulate a vast store of it and yet be not genius. Other capacities of the same superior description must be conjoined with it to constitute what is called genius. These are chiefly, as time and education evolve them, a power of conception, and of combination of ideas, and an untiring energy for embodying and realizing the operations of the mind. These faculties are co-existent and go towards the formation of the mind.

In general, it would seem, that the minds of men are formed with the same number of faculties, which in some few differ, not so much in kind as in degree, from those of the rest, and herein lies the foundation of what is usually denominated genius. Among these favored few, one is a greater genius than another in proportion as the powers of his mind transcend those of the other. But if genius consists in this difference of strength in the mental faculties of the same class, what is it that causes, in two minds of the same or about the same elevation of character, the one to choose, for instance, the pursuit of the science of astronomy, and the other that of the art of poetry or painting? Is it any original peculiarity of the mind or is it accident that determines the choice? Here is presented the battle-ground on which is carried on the contest between the two parties, those who are for the existence and those for the non-existence of genius. If it can be shown that this choice is due to an original mental peculiarity, the first mentioned party becomes victorious; if not, the opposite party claims the right of triumphing. The more we think upon the subject, the more we find it surrounded with difficulties; and it would be presumptuous in us, with the limited abilities we possess, to attempt to decide the question between them. We would however make a few remarks which may tend to shew on which side there is a preponderance of evidence. Taking a view of the manifestations of high mental powers, we cannot help being struck with the multitude and variety of the pursuits in which genius has been engaged. To say that each of these pursuits sprang from a separate and original germ in the mind is calculated to raise a smile at the unusualness of a theory which has the appearance of being fanciful rather than rational. Our idea of the mind as an immaterial principle would dispose us to suppose it as something more simple than the extremely complex being which the proposition of its being originally composed of an infinite variety of germs would make it—that is—considering it in the abstract and not as existing in individuals. On the other hand, when we direct our attention to a few special facts, our opinion, if it were against the existence of genius, undergoes a considerable change. When we ask ourselves the question, could Newton, who was undoubtedly a genius in the path which he pursued, have become as great a poet as Shakespere, if he had applied himself to the profession of the latter? we are disposed to answer at once in the negative. Why we are so disposed, we cannot with exactness say. But we *feel* that each of these distinguished men was *by nature* fitted to shine in the line which he *chose*, and that the difference in the character of the two lines is such as to make it unlikely that either the mathematician or the poet could have adopted indifferently one or the other for his vocation. Pursuing the thread of our argument, however, we are led to conclude that among the original principles of the human mind, one may be a passion for the sublime, the beautiful and the harmonious, while another may be an aptitude or propensity for the study and prosecution of the sciences. When the principle first mentioned is unusually vigorous, its possessor, always supposing the concomitant circumstances to be favorable, becomes a distinguished poet, painter, sculptor or musician. So, in the case of the second, eminence in the pursuit and elaboration of one or another of the sciences is the result. It is upon grounds something like the above, that one may explain how Newton, constituted as his mind was, could not have been illustrious as a poet. In the first place, he would not have chosen the pursuit of the latter: but if circumstances compelled him to adopt it as a profession, his powerful mind would indeed have enabled him to make some progress in it, but it is highly improbable that he would have risen to any thing above mediocrity, so as to earn the title of poet. A still further difficulty however here occurs which it is no easy matter to solve. It is, whether the two principles, selected above in the way of instances, are originally so modified as to determine in the one case the person specially endowed with it to the pursuit of one particular science rather than another, and, in the other, to one particular fine art in preference to any of the others; or whether the choice of the pursuit is due solely to external circumstances. Reference to facts apparently promises to help us in deciding this question. Many of the poets, painters and musicians have at a very tender age evinced an ardent attachment to their respective arts, and the inference naturally follows that their minds had a peculiar bent for their several studies. But it may yet be asked, whether this bent towards one particular branch of literature or of the fine arts was originally so as necessarily to lead to the cultivation of that branch and no other; or was it a predisposition towards the beautiful in general, to which accident or circumstances gave that particular direction? Here we have arrived at that point where the question, we fear, must be left undetermined; for the circumstances and associations which have surrounded the infancy and youth of the man of genius have been so various, that it is impossible to ascertain, if they have had any *real* influence in giving his mind a turn to the particular pursuit in which he has distinguished himself, nor is it reasonable to conclude, on that account, that they have exercised no such influence whatever.

One thing however is certain, if there be any truth in the reasoning we have employed, that genius, or what is generally understood by that term, is a development of some original principle or capacity of the human mind, and so far it may be said to exist in the sense of those who maintain its existence in opposition to the party who deny it. The quarrel which divides the two classes of thinkers on the subject, is, as it seems to us, about a minor point arising out of the preceding; and, though they have ranged themselves on opposite sides, we suspect that, except in one or two particulars unimportant in their nature, they will be found, upon a comparison of their sentiments, to be in the main unanimous, as far as facts are concerned. The controversy, as it appears to us, amounts to the following. The one party affirms that genius, in whatever way manifested, is born with the person endowed with it, and cannot be acquired. The other contends that genius is not so born, and that if this circumstance (its being so born) forms its distinctive feature, without which it cannot be so called, then there is no such thing as genius. Here, it will be perceived, the main fact—that of the existence of genius—is as much admitted by the one as by the other, but the discussion is chiefly about the name and turns upon a point, of the importance of which men will judge variously.

ADDRESS TO MY HARP.

I.

Sweet Harp! that silent long hast hung
In thy aerial cell,
Once more with trembling fingers flung
I wake thy magic spell.
Thy fitful strains have oft beguiled
My solitary hour,
Then once again in measures wild,
Sweet Harp! exert thy power.

II.

Oh could thy humble note inflame
One heart with learning's fire,
Make it for virtue's deathless fame,
With burning thirst aspire;
Too blest that so thou mayest attain,
Though best of bards that are,
One place in that immortal train,
And shine 'mongst suns—a star.

The Lamp.

SELECTIONS.

LITERARY FRIENDSHIP.

It has been said that literature inspires friendship; it sometimes certainly causes a rivalry; but even this does not diminish the friendship. Steele was the guardian of Addison's fame, West of Gray's, Gray of Mason's. Petrarch was the guide of Boccacio, and the latter became the defender of his master's genius. A beautiful instance of such a friendship is furnished in the Lives of Mignard, the great French painter, and Du Fresnoy, the great critic of the art itself. Du Fresnoy, abandoned by his relatives, lived in Rome in voluntary poverty, till Mignard, his old fellow student, arrived, when they became known by the name of "the inseparables." Their days were passed together, melting away like a delicious dream, in drawing from the ancient statues, in studying the galleries of art, or sauntering among the gardens and villas of Rome. One roof sheltered both; one table supplied their frugal, sober meal. But it was not all mere pleasure, the society of these eminent men; they also derived mutual advantage by pointing out each other's defects, and stating to each other what they knew, or what they had recently observed. And thus they lived: Mignard supplying Du Fresnoy with all that fortune had denied him; and when he was no more, perpetuated his fame by publishing his posthumous poem. Look at Burke and Reynolds—at Reynolds, Johnson, and Goldsmith. Genius hath always a sensibility which the cold dull world can never appreciate. Count Azaro, in mourning over the memory of the artist and writer Mengs, starts from the tears and the flowers which he was dropping on the grave of his friend to revere and immortalize him by making known his works. How beautiful is friendship! almost equal to a mother's love; so pure, so holy, so unselfish. Fickleness and headlongism are its enemies, time and sacrifice its tests, confidence and steadiness its supporters. Gleim, an old German poet, had the portrait of a friend in every panel of his old-fashioned room, and the apartment was crowded. "You see," said the gray-haired poet to a visitor, "that I have never lost a friend; I am always sitting in the midst of them." Men of genius, though entertaining opposite opinions, may still be true friends, as they very frequently are, and who express themselves with a freedom which startles ordinary observers. Petrarch and Boccacio differed on politics. The former had never forgiven the Florentines for their persecution of his father. By the mediation of Boccacio they now offered to reinstate Petrarch in his patrimony and his honours. Influenced by the entreaties of his friend, Petrarch had consented, but considering it more maturely, he excused himself to the senate of Florence, and again retreated to his solitude Shortly after he was seduced to the court of Milan, the enemy of Florence, when his old friend wrote to him indignantly at such a dereliction of principle. Petrarch replied, that though under the Visconti of Milan he was still free, and that he scarcely knew whether it were better to be governed by a tyrant in Milan, or by a people of tyrants with Boccacio. Nothing could sever their frienship; they were friends to the last. Petrarch received the indignant reproaches of his friend calmly and reasonably, like one who saw his position and approved of it.

'Curious.'—We are not aware that light hair is peculiar to poets; we have read or heard it somewhere, that Montgomery, Wordsworth, Southey, Wilson, Moir, Scott, and Byron, had light hair, but this would not establish a rule. The anecdote is Swift's. Lady Carteret, the wife of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, once remarked to Swift, "The air of Ireland is very healthy." "For God's sake, Madam," replied the Dean, "don't say so in England, for if you do they will certainly tax it."

MY GRAVE.

Bury me not, where the many sleep,
In the cold church-yard, where cypresses weep
Their dewy tears, through the stilly night,
And screen my grave from the sun's sweet light;
But bury me far in the green green fields,
Where the violets bloom, and the wild bird builds,
In the opening spring, her lonely nest—
There calm I shall take my peaceful rest;
Or, bear me up to the towering brow
Of some bold mount, where the winter snow
Untainted lies, and the mountain hare
Alone shall print its footsteps there;
That snow, though chill, o'er my grave shall bring,
The warmest green of the youthful spring.
Oh there would I rest—for the hills to me
Were dear since the hours of infancy;
Or, let me else, take my last long sleep,
Buried unknown by the glorious deep,
Close to the wave on the shelly beach,
Where in calmest hours the waters reach.
Although in the tempest's hour they spread,
In foaming wrath o'er my lonely head;
Still sweet will be the rolling wave,
In rage or in love round my lowly grave—
When sunset's hues o'er the waters melt,
That sweetest hour, that is sweetest felt;
On the lonely shore—Oh spread my pall
Where that smile of parting day may fall!
Give to the mighty their iron bolts—
To guard their dust in the storied vaults;
The lashing storm, or the autumn's shower,
The winter snows, or the summer flower,
The evening dews or the ocean's brine,
May frown or smile o'er the grave that's *mine.*

HOW TO PROSPER IN BUSINESS.

In the first place, make up your mind to accomplish whatever you undertake; decide upon some particular employment, and persevere in it. All difficulties are overcome by diligence and assiduity.

Be not afraid to work with your own hands, and diligently too. "A cat in gloves catches no mice." "He who remains in the mill grinds, not he who goes and comes."

Attend to your business, never trust to another. "A pot that belongs to many is ill stirred and worse boiled."

Be frugal. "That which will not make a pot will make a pot lid." "Save the pence, and pounds will take care of themselves."

Be abstemious. "Who dainties love shall beggars prove."

Rise early. "The sleeping fox catches no poultry." "Plough deep while sluggards sleep, and you will have corn to sell and keep."

Treat every one with respect and civility. "Every thing is gained and nothing lost by courtesy." "Good manners ensure success."

Never anticipate wealth from any other source than labour; especially never place dependence upon becoming the possessor of an inheritance. "He who waits for dead men's shoes may have to go for a long time barefooted." "He who runs after a shadow has a wearisome race."

Above all things, never despair. "God is where He was." He helps those who truly trust in Him."

A PROSE POEM.

Once upon a stormy midnight a lone bachelor attorney pondered many a curious volume to his heart's forgotten lore; while he nodded, nearly napping, suddenly there came a tapping, as of some one gently rapping—rapping at his chamber door. "'Tis the spirits!" and he started, "rapping at my chamber door. Oh! for help! I'am frightened sore!"

Then into this chamber flitting (not even one permitting him to fly into the closet or to get behind the door), came the ghosts of fond hearts broken (with many a ring and other token), and they sat them down beside him, on the dusty, book-strewn floor—sat amidst the volumes of most venerable lore. Quoth the lawyer, "What a bore!"

"It must be something serious; this is certainly mysterious, quite an advent of the spirits—resurrection *con amore*. But I understand them mostly!"—here there came a rap so ghostly, that he could not more dissemble as he had done heretofore, and his face grew paler as he started for the door—down he fell upon the floor.

Then there came a clatter, clatter, and his teeth began to chatter, as the spirits gathered round him, and accused him very sore; how with handsome face all smiling, and with winning words beguiling, he had charmed away the senses of fair maidens by the score! and each lass had fondly fancied 'twas her he did adore. Quoth the lawyer, "Never more!"

Startled at the stillness broken by reply so aptly spoken, for the answer, strange enough, quite a relevancy bore; they began a noisy rapping—sort of spiritual clapping, which the lawyer thought could be but a fashionable encore—and again, if his soul in that word he would outpour, did he groan out, "Never more!"

Presently his soul grew stronger; hesitating then no longer—"Oh!" said he, "sweet spirits, your forgiveness I implore; on my knees, to every ghostess, who to love has played the hostess, I will promise to recant the many faithless things I swore! Will you promise then to leave me?" here he pointed to the door. Rapped the spirits, "Never more!"

"Be that word our sign of parting," said the hapless wight upstarting, "hie ye hence into the darkness, seek ye out some distant shore, In the noisy camp or forum, in the lonely *sanc. sanctorum*—such ghastly grim ungainly guests were never seen before. Leave my loneliness unbroken,"—here he opened wide the door. Rapped the spirits, "Never more!"

So these vixen sprites of evil—spirits still, though most uncivil—they will never leave the lawyer, though in tears he may implore. At his false heart they are tapping, they are rapping, rapping, rapping, and he wishes, oh, how vainly! that his haunted life were o'er; and he often sighs—"Oh! could I but recall the days of yore, I would FLIRT—Oh! never more!"

THE TURN OF LIFE.

BETWEEN the years of forty and sixty, a man who has properly regulated himself may be considered as in the prime of life. His matured strength of constitution renders him almost impervious to the attacks of disease, and experience has given soundness to his judgment. His mind is resolute, firm, and equal; all his functions are in the highest order; he assumes the mastery over business; builds up a competence on the foundation he has formed in early manhood, and passes through a period of life attended by many gratifications. Having gone a year or two past sixty, he arrives at a critical period in the road of existence; the river of death flows before him, and he remains at a stand-still. But athwart this river is a viaduct, called "The Turn of Life," which if crossed in safety, leads to the valley of "old age," round which the river winds, and then flows beyond without a boat or causeway to effect its passage. The bridge is, however, constructed of fragile materials, and it depends upon how it is trodden whether it bend or break. Gout, apoplexy, and other bad characters, are also in the vicinity to waylay the traveller, and thrust him from the pass; and let him gird up his lions, and provide himself with a fitting staff, and he may trudge on in safety with perfect composure. To quit metaphor, the "Turn of Life" is a turn either into a prolonged walk, or into the grave. The system and powers having reached their utmost expansion, now begin either to close like flowers at sunset, or break down at once. One injudicious stimulant, a single fatal excitement, may force it beyond its strength; whilst a careful supply of props, and the withdrawal of all that tends to force a plant, will sustain it in beauty and in vigour until night has entirely set in.—*The Science of Life by a Physician.*

THE CALORIC SHIP *ERICSSON.*

This ship is one of the scientific marvels of the day. Its exterior is merely that of a graceful steam-ship. On Examination it will be seen there is no novelty, exept that the huge chimney of the ocean steamer has given place to four very modest little funnels, hardly bigger than stove-pipes. Indeed, at a little distance, it is very hard to detect them at all. Yet this is no rowboat experiment. These little chimneys are the only flues to furnaces that are to generate power for a first-class ship of twenty-two hundred tons register. A finer hull, or a stronger, or, for her tonnage, a more costly one, has never been launched in America. The ship was built by Messrs. Perrine, Petterson, and Stack, and was launched from their yard in Williamsburgh (U.S.) during September last. Since then, she has been receiving her engines under the superintendence of their inventor, whose name has been given to the ship. These engines are the first of their kind ever applied to marine purposes, and they may prove to be the last, for this ship with "Caloric Engines" is simply a stupendous experiment, unequalled, in point of audacity, in the history of mechanics. In the "Caloric Engine" it is supposed to use the well-known expansibility of atmospheric air by heat, as the motive power, in place of steam. The mechanical element of the engine will, of course, be identical with those of steam engine. Cylinders, reciprocating and parallel motions converted by the crank into the required rotation, all strike the eye familiarly. "But all else how changed." The boilers with their volcanic furnaces, are gone. The air pump—the condenser—the familiar engine-room—and the deep-dawn darkness where the side levers play,—these are all gone or transformed past all recognition. The low pressure developed by the new agent requires increased area of piston head, or cylinder section. In the *Ericsson* these are enormous. 168 inches is the diameter of each of four cylinders, that stand in a line upon the ship's keel: Thus each working piston presents an area nearly four times larger than any steam engine piston-head in the world! The masterly workmanship exhibited in the casting and finishing of such immense masses of iron does infinite credit to the builders—Messrs. Hogg and Delamater—whether the experiment succeeds or not. Two experimental caloric engines, of five and sixty horse power respectively, have been in operation or several months. But the stride is a tremendous one—from such petty works as these to such colossal enginery as is now afloat in the *Ericsson.*

It may be gratifying to our readers to know that a trial of the motive powers of this vessel, made on Wednesday, Dec. 15, may be regarded as having, in the most satisfactory manner, established the success of the bold experiment. It having been reported that during several days, fruitless efforts had been made to start the machinery, it was resolved to disprove the rumour by setting the engines at work. The vessel being made fast to the wharf, fires were kindled, and the result was even more satisfactory than had been anticipated. Five turns of the paddle per minute were made, which would be equivalent to about eleven turns if the vessel were under way; or giving a speed of eleven miles an hour. When completed, trial trips will be made to other cities.

SOLILOQUY OF A DRUNKARD'S WIFE.

The following beautiful lines form no idle picture of the fancy. How many a female, bred up in ease, in affluence, and refinement, and afterwards made happy in the husband of her choice, has been doomed to realise the sad reverse here described!

* * * Time was, when much he loved me,
When we walked out at close of day t'inhale
The vernal breeze—ah, well do I remember
How then, with careful hand, he drew my mantle
Round me, fearful lest the evening dews
Should mar my fragile health. Yes, then his eye
Looked kindly on me; when my heart was sad,
How tenderly he wiped my tears away,
While from his lips the words of gentle soothing
In softest accents fell.

How blest my evenings too, when wintry blasts
Were howling round our peaceful dwelling.
O, it was sweet, the daily task performed,
By the sweet hearth and cheerful fire to sit
With him I loved: to view with glistening eye,
And all a parent's fondness, budding graces
Of our little ones.
* * * Then, ye had a father,

My lovely babes—now, more than helpless orphans!
Your mother more than widowed grief has known;
Yes. sharper pangs than those who mourn the dead
Seized on my breaking heart, when first I knew
My lover, husband—O, my earthly all—
Was dead to virtue! When I saw the man
My soul too fondly loved transformed to brute.
O, it was then I tasted gall and wormwood!
Then the world looked dreary! fearful clouds
Quick gathered round me, dark forebodings came.
The grave before was terror, now it smiled;
I longed to lay me down in peaceful rest,

There to forget my sorrows. But I lived;
And O, my God! what years of woe have followed!
I feel my heart is broken. He who vowed
To cherish me—before God's altar vowed—
Has done the deed. And shall I then upbraid him—
The husband of my youthful days—the man
For whom I gave my virgin heart away!—
Patient I'll bear it all.

* * * Peace, peace, my heart!
'Tis almost o'er. A few more stormy blasts,
And then this shattered, sickly frame will fall,
And sweetly slumber—where the weary rest,
The wicked cease from troubling!

VARIETIES.

Incidents in the Early Life of Coleridge.—King-street, Cheapside, the small street in which Guildhall is situated, is associated with a curious incident in the early life of the author of "Christabel." He was then a friendless and ill-fed boy, in the Blue-coat School. "From eight to fourteen," says Coleridge, "I was a playless day-dreamer, a devourer of books, my appetite for which was indulged by a singular accident. A stranger, who was struck by my conversation, made me free of a circulating library in King-street, Cheapside." The particulars of this "singular accident" are thus explained by Coleridge's biographer, Mr. Gilman:—"Going down the Strand," he says, "in one of his daily dreams, fancying himself swimming across the Hellespont, he thrust his hands before him as if in the act of swimming, when his hand came in contact with a gentleman's pocket. The gentleman seized his hand, turned round and looked at him with some anger: 'What! so young and so wicked!' at the same time accusing him of an attempt to pick his pocket. The frightened boy sobbed out his denial of the intention. and explained to him how he thought himself Leander swimming across the Hellespont. The gentleman was so struck and delighted with the novelty of the thing, and with the simplicity and intelligence of the boy, that he subscribed, as before stated, to the library, in consequence of which Coleridge was further enabled to indulge his love of reading."

The Five Daughters.—A gentleman had five daughters, all of whom he brought up to some useful and respectable occupation in life. These daughters married, one after the other, with the consent of their father. The first married a man by the name of Poor; the second, a Mr. Little; the third, a Mr. Short; the fourth, a Mr. Brown; and the fifth, a Mr. Hogg. At the wedding of the latter, her sisters with their husbands were present. After the ceremonies of the wedding were over, the gentleman said to his guests—"I have taken great pains to educate my daughters, that they might act well their parts in life, and from their advantages and talents I fondly hoped that they would do honour to my family; and now I find that all my pains, cares, and expectations have turned out nothing but a *Poor, Little, Short, Brown, Hogg.*"

Astonishing Mental Feat.—A remarkable instance is related, by Dr. Macklin, of a man who waited on the Greffier Fagel, to display his wonderful memory, offering to give any proof of it that might be required. A newspaper was lying on the table, and he was requested to read it through, and then repeat it verbatim. He accordingly did so, without ommitting a single word, from the title to the imprint at the end. The Greffier Fagel expressing his astonishment, "Oh," said the man, "this is nothing; shall I now repeat the same backwards?" "It is impossible!" replied the Greffier. "By no means," said the other, "if you have patience to hear it." He then, without the least hesitation, repeated every separate article, beginning at the imprint and ending at the title.

Gold from Australia.—The River Thames on Tuesday bore on her bosom the *Eagle*, freighted with 150,000 ounces; the *Sapphire*, with 14,688 ounces; the *Pelham*, with 27,762 ounces; and the *Maitland*, with 14,326 ounces. This makes 206,776 ounces, worth a trifle more than £800,000. The *Eagle* may be said to have accomplished the greatest feat of its kind; but its triumph will be of short duration, for another is daily expected to grace our noble river with a burden of about 280,000 ounces; the *Neptune*, with 17,000 ounces; and the *Andromache*, with 42,051 ounces; and other ships, with as valuable freight, are nearly due! This makes a total of rather more than 20 tons in weight, worth a few thousands more than two millions sterling! Letters by these ships announce the discovery of more gold fields, even richer and of greater extent than those already explored.

Power obtained by Kindness.—The exercise of positive efficient benevolence towards inferiors brings with it increase of the power which constitutes superiority. Of two men occupying a position of equality as regards others, the man who contributes most to the happiness of those others will infallibly become the most influential, will dispose of a greater quantity of Service. He will strengthen his position by augmenting the number of his good deeds. Every benefit conferred on others will be prolific to himself. And the benefits conferred on others increase the power of others; and the increase of power in the hands of those willing to do him service is the increase of his own power. The compound interest brought to effective benevolences by deeds of benevolence is happily limitless; of the seeds scattered by the husbandry of virtue, few will turn out barren.—*Bentham's Deontology.*

Curious Duel.—A dispute lately took place between a military man and an apothecary. The soldier insisted upon satisfaction from his adversary and appointed a meeting next morning for that purpose. The next morning the apothecary waited upon his antagonist before the hour appointed, and said to him with great coolness, "You are a military, I am a medical man—you understand the use of sword and pistol—I am only acquainted with drugs.—You are the challenger, therefore I have a right to choose my weapon. Here are two pills—one is poisoned, the other is not. Do you choose one and swallow it, and I will swallow the other." The Officer laughed very heartily at this proposition, and they sat down to breakfast very good friends.

Cuvier.—When the committee of the French Academy were employed in preparing the well-known academy dictionary, Cuvier, the celebrated naturalist, came one day into the room where they were holding a session. "Glad to see you, M. Cuvier," said one of the forty, "we have just finished a definition which we think quite satisfactory, but on which we should like to have your opinion. We have been defining the word crab, and explained it thus:—'Crab, a small red fish, which only walks backwards.'" "Perfect, gentlemen," said Cuvier; "only, if you will give me leave, I will make one small observation in natural history. The crab is not a fish, it is not red, and is does not walk backwards. With these exceptions, your definition is excellent."

The Value of Jokes.—As gold becomes refined by passing through the ordeal of fire, so truth is the purer for being tested by the furnace of fun;

for jokes are to facts what melting pots are to metal. The utterer of a good joke is a useful member of society, but the maker of a bad one is a more despicable character than the veriest coiner by profession. A good joker transports his hearers, but a bad joker should be transported himself. No appraiser can estimate the value of a joke, for good jokes are valuable beyond estimation. Fun may be fetched from afar, but a good joke should never be far-fetched. Like certain would-be practitioners, a joke should not only be at home from ten till five, but a thorough good joke will never be out. No joke but a bad one can be miserable, for a joke to be good must be happy. A joke from a gentleman is an act of charity; an uncharitable joke is an ungentlemanly act. The retort courteous is the touchstone of good feeling, the reply churlish the proof of coldheaded stupidity.

Age of Animals.—A bear rarely exceeds 20 years; a dog lives 20 years; a wolf 20; a fox 14 or 16; lions are long-lived, Pompey lived to the age of 70. The average age of cats is 15 years; a squirrel and hare 7 or 8 years; rabbits 7. Elephants have been known to live to the great age of 400 years. When Alexander the Great had conquered one Porus, king of India, he took a great elephant which had fought very valiantly for the king, named him Ajax, and dedicated him to the sun, and then let him go with this inscription:—"Alexander, the son of Jupiter, hath dedicated Ajax to the Sun." This Elephant was found with this inscription 350 years after. Pigs have been known to live to the age of 30 years; the rhinoceros to 20. A horse has been known to live to the age of 62, but averages 25 to 30. Camels sometimes live to the age of 100. Stags are long-lived. Sheep seldom exceed the age of 10. Cows live about 15 years. Cuvier considers it probable that whales sometimes live 1000 years. The dolphin and propoise attain the age of 30. An eagle died at Vienna at the age of 104 years. Ravens frequently reach the age of 100. Swans have been known to live 300. Mr. Mallerton has the skeleton of a swan that attained the age of 200. Pelicans are long-lived. A tortoise has been known to live to the age of 107.

Trades of Animals.—Bees are geometricians; the cells are so constructed as, with the least quantity of material, to have the largest-sized spaces and least possible loss of interstice. The mole is a meteorologist. The bird called the nine-killer is an arithmetician; as also the crow, the wild turkey, and some other birds. The torpedo, the ray, and the electric eel, are electricians. The nautilus is a navigator; he raises and lowers his sails, casts and weighs anchors, and performs other nautical acts. Whole tribes of birds are musicians. The beaver is an architect builder, and wood-cutter; he cuts down trees, and erects houses and dams. The marmot is a civil engineer, he not only builds houses, but constructs aqueducts and drains to keep them dry. The white ants maintain a regular army of soldiers. Wasps are paper manufacturers. Caterpillars are silk spinners. The squirrel is a ferryman; with a chip or a piece of bark for a boat, and his tail for a sail, he crosses a stream. Dogs, wolves, jackals, and many others, are hunters. The black bear and the heron are fishermen. The ants have regular day-labourers. The monkey is a rope-dancer.

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THE ROHILLA AFGHANS IN INDIA.

A recapitulation of the past can never be unprofitable. We therefore make no apology for recurring to an examination of Captain Hamilton's work, though the work itself, and the incidents contained in it, in all their details, have for a long time been familiar to the public. We do not intend to offer any critical opinions on the literary merits of the writer; for it would be altogether out of date now either to approve or question them. We mean only to dwell on the facts he has recorded, facts which even at this distance of time have not entirely ceased to be interesting; and briefly to set before our readers an abridgment of his narrative interspersed with such comments as may occur to us. We shall also take the liberty of differing from him on certain points, and not deny ourselves the advantages to be derived from other sources of information.

The Rohilla Afghans acted a very prominent part in India for a period of about thirty five years. Their connection with the history of this empire commenced from the period when Humaioon reigned on the throne of Delhi. Ferid Shere, the descendant of a Rohilla adventurer, having unfurled the standard of rebellion in a country where his forefathers had migrated in search of military employment, succeeded in expelling the Mogul emperor from his dominions and usurped the imperial authority. Mill says that he amply atoned for the violence of his conduct as a subject, by his justice and liberality as a king. Though his reign was of short duration, and though he was constantly and actively engaged in the field, he nevertheless managed to introduce many improvements into the civil administration of the country, and effected various works of public beneficence, the best and most impartial records of the genius and spirit which characterised his rule. During his sovereignty several bands of Afghan adventurers descended from their mountain fastnesses into the plains of India, allured by the prospects of advancement under an emperor of their race; and, of these emigrants, the Rohillas, or highlanders, (as those who inhabited the mountainous district of Roh in Afghanistan were called,) comprised a full complement.

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[*] An Historical Relation of the origin, progress, and final dissolution of the Government of the Rohilla Afghans in the Northern Provinces of Hindoostan, compiled from a Persian Manuscript and other original papers, by Captain Charles Hamilton.

Ferid Shere received the new comers with open arms, and, as some of the nobility and gentry of the empire had forsaken their homes and possessions apprehending ill treatment from the usurper, and had evinced no disposition to support his power, he presented grants of all the evacuated estates and employments to his fellow countrymen. On the death of Ferid Shere, Humaioon recovered his throne, and completely put down the heirs of his opponent. But the Afghans had already formed themselves into a powerful body, too powerful to be suppressed with impunity; and the prudent emperor, by nature more inclined to ease than to ambition, wisely permitted them to retain their privileges, unmolested. Thus settled on a firm footing, the Afghans naturally enough began to look after higher distinctions, and, having nothing to lose and nothing to fear, they had much to hope for and aspire to under a government at all times disturbed by insurrections, and in a country where the bold and the daring have had in all ages the most ample prospects of elevation. The frequent defection of chiefs entrusted with the government of distant provinces, and the constant incursion of Mahratta freebooters caused a perpetual demand for stubborn warriors, capable of supporting the imperial authority throughout the extensive limits of the empire, and the Mogul princes found in these needy adventurers hardy veterans willing to undergo every trouble, and able to encounter every difficulty. Nor were their services unrequited. The government of large districts was gradually transferred into their hands, and the kingly power subsequently becoming too weak to retain its supremacy over its dependencies, they were gradually dismembered from the parent tree and became virtually independent. Of the many principalities which thus grew out of the ruins of the Mogul empire one of the last was Rohilkund, or the country of the Rohillas.

Ali Mohumud Khan, the founder of the Rohilla independency in India, is, according to some accounts, said to have been of Hindoo parentage —a peasant boy saved from a burning village, and early adopted and educated by a Rohilla Afghan. But this statement of his origin is certainly ill supported. Captain Hamilton makes him the second son of the adventurer, and we do not see any reason to differ from him. However the case may be, Ali Mohumud was an Afghan to all intents and purposes. While yet very young he displayed talents of a very superior order—prognostications of that nobleness and capacity which in time rendered him worthy of command, and acquired for him a character highly respected and beloved. The precocity of the child was timely noticed, and he accordingly became a great favorite with his father, who, from the quickness of his parts, already anticipated his future elevation, Daood Khan was an approved soldier, and had many times fought bravely under the royal banners. For his services he had obtained a fief in Budaon. But he was an ambitious and enterprising man, and discontented with his fortune. He had early perceived that the Mogul government was tottering on its foundations, and that an independent sovereignty for his countrymen could be attempted with impunity. But his followers did not amount to more than three hundred men. The time for him to venture on it was therefore not yet come. He had also well calculated the chances of war. The life he led was a desperate one, and if possible, more uncertain than the ordinary state of human existence. The time for him to venture on it might therefore never come. But the object was not to be relinquished. He had dreamed of it day and night. With it were wound all his hopes and aspirations. It could not be abandoned. He therefore carefully instructed Ali Mohumud in the part he was to sustain and Ali Mohumud proved an apt and promising scholar. Daood Khan did not live to see his projects accomplished, but his anticipations to the full extent of his ambition, were realized by his son.

On the death of his father, Ali Mohumud entered into the service of the fouzdar of Moradabad, and very soon succeeded in ingratiating himself in his good opinion. His conduct procured him at the recommendation of that officer, a renewal of the grant bestowed on his father, and also the collectorship of a considerable pergunna, together with a *jydad* or consignment of some villages, for the support of his followers. The Rohilla took every opportunity to increase his power. His fame —for he had already won a name for valor—invited towards him multitudes of Afghan vagrants, and, as he foresaw that his conduct must eventually draw down upon him very potent enemies, he omitted to take advantage of no opportunity that contributed to strengthen his party. His soldiers were devotedly attached to him, and he had friends at Court. His designs were yet unperceived by the negligent nobles who conducted the affairs of the state, and his loyalty, as a matter of course, was unsuspected. Occasional enterprises undertaken in behalf of the emperor had also served to deepen the color of his disguise, at the same time that they had obtained for him rewards in titles, *khelats* and new-grants. The imbecile government of Mahmood Shaw was well adapted to ripen his scheme, and the disorders which ensued upon the invasion of Nadir, hastened to the same end. Every country through which Nadir had passed was laid waste by fire and the sword. His route was marked with the blood of the inhabitants and the flames of their houses; and even the hardy mountaineers of Cabul had felt the desolating ravages of that intrepid warrior. He had waged a war of extermination in the heart of their empire, and, unable to oppose the current of his triumphs, they had been obliged to yield. Many, however, rather than submit to the victor, relinquished their homes, where safety was no longer to be found, and in large bands, descended from their mountains to seek service in India. The chiefs under whom they enlisted were numerous: Ali Mohumud was one of them.

The prospects of Ali Mohumud, however, were not entirely unchequered. He had a very difficult part to sustain, and ran many risks and many dangers. His friend and patron the fouzdar of Moradabad had been succeeded in office by another, Raja Hirnund, a Hindoo, who had received especial instructions from the vizier carefully to watch over his conduct. Despotism hath both large eyes and large ears. It sees what is not visible to other eyes—hears what is unheard by other ears. A morbid sensitiveness of every thing that threatens any invasion of its prerogatives is in it an instinct; and, though the designs of the Rohilla were yet deeply veiled, they had already begun to be suspected at Court. The vizier was a friend of Ali Mohumud. But he was also alive to the interests of his sovereign. Though often negligent, he was not always supine. The condition of the Rohilla had in a few years remarkably altered, and the minister roused from his lethargy, and suspecting that something was going wrong, determined to have, if possible, a greater insight into his affairs. Raja Hirnund was therefore instructed to demand the quit rents due to the government, which had fallen into arrears. Of these Ali Mohumud deferred payment under various pretences. The conduct of the fouzdar irritated the Rohilla. The Raja, proud of his dignity, was overbearing in the extreme; and the Afghan would not put up with his presumption and insolence. An engagement was the consequence, and Hirnund was defeated and slain. The Seir Mutaqherin gives an interesting account of this incident, and states, that, while the Afghans fell on his army, the Raja was closeted in his oratory occupied in his devotions, and consulting his idols if yet the favorable hour was come. In this state he suffered himself to be cut down by his enemies, who were astonished at his conduct. A stronger proof of the folly of superstition has perhaps never been advanced.

The triumph of Ali Mohumud was a paltry one; but in desperate times the slightest circumstance will often make or mar one's fortune, and the fall of Raja Hirnund considerably elevated the position of the Rohilla. At first things appeared to go much against him. The vizier, his only friend at court, affected to be extremely annoyed; and threatened to press matters to a crisis. But the Rohilla was shrewd, as well as valiant; and, by bestowing a daughter with a considerable dowry on one of the sons of the minister, he not only averted the impending danger, but, also obtained a grant of the lands of the late Raja Hirnund, and all the advantages of increased consequence.

From this period Ali Mohumud began to be recognised as one of the princes of the land. The position however, which he enjoyed as the chief of a desperate band of adventurers, the object he had in view of creating an independent principality, and, above all, the spirit which influenced his conduct, were ill calculated to keep him at peace with the court for any long period. Some of his men quarreling with certain retainers of the Subadar of Oude, who had been despatched by their master to cut timber in the forests of Kuttaheir, a disturbance ensued, in which some lives were lost. The Subadar threatened vengeance, and the imperial ear, hitherto closed against the representations of Ali Mohumud's enemies, now eagerly listened to the complaints preferred against him. An order was sent to Ali Mohumud to deliver up such of the Rohillas as had caused the disturbance. But he respectfully, yet positively, declined to give them up. This, which was nothing less than an open declaration of rebellion, heightened the emperor's alarm, and roused him to a consciousness of the Rohilla's object. At the head of a large army Mahmood Shah in person took the field, resolved to chastise the arrogance of the adventurer. Ali Mohumud's followers now numbered twenty thousand men, but he made no strong efforts to meet his royal opponent. The fidelity of his troops was now severely tried. Royal edicts threatening the most cruel punishments, and the underhand practices of the Subadar of Oude weaned many of his retainers from their strong attachment to him. He had lost much credit amongst them for not attempting a desperate opposition, and they deserted him in numbers. He was besieged in the citadel where he sought refuge, and surrendered, without striking a single blow. The mediation of the vizier however, to whose care he was committed, retrieved his fallen fortunes. Kumiruddeen was a generous man, and never implacable in his resentment. The frequent disorders occasioned by the Rohilla had provoked him highly, but he was always open to sympathy. He treated his prisoner leniently and honorably, and even the followers of that refractory chieftain had no cause to complain. To continue Ali Mohumud at his post was however not to be thought of. He was therefore appointed fouzdar of Sirhind, and his retainers debarred from following his fortunes. Thus separated from their chief, the Rohillas were obliged to settle in the districts they had usurped.

In the year 1744 Ahmed Shaw Dooranee first invaded India. He received a warm reception, and, after some ineffectual efforts, was obliged to retire. But he had acquired a rich booty, the richest portion of which, on his own estimation, consisted of two boys, the sons of Ali Mohumud, who, having been left by their father, as hostages for his fidelity with the emperor, fell into the hands of Ahmed Shaw, and were retained by him as pledges for their father's assistance should he on any future occasion re-attempt an invasion of India. In what light the father regarded the capture of his children we know not, but he had no time to indulge in useless regrets, if he did regret it; for at this juncture many changes had occurred in the internal economy of the Mogul government, and Ali Mohumud perceived, that, the tide destined to lead him on to fortune, was now "the flood." The old vizier Kumiruddeen had been killed on the field of glory, struck by a cannon ball while at his devotions; and the old sultan, too, had followed his faithful servant to the grave—a victim of cares and opium doses. Ahmed Shah the son of the late emperor had succeeded to the royal dignity, and Sufdar Jung, the Subadar of Oude, and the most inveterate enemy of Ali Mohumud, had been appointed his vizier. This was a period of general confusion; and Ali Mohumud took advantage of it to re-enter Rohilkund, and carry out his designs. His retainers had long and anxiously awaited his return, and even those who had formerly deserted him, now, ashamed of their own pusillanimous conduct, joined him with increased attachment. The imperial governor, unable to oppose his adversary, was compelled to retire before him; and, by the time the court was restored to tranquillity, the Rohilla found himself able to dictate his own terms of conciliation. The title of Rohilkund now extended over a much larger tract than he had ever owned before. The whole district of Kuttaheir acknowledged his sway, and the court of Delhi, perceiving that it was vain to assert its rights, and still anxious to preserve a nominal supremacy, confirmed him in his usurpations. Thus was established the independent principality of the Rohilla Afghans.

The means by which Ali Mohumud attained his elevation, the obstacles he surmounted, and the oppositions he overcame, bear strong testimony to his extraordinary talents. The absolute and uncontrolled authority, which the Rohilla exercised over his followers, shows clearly that he knew how to reconcile the greatest vigor in commanding, with the most perfect affability of manners; the cool collectedness with which he took possession of advantages in moments of the greatest anarchy, evinces that, with the most enterprizing spirit, he united the greatest self possession; and the vigilance with which he eluded dangers, and the skill with which he extricated himself out of them when involved in them, prove that, with the best capacities for action, he was not deficient in shrewdness and artifice.

After having succeeded in securing the possession and independence of Rohilkund, Ali Mohumud turned his attention to the nobler study of regulating his government. In this occupation he displayed talents of the highest order, and the prudence and policy of his measures have received even greater encomiums than that enterprizing spirit and aspiring genius to which he owed his elevation. His conduct towards his Hindoo subjects was perhaps unjustifiably severe, when he compelled them not only to vacate the posts of honor and emolument they held in the district, but also to give up the lands that belonged to them. But, considering his position, he had at least a plausible excuse for this harshness. The lands thus tyrannically wrested, and the places thus forcibly rendered vacant, he gave to his own creatures, only to strengthen thereby his independence, and to be able at all times to defy the enmity of the imperial court, which had not yet abandoned all hopes of recovering its lost dominions. The foresight and vigilance that dictated this policy cannot therefore be blamed. His own interest and the interest of his nation thus secured, he passed many wise and salutary regulations for the proper administration of justice, improved the system of the police, and even took some steps for the encouragement of learning. But his days were cut short in the prosecution of these praiseworthy undertakings, and in the year 1749, he expired in full durbar "amidst the united murmurs of sorrow and applause," and leaving "a great and lasting reputation among his countrymen."

The death of Ali Mohummud emboldened his enemies to attempt again to overturn the Afghan supremacy in Rohilkund. Sufdar Sing, the Subadar of Oude, remembered old days, and the insults he had received from the Rohillas. He also dreaded their neighbourhood and towering ambition. He now enjoyed the powers of the vizierut, and those powers, always paramount under an imbecile monarchy, he resolved to make subservient to his private ends. The Rohillas were a nation of fresh conquerors, and could on emergency muster more than fifty thousand warriors on the field, warriors the like of whom were hardly to be met with in India. The vizier had no force to cope with such antagonists, and a direct contact with them he therefore carefully avoided. Indirect means for accomplishing his purpose were nevertheless resorted to. A firman, under the imperial seal, was issued, appointing one Kutaubuddeen to be fouzdar of Moradabad, and he was left to fight out his way to that distinction as he best might. Kutaubuddeen, however, soon found that to enforce a royal commission was not always quite so easy as, under certain circumstances, to obtain it. He was completely defeated by the Rohillas, and his followers entirely cut down. But the vizier was not disheartened. Kaem Jung, an Afghan adventurer of the Bungish tribe, and now Nabob of Furruckabad, an independent principality like Rohilkund, and established under similar circumstances, was instigated by him to declare war against the Rohillas. Kaem was not a friend of the vizier, and, in adopting him as his instrument, the wily minister contemplated the acquisition of both Rohilkund and Furruckabad. He felt confident, that the Afghan tribes contending with each other would most effectually disable themselves, and then would be the time for him to fall on both. The Rohillas perceived his object, expostulated with their brethren of the Bungish tribe, and even offered to concede a portion of their territories to Kaem Jung, if he would keep the peace; but that ambitious and deluded chieftain, fancying himself sure of success, and attributing their solicitations to weakness and pusillanimity, persisted in his hostilities. Kaem Jung had soon occasion to repent of his obstinacy. A battle took place between him and the Rohillas, and he was defeated and slain. Sufdar Jung, who had anticipated advantages whichever party might win, now turned his eyes on the fair possessions of the deceased. He prevailed upon the emperor to march against Furruckabad, and, unable to resist him, the widow, children and mother of the late Nabob submitted to his authority. But Ahmed Khan, a brother of the deceased who is said to have yielded at first, and submitted to be a pensioner of the vizier, was subsequently aroused to avenge the cause of his nation, and prolong the contest. Collecting together the warriors of his tribe he stood ready to meet the emergency. The fortune of the Afghan prevailed over every obstacle. He soon succeeded in recovering the territories of his brother, and Raja Newal Roy, the deputy of the vizier, in the soubah of Oude, having attacked him, was defeated. Nor did the vizier in person succeed better. The determined spirit and impetuous valor of the Afghans triumphed over every difficulty, and counterbalanced every disparity of numbers and circumstances; and, in a general action, the imperial forces sustained the most signal defeat. To avenge the disgrace he had sustained, Sufdar Jung invited over the Mahrattas to his aid, and in large numbers those greedy freebooters rallied under his standard. He was thus enabled to advance once more upon Furruckabad in pomp and at the head of a large army. The Bungish chieftains became alarmed at the mighty aspect of the opposition, and hastened to form a confederacy with their Rohilla neighbours. But there was diversity in the councils of the latter. Of the six sons of Ali Mohumud two were still prisoners with the Dooranee chieftain, and the other four were yet minors. The eldest of these last, in the absence of his seniors, was the recognised head of the tribe, and had been invested with the insignia of authority. But the real power rested in the hands of Hafiz Rahmut Khan and Doondee Khan, relatives of Ali Mohumud, and by him appointed guardians of his children. The nominal chief hearkened to the appeal of the Bungish tribe with great deference, and embraced their cause with avidity as a national one. But his guardians evinced no similar feelings, and positively refused to give to his alliance the sanction of their authority.

This unhappy difference terminated in the most disastrous results. The Rohillas divided into two parties. One joined the Bungish; the other remained neutral. But in times of war neutrality is a sin, and a sin too flagrant to be passed over unnoticed by either party. The guilt of one faction naturally criminated the whole race in the estimation of the vizier, and Rahmut Khan and Doondee Khan perceived too late the error they had committed. The Afghans were defeated in a pitched battle—their territories ravaged and overrun. The irresistible superiority of the enemy compelled them to retreat even beyond the bleak hills of Kumaon. But, though thus straitened, the proud spirit of the Caucasian race still showed itself in occasional sallies, which made the boldest of the Mahratta clans hesitate and tremble.

In 1753 Ahmed Shah Dooranee again penetrated into India, passed the Chenaub, and laid the country eastward of it under contribution. Sufdar Jung was necessarily obliged hastily to terminate his operations against the Rohillas, and the best and only opportunity he ever had of subverting their independence, was thus lost forever. Peace was established on terms which the Rohillas never meant to fulfil, and which the vizier did not expect they would ever perform. Fifty lacs of rupees were promised to be paid by them, and the bonds of this engagement were transferred by the vizier to his Mahratta allies. This afforded a plausible pretext to those freebooters for attacking Rohilkund on future occasions, but at the present crisis they moved off, and the Rohillas returned to their quarters and resumed their occupations.

The two sons of Ali Mohumud Khan who had been taken away by the Dooranees had now returned to India with Ahmed Abdalee, and they demanded the restitution of their heritage from the chiefs in power; but neither Rahmut Khan nor Doondee Khan were in any humour to part with their authority, and though they at first affected to comply with their requisition, on very indifferent pretexts, they immediately after divided the Rohilla dominions between themselves. From this period commences a series of intestine wars, which gradually wore out in a considerable degree the strength of the Rohilla government; and hence, when the Mahrattas re-invaded their country, in 1756, the Rohillas were not able to face them, and were obliged to call upon Nabob Sooja ul Dowla, the successor of Sufdar Jung, as Subadar of Oude, for a return of some good offices which they had rendered to him a short time before, during his hostilities with his father's successor in the vizierut. This requisition was responded to with great alacrity. Sooja dreaded the proximity of the Mahrattas as well as the Rohillas. He was also grateful for the services he had received. The brunt of the contest however fell on Nujeeb al Dowlah, formerly an adventurer under the banners of Ali Mohumud, but, now a chieftain of consequence and power. Nujeeb Khan was well supported, and the assistance of Sooja was prompt and decisive. The Mahrattas retired, and their retreat as usual was tracked in blood.

It was about this period that Ahmed Abdalee invaded India for the last time. The Mogul army retreated before him wherever he came and the wretched Alumgeer II. a miserable tool in the hands of designing noblemen, earnestly besought the protection of his opponent, and invited him to Delhi. The Dooranee conqueror accepted the invitation, and called upon all true followers of the Prophet to aid him ; and amongst others the Rohillas volunteered their services. A formidable power now threatened the total annihilation of the sovereignty of the house of Timoor. Nor was it long without an enemy worthy of its arms. The Moguls did not dare to meet the invader, but the Mahrattas, actuated by the hope of re-establishing Hindoo supremacy throughout the land, were tempted to dispute with him its sovereignty. The engagement took place on the field of Paniput. On that plain was fought the great battle, which according to the Mythic lays of the Moha-Bharut, lasted for eighteen days, and gave to the descendents of Pandoo the undisputed possession of the throne of India. Paniput gave victory to the legions of Timoor and Baber, aud Paniput crowned the efforts of Ahmed Shah Dooranee with success. The defeat of the Mahrattas was complete "The road to Delhi was strewed with dead bodies more than could be numbered, and twenty five thousand were counted on the field of action."

The triumph of Ahmed Abdalee augmented in no small measure the power of the Rohillas, and when that conqueror retreated into Cabool, their dominion hitherto bounded by the Ganges on the west, extended over a considerable portion of the Doab. For seven years they enjoyed their influence in peace and tranquillity, and, although the injustice of the guardians in withholding from the children of Ali Mohumud their birthright gave rise to occasional jealousies and dissatisfaction, the vigorous administration of the chiefs, who in the deranged posture of affairs had succeeded in usurping the real power of government, preserved the blessings of repose and internal harmony so needful to keep together a race of desperate mountaineers. But this state of prosperity was not destined to last long. *(To be continued.)*

FRAGMENT WRITTEN AT SEA.

(For the Oriental Miscellany)

Far in the west, in magic streaks,
Faint lightning-flashes glance;
The stars like gems are glitt'ring bright,
Shedding long, heaving *threads* of light,
On Ocean's black expanse.

The paddle-wheel's deep *thud* is heard,
Borne on the fitful breeze;
The vessel throbs with every stroke;
While rushing from the fire, the smoke
In huge black bundles flees.

The furnace-sparks in blood-red jets,
Up from the funnel gush,
Then mingling with the smoke, they dance,
Fly up, fly down, retreat, advance,
Like fireflies in a bush.

K.

SONNETS—WAR.

FOR THE ORIENTAL MISCELLANY.

1.

How terrible art thou oh iron War!
With vengeful furies in thy long-drawn train;
Thy voice is heard e'en o'er the trackless main,
And nations tremble at the horrid jar;
Where'er thou goest in thy bloody car,
Pale Desolation marks thy brutal reign,
With crimson deluged is the smiling plain,
And startled man obeys thee from afar.
—Shall meek-eyed Peace ne'er spread her blessed wing,
Shall Friendship never bind this weary world,
And crown with happiness life's earliest spring,
With joyous standard to the winds unfurled?
Soon shall the ocean cease for aye to rage,
Than man with man the stormy war to wage.

2.

'Twas morning on the mist-enshrouded hill,
Alone and pensive from my home I strayed,
The trickling stream a pleasant murmer made,
While all around was sweetly hushed and still:
But soon the clarion's voice the air did fill,
Quick echoed from the fairy-haunted glade,
And Silence gazed behind, and half afraid
Fled from the war notes of the trumpet shrill;
I looked beneath, and straight I did behold
A gallant troop come marching one by one,
Their breast-plates thick emboss'd with gems and gold,
And gleaming in the radiance of the sun;
Their lofty plumes like billows of the sea,
Danced in the freshening breeze that swept so free.

3.

Let my bold Fancy in its bolder flight
Pursue the steps of this adventrous band,
Paint scenes that happen in a foreign land,
And bring them all before my wond'ring sight.

It was a glorious day of June, and bright
The summer sun showered down with bounteous hand,
His radiance on a village, that did stand
Amid an orange grove of full delight:
And blooming faces throng'd the busy street,
And bright-eyed beauties blushed like rose in May,
And laughing children, loved companions meet,
For wrinkled age amid the bowers did play,
All breathed of happiness and quiet joy,
And there was naught its sunshine to destroy.

4.

Man's idle hopes, alas how frail are they!
Like the blue mists that wreathe the mountain's brow,
And vanish when the Sun's first orient glow
Opes the sad eyelids of late-rising day.
Down sank the glorious orb, and Twilight gray
With heavy steps still lingered sad and slow,
From this bright world of ours full loathe to go,
And melt into the ebon night away.
All nature breathed of stillness and repose,
Except the little village once serene,
Where the wild cry of anguish now arose,
And sounds of wassail oft did intervene;
For there with insolence the haughty foe
Hath breathed o'er all the town, the breath of woe.

5.

Now roll the war to where a city proud
Rears its white columns to the morning sky;
Like fairy-land it flashed on every eye,
With a bright canopy of golden cloud.
The walls were lined with many an armed crowd,
With armours bright and plumes that floated high;
While the shrill trumpet with its warning cry,
And the huge bells in accents long and loud,
Told the approaching foe. Brave hearts were there,
Ready and prompt their birth-place to defend;
Aye, ready all, one gory bed to share;
For 'twas true happiness, they thought, to end
Their lives amid the scenes of youthful hours,
For Joy and Beauty light their leafy bowers.

6.

The rising sun his brilliant radiance throws
On the thick spear-points of that proud array,
The neighing steeds, with trappings rich and gay,
Prance lighty as the lordly trumpet blows;
From rank to rank the youthful hero goes
To make them ready for the coming fray,
And win with blood the laurel wreath that day.
They are gone, they have march'd for the battle plain,
With gold-fring'd banners meteor-like displayed,
They fight, till o'er the dusky heaps of slain,
Pale Evening throws her brown and dusky shade,
And crowns with silvery mist the mountains gray.
—Fresh from the field of Fame they slowly come,
To the solemn beat of the muffled drum.

7.

'Twas night, and Cynthia on the lonely field,
Shone pale thro' silver mists, her trembling ray
Fell coldly over heaps of dead which lay
By many a dinted helm and broken shield.
The dreary prospect all around revealed
How fierce and stubborn was the bloody fray,
How stern those hearts that bled to win the day,
That knew not how to fly, but least to yield.
—Oh Tyrant War, how many a deep drawn sigh,
From gentle breasts, shall load the evening air;
How many a tear shall dim the beauteous eye,
And Hope give way to dark and grim Despair;
—List! to the mothers cry, the orphans wail,
The widows bursting sobs upon the passing gale.

ARIEL.

Calcutta, 1853.

SIR HUMPHRY DAVY.

It is gratifying at all times to revert to the actions of men who have distinguished themselves in the world of literature and science. The mind is refreshed, and lives, as it were, in a pure atmosphere, which infuses into it fresh vigor, and an increased desire for intellectual achievements. We need not therefore make any apology in offering to our readers a brief account of the life of Sir Humphry Davy, whose wonderful discoveries have contributed so much to benefit his fellow men, and shed a lustre upon the country to which he belonged.

Humphry Davy was born in Penzance, in the county of Cornwall, on the 17th December 1780. His parents though poor were respectable, and did all they could to provide for the wants of their children, of whom Humphry was the eldest. There are many anecdotes related of this illustrious philosopher, connected with the early part of his life, but as our object is chiefly to dwell upon the most prominent events of his history, we must pass over them and content ourselves with merely recounting a few facts which have come under our notice, and which we are persuaded will not fail to be interesting.

Humphry gave promise of future greatness when a mere boy; he possessed a retentive memory, and an exuberance of fancy which was really astonishing. He had a tolerable acquaintance with the principal occurrences in the history of England when a boy of eight years; and it was his practice, even at that age, to make comments upon the events which interested him, to a number of children whom he used to call together for the purpose of listening to his harangues. He had a remarkable facility for framing Tales and Romances; and took a particular delight in relating to his friends these creations of his fancy, to use the words of his biographer, "with all the fluency of an Italian Improvisatore." He was sent to school at an early age, but he seems to have profited little by the instructions imparted to him there. All the knowledge he possessed was acquired by his own industry and application. In writing to a member of his family, he says, "I consider it fortunate that I was left by myself as a child, and put upon no particular plan of study, and that I enjoyed much idleness at Mr. Caryton's school. I perhaps owe to these circumstances the little talents that I have and their peculiar application; what I am I have made myself. I say this without vanity, and from simplicity of heart."

Humphry Davy as might have been expected from his turn of mind, evinced a great fondness for poetry and spent no small portion of his time in the invocation of the muse. From the specimens we have seen of his poetical effusions, we are inclined to think that if circumstances had favored his inclinations, he would have taken a very respectable position among the English Poets. We may here repeat the remark made by a distinguished poet, "that if Davy had not been the first chemist, he would have been the first poet of the age." It is well that Davy was not permitted to revel in the regions of fancy, otherwise mankind would have lost the benefits derived from his scientific researches.

From his very childhood Davy was particularly partial to experiments. From the invention of the detonating compound, which he called the "thunder powder," to that of the "safety lamp," his life was a continued series of experiments. Nothing baulked him, no difficulty was so great that he could not overcome it. He waited not for time or opportunity, when he conceived any thing which could be put to the test of an experiment; and if he had not instruments suited to his purpose, he set his mind to the invention of such as he required. It is said that by mere chance he fell in with a glyster, "which in the brief space of an hour," says his biographer, "he made to perform the duties of an air-pump in an original experiment on the nature and sources of heat." This at once proves to us the extraordinary perseverance and skill he brought to bear upon the work in which he was engaged, and shows at the same time how much may be effected by an individual, who is determined to carry out his plans whatever may be the circumstances in which he may be placed. The expedients which Davy had often recourse to in performing his experiments, gave him a great command over his instruments, and thus he was enabled to manipulate with the greatest ease and dexterity. In the midst of an interesting lecture it very often happened that some important instrument gave way, Davy instantly made up another; and while the audience thought he was engaged at his manipulation, he was endeavouring to supply the deficiency. During the time he was thus employed, he did not allow the attention of the company to flag for a moment. The thing was done so quickly and cleverly, that people expressed their wonder when they were told of the accident afterwards, that they were not aware of it at the time when it took place.

After the death of his father, which occurred in 1794, Davy was placed as an apprentice in the establishment of Mr. Barluse, a surgeon in Penzance. Davy, however, showed no desire to prosecute the medical branch of the profession, his attention was solely directed to the study of Chemistry which he prosecuted with great zeal and perseverance. While in the employment of Mr. Barluse he formed an acquaintance with Mr. Dennis Gilbert, a gentleman of great influence and respectability, who soon discovered his abilities, and the ardent desire he evinced in the pursuit of his favourite science. He took the earliest opportunity of introducing the young chemist to Dr. Beddoes, who at that time required a person to take charge of the Pneumatic Institution, which had been recently established at Bristol. Dr. Beddoes availed himself of Davy's services, and the latter commenced his new career with much zeal and earnestness, astonishing all around him with a display of his wonderful talents. While connected with this Institution, he published in a Journal conducted by Dr. Beddoes a few essays, on "Heat, light, and respiration," which, though they contained some views which were not perfectly sound, and for which the author in after life was much ashamed, were nevertheless very promising, and could not but be regarded by his friends as something which gave them an infallible proof of his future excellence. Our author was now scarcely twenty years old.

In experimenting upon the gases, Davy nearly lost his life. He here manifested a desire to promote the cause of science even at the greatest sacrifice a man could make. He inhaled several gases in order to ascertain the effect which they had upon the human system. With this end in view he breathed large quantities of oxygen and nitrous oxide. In inhaling the latter he observes, "the usual pleasureable thrilling was produced, voluntary power was destroyed, and vivid ideas rapidly passed through my mind; I made strides across the room, and continued for some time much exhilirated." In breathing the hydro carbonate gas Davy almost paid too dearly for his love of science. We shall quote his own words, "I made three inspirations and expirations, of the hydrocarbonate. The first inspiration produced a sort of numbness and loss of feeling in the chest, and about the pectoral muscles. During the third expiration, this feeling subsided, I seemed sinking into annihilation, and had just power enough to cast off the mouth-piece from my enclosed lips."

The experiments which he had made upon the gases were fully detailed in a work entitled "Researches chemical and philosophical respecting nitrous oxide and its respiration." The work was well received, and created no small sensation amongst men distinguished for their scientific acquirements. The Researches paved Davy's way to fame and fortune; for he was soon offered by the conductors of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, the office of director of the laboratory, and assistant lecturer of Chemistry. Within a year he was made sole professor. It is said that Count Rumford who was at the head of the Institution was not much pleased with the personal appearance of Davy, and expressed his regret for having engaged him. He would not allow Davy to lecture in the Theatre until he had afforded him satisfactory proofs of his abilities in the small lecture room. The first lecture however removed all doubts, and at its conclution, the Count is said to have exclaimed, "let him command any arrangement which the Institute can offord."—The next day Davy delivered his lecture in the great Theatre.

The first course of lectures which was delivered in the spring of 1802, filled all who had heard him with wonder and astonishment. "not only the philosophical, but the literary and fashionable world," says a writer, "crowded to hear him; and his vivid imagination fired by the enthusiastic love for the science which he possessed, gave to one of the most abstruce of studies a charm confessed by persons the least likely to feel its influence." His style was very attractive, and Coleridge has borne testimony to it by saying that he attended Davy's lectures "to enrich his stock of metaphors."

It is related that a highly talented lady who was one of Davy's auditors, addressed him anonymously in a poem of considerable length, "replete with sentiments of the highest admiration for his talents," and sent him a handsome ornamental appendage for his watch, expressing a wish that he would wear it at his next lecture, and thus intimate to her that he had received the poem and pardoned the liberty she had taken in addressing him.—Davy by these lectures had become so popular that his company was sought after by every body. Men in the highest circles invited him to their houses. Lords and Earls vied with one another to do him honor, and no soirees were considered complete without his presence. It is no wonder then that Davy soon became a changed man. He abandoned his simple manners and unostentatious habits, and assumed an air of arrogance which could not but be offensive to many of his old friends and associates.

The next object upon which Davy's mind was employed was Agricultural Chemistry, in which he delivered at the request of the Board of Agriculture, several series of lectures, by which he unveiled the "secrets of vegetable life," and the manner in which it was to be made subservient to the uses of man. In fact Davy was particularly solicitous that his lectures should be directed to some useful end, and in all his pursuits we find he never lost sight of this object. In the lectures alluded to he showed an intimate acquaintance with the details of the subjects he treated, and proved without a doubt that a knowledge of Chemistry is of no little importance to one who is engaged in practical Agriculture. The lectures were subsequently collated and published in a volume, and forms the only systematic and valuable work upon that subject.

In galvanism or electricity Davy's experiments were attended with great success. His inquiry was chiefly directed to one particular subject, namely, "that galvanism decomposes all compound bodies." In the year 1800 he published papers on "Galvanic electricity" in a public Journal, which contained full accounts of the experiments he had performed to satisfy himself as to the truth of his theory. While Davy was thus engaged, Bonaparte, who was then at the head of the French Republic, intimated to the "minister of Interior" that it was his intention to award prizes for important discoveries on Electricity or Galvanism. Soon after Davy delivered his first Bakarian Lecture, in which he explained his theory, and showed his intimate acquaintance with the subject he handled. The lecture was published, and about twelve months after, he received the intelligence that the prize of three thousand francs (about twelve hundred rupees) had been awarded to him by the French Institute, "for his discoveries, announced in the Philosophical Transactions for the year 1807." "Thus, says his biographer, the Voltaic Battery, in the hand of the English Chemist achieved what all the artillery of Britain could never have produced, a spontaneous and willing homage to British superiority." This reflects great honor on the French people. When we consider the deadly animosities which had for ages existed between the two nations, and that at the time when the prize was awarded they were at variance, we cannot sufficiently admire the impartiality and disinterestedness which influenced the decision of those who sat in judgment upon the performances of the philosophers of both nations upon this subject: their conduct in this instance proves one thing, that the Commonwealth of Science is of no party, and of no nation; that it is a pure Republic, and always at peace."

In the year 1815 Davy invented the Safety Lamp. The circumstances which led to this discovery should be explained in order to convey to the general reader the value and importance of the legacy which this philosopher has bequeathed to his countrymen. People in this country can scarcely imagine the perils to which those who formerly worked in the coal mines were exposed. When the mine had extended itself, and people were at work, it very often happened that a sudden explosion of the carburetted hydrogen, or fire-damp took place, by which hundreds lost their lives. A dreadful explosion occurred in Fellery Colliery near Sunderland by which nearly a hundred men were killed, and a large number of widows and orphans were thrown upon the world in a state of utter destitution. This calamity worked upon the sympathies of several humane individuals, who formed a committee, for the purpose of discovering some means to avert the evil, against which it was impossible for the miners to contend. After some ineffectual attempts on the part of several scientific men to compass this object, Dr. Gray, afterwards Bishop of Bristol, who was then the Chairman of the Committee, applied to Sir Humphry for his able assistance in a matter of such vital importance. Sir Humphry responded to the call with much alacrity, and brought all his chemical knowledge to bear upon the subject. After much deliberation, and numberless experiments, he found out a means of protection for the poor miners. In a paper, which he submitted to the committee, he very clearly explained his views upon the subject, suggesting the use of a lamp surrounded by a wire net, the meshes of which were not to exceed about one eighth of an inch in diamater. This he called the *safety lamp*, which on trial was found in every respect to answer the end for which it was intended. The lamp was therefore immediately adopted, and used in every mine in Great Britain. Davy if he thought fit could have amassed a fortune by obtaining a patent for this invention, but he was too noble minded to think of such a thing:—he made a present of it to the public, remarking that he prosecuted science not for the purpose of gain:—"I have," said he, "enough for all my views and purposes, more wealth might be troublesome, and distract my attention from those pursuits in which I delight. More wealth could not increase my fame or happiness. It might undoubtedly enable me to put four horses to my carriage, but what would it avail me to have it said that Sir Humphry drives his carriage and four." The coal owners felt that they were much indebted to him for the invaluable service, and pressed upon him to accept from them a service of plate, as a slight token of their gratitude.

It is impossible within our limits to state all that has been done by Sir Humphry in the advancement of science, and for the cause of humanity. His discoveries have been numerous, and were attended with beneficial results. In 1812 this illustrious philosopher received the honor of knighthood, and six years after he was created a baronet, as a reward for his labors in promoting the interests of science. He went to France and several parts of Italy for instituting inquiries into subjects which were under his investigation. About the close of 1825, his friends perceived in him certain signs of declining health, and shortly after he was found to suffer under the attack of the paralysis, but in a mild form. He had recourse to various remedies, and went to the continent to see if a change of climate would do him any good, but it was to no avail. He eventually sunk under the disease, and breathed his last in Geneva, on the 28th May 1829. During his illness Sir Humphry amused himself in writing a work on the art of fishing, an amusement of which he was particularly fond. He also wrote several valuable papers in philosophy and poetry, which he embodied in a work entitled, "The Last Days of a Philosopher." Of this work he says in a letter to one of his friends: "I write and philosophize a good deal, and have nearly finished a work with a higher aim than 'Salmonia.' It contains the essence of my philosophical opinions, and some of my poetical reveries." The career of Sir Humphry Davy was brilliant throughout: his great discoveries will remain as lasting monuments of his zeal and perseverance in the pursuit of science, and will hand down his name to posterity with unfading honors.

LINES.

BY A COLLEGIAN.

(For the Oriental Miscellany.)

'Tis written in the holy page,
Thou shalt not humbly bow
To stock, nor stone, nor creeping thing,
Nor ever at their altars bring
Sweet flowers that brightly glow.

Dark superstition's tyrant hold
Is over India still;
For still the great destroyer's* power
Is owned in palace, hall, or bower,
In mead, or lonely hill.

The honest farmer as he views
With pride his waving field,
The fisher on the sunny sea,
When waves are dancing bright and free,
To her their homage yield.

And as the night with stealthy pace
Quenches the sun's bright rays,
And darker shadows gather round
The pilgrim thro' the bush profound,
For aid to her he prays.

The robber in his midnight range,
The warrior 'mid the fray,
Shout forth her dread victorious name,
And reckless on thro' fire and flame,
Impel their desperate way.

Oh! when shall this devoted land
From all its stains be free;
When shall the sun shine bright again
On towns, where Peace and Virtue reign,
Not dark Idolatry.

* Kali

ELLEN PORTNER.

Chapter I.

"What a pretty piece you have just played Ellen," said Mrs. Portner to her daughter, who had just risen from her Piano—"it puts me in mind of some excellent music we heard at the Bidwell's when they last gave a concert."

"The very same, mother" replied Ellen, "I got the piece from Mr. L. —— who astonished every body that evening with his exquisite performance."

"Yes, yes, I recollect it now—I wish you had sat to the Piano on that occasion.—O how my heart would swell with joy to see you take a part in one of these entertainments."

"O mother I could never attempt it?" said Ellen, "I think if I played I would have made a dead stop after striking a few chords.—I cannot play, you know, in the presence of those who are so far advanced in music. I imagine they are sitting in judgment on my performance, and this thought unnerves me completely, and I can scarcely move my fingers. I could never make up my mind to sit to the Piano in a large company."

"A thousand pities!" exclaimed Mrs. Portner with a sigh. Then turning to her she said, "play over that piece again, Ellen,—I love to hear it;" and Ellen all obedient resumed her seat, and went through the piece with her usual spirit. "Thank you, my dear," said Mrs. Portner when she had finished; and they both retired to their rooms for the night soon after.

Mrs. Portner was the widow of a gentleman, who at his death left ample provision for her and Ellen his only child. Mr. Portner came to Calcutta as an adventurer, and by unremitted attention to business he improved his circumstances, and in time became what is generally called a man of independent fortune. He was a man of education and refinement, and spared no pains after the cultivation of his daughter's mind and heart. He gave her the best education that could be procured in the country, and was anxious that she should be deficient in no accomplishment. Ellen on the other hand profitted by these advantages, and her improvement kept pace with her years. She was a young lady possessed of no common attraction; and her modesty and amiability of temper added to raise her in the estimation of all who know her. Her father died when she had just attained her sixteenth year, and she and her mother lived together very respectably in a fine house in the fashionable part of the town. They moved in very good society, and their friendship was sought by every body. Invites poured upon them from all quarters, and they found it no easy matter to meet them.

Chapter II.

A girl of such attractive powers as Ellen undoubtedly possessed could not long remain without admirers. Numbers sought an introduction to the young lady whenever she appeared in company, and numbers sighed and moaned for her but in vain. Ellen encouraged no advances on the part of any young man, and countenanced not the studied courtesies of those who tried to win her heart. She appeared to be perfectly indifferent to all the attentions which they so obsequiously paid to her; and the more she was so, the more she became an object of their esteem and regard.

One evening Ellen with her mother went to a friend's, where a large number had been invited to an entertainment. The hall was brilliantly lit up, and happy faces were there. It was a pleasant evening. Songs and music beguiled the hours, and every heart was glad. Ellen participated in the feeling which pervaded the whole company, and was unusually exhilirated. Several played and sung, and at length she was asked to sit to the Piano, a request with which though not quite pleased she complied with apparent good will. She played the prelude to a beautiful song, and then raised her sweet silvery voice which thrilled the hearts of all that heard her; but before she had gone through the first verse her fingers refused to perform their office, and her voice faltered. She stopped suddenly; her usual nervousness had seized her, and she became agitated. All eyes were upon her, and she became pale, and her lips quivered. A young man who stood by her perceiving this, immediately offered his hand and took her to her seat. It was a kind office, and she felt it so. There was something in the manner and deportment of the young man, which struck her; and Ellen thought well of him. There is a kind feeling which we cannot fail to entertain for one, who assists us in our distresses, and sympathises in our misfortunes. Ellen was influenced by it, and she could not but appreciate the kindness of the individual, who had so opportunely relieved her from her embarrassment. O yes, Ellen perceived the attention of the young man, and notwithstanding her reserved habits, she felt there was something in him which made him an object of no small interest to her. Ellen loved. The young man seemed to respond to this feeling. He directed all his attention to her the remainder of the evening, and they both were engaged in conversation, while the rest of the company amused themselves in the best way they could. The party broke up at a late hour of the evening and Mrs. Portner returned home with her daughter. Miss Portner passed a somewhat restless night. The occurrence of the evening had forced itself into her mind, and she could not close her eyes. The whole scene as it were, passed before her, and she saw herself led from the piano to her seat, and imagined she heard the voice of the young man again addressing her kindly—She was in a dream, a reverie, and the veins of her temples beat violently. The next morning Ellen rose from her bed with an aching head, and with a mind not quite at ease. She felt a pleasure now in recalling to her mind what passed the night before, and would have gone again to the same place were it possible to see the same thing enacted.

Let us now turn to the young man who had caused such a revolution in Ellen's feelings. His name was Bradden, and he was said to be very respectably connected. He was employed in a mercantile firm, and good prospects were before him. He was a young man of a very prepossessing appearance, and his gentlemanly manner, and steady good conduct gave him free access to the company of those who moved in the higher grades of society. Bradden had heard much of Ellen, and was made acquainted with the history of her family before he met her on the memorable evening. He saw her, and watched all her movements; he was desirous of being introduced to her, but felt backward to ask any body to do this kind office. An opportunity however soon offered itself, and we know how he had his wish gratified. He did all he could that evening to rouse the tender feeling of Ellen, and he was not unsuccessful.

A few evenings after Miss Portner met Bradden again, and at that meeting they became more communicative. They were less formal, and they both inwardly felt that their destiny was cast. After this they saw each other more frequently, and their attachment grew stronger at each interview. It was on an evening, in early spring, Bradden and Ellen were together enjoying the sweet interchange of thoughts and feelings. The sun had gone below the horizon, and the moon shed her soft rays upon all things arrouud. Mr. Bradden walked with Ellen in the balcony of her house in the front of which lay a beautiful prospect. There was a well arranged garden, with a tank in the middle, the water of which in gentle ripples, presented a mirror broken in ten thousand pieces. The breeze swept over the plants, and brought with it the sweet odour of the flowers and blossoms which abounded there. It was a delightful evening, Mr. Bradden held Ellen's hand and spoke to her very kindly.

"Ellen," said he, "if there is any being on earth I love it is you."

"No, no George, do not deceive me—you cannot love me as you say."

"Why not, my dearest" asked Mr. Bradden in a soft and loving tone.

"No there is something that tells me your love is false," said Ellen despondingly.

"You wrong me, Ellen, if you think so. Indeed, you do. False! O tell me not so. For you Ellen, I would sacrifice my life, my all—I love you more than words can tell."

"Men," said Ellen with a smile "are often found to be insincere; and I have a presentiment that it will not be long before you will shew what is in your heart—you will leave me to brood over my hapless fate I am afraid."

"Never, never, will that day come—sooner will the sun turn from his course, than my heart turn from you, my Ellen."—Saying this he seized Ellen's hand, and pressed it to his lips.—Ellen made no reply—she felt she had wronged him for having spoken to him thus, and made amends by adopting a different tone.

"No, George," said she "I am not in earnest—It was all in jest. I assure you—I repose the fullest confidence in your profession of attachment for me."

"Happy am I Ellen, that you think so; and I trust you shall have never cause to complain."

Several topics of conversation engaged them for hours, but there was one to which they recurred more than once; it was that in which the heart is most interested.—It was late in the evening that Bradden rose to depart; and Ellen watched him till his conveyance had gone out of sight.

CHAPTER III.

The year 1830 will long be remembered by the old inhabitants of Calcutta. It was a season of universal ruin and distress. Some of the oldest mercantile firms were declared insolvent, and public confidence was completely shaken. Banks stopped payment, and bankruptcy swept its baleful influence over the land. The misery and calamity which this brought upon thousands of families cannot be described. Individuals who had once lived in affluence, and enjoyed the comforts of life were suddenly reduced to beggary. Want and misery stared every one in the face wherever he went, and there was nothing heard in most of the houses but cries of distress. Amidst this general ruin, Mrs. Portner had her share of affliction. All her money which had been lodged in one of the defunct firms, was irrecoverably lost, and she like the rest had now to contend with adverse fortune. She was beside herself, and had it not been for Ellen, she would have sunk under the weight of her misfortune. She had literally nothing in the world except her furniture; for the house in which she had kept her money had no assets, and she had no expectation even of the smallest dividend. In this situation what was to be done? To remain in the house which they occupied was impossible. They were obliged therefore to remove to another house, the rent of which was considerably lower than that which they had hitherto paid. It is not an agreeable thing to quit a dwelling in which one has lived for years and enjoyed happiness: you sever the tie as it were of pleasing associations; but it becomes painful when you are obliged to leave it from the pressure of distress—So it was with Mrs. Portner and Ellen. They left it with heavy hearts. Within a short time, however, they became resigned, and they tried to make their house as comfortable as possible.

Mr. Bradden after what had occurred to Mrs. Portner and her daughter made his visits less frequent; and when he did come his behaviour to Ellen was rather stiff and formal; a change, which she could not account for. She was positive she gave him no offence, and therefore felt this coolness on his part most keenly. One evening Bradden arrived when she was seated in the verandah of her little house. He sat near her, and spoke but little.

"What ails you?" asked Ellen in a kind and affectionate tone.

"Nothing, nothing Ellen," said he "I am only feeling rather suffocated, and that is all."

"But I find a change in you—I am puzzled to find you behave so strangely to me now?" said Ellen rather pitifully.

"I am sorry you think so—there is nothing strange in me I am sure Ellen" said Bradden with an air of assumed familiarity. The conversation then took another turn; and Bradden after a few minutes made his exit.

A short time after the above interview Ellen saw Bradden at church. He handed a young lady to her carriage, and when his eyes met those of Ellen's he turned them away in a moment. The truth instantaneously flashed on Ellen's mind, and she now found a clue to the changed behaviour of one who had once pledged to her his affections. The fact however was, that Bradden was more enamoured of Ellen's fortune than herself; and when he heard of her loss, his feelings, wonderful to say, underwent a change. Ellen daily sunk after this,—her pale cheeks, and extreme debility too plainly showed what was working within her. Her mother watched over her child with care and anxiety; but no mother's care, nor doctor's skill could restore the hue to Ellen's cheeks. The rose withered away, the petals dropped one by one, and the empty stalk now remained. Such was Ellen—her former beauty had departed, each charm was riven one by one, and there was nothing left but an emaciated frame. It was indeed a trial to Mrs. Portner to witness the sufferings of her daughter, her heart bled within her; but she feared to give vent to her sorrows in the presence of her dying child.

"Mother" said Ellen one day "Mother I have not long to live. Perhaps a day, it may be a few hours, and I shall be no more; and when my corpse is laid in the grave if there is a kind friend to erect a monument on my tomb, let these words be inscribed upon it, "Here lies the broken heart." She ceased to speak, and the mother's tears flowed in torrents. Her heart was rent in pieces, and she sobbed aloud. Ellen looked at her with a stedfast gaze, and taking her hand placed it on her bosom, and thus breathed her last without a groan.

SELECTIONS.

THE POACHER.

"How soon you have returned!" said a low sweet voice, accosting Dermot O'Conor as he entered his little cabin.

"Ay, and I might have been here sooner," was the reply, "for all the speed I came. It was a long journey, and a fruitless one," he continued, flinging himself into a seat by the hearth. "But Mary, where have you been?"

"No where, dear Dermot," said his sister, blushing deeply, and betraying considerable confusion: "I have not been out of the door to-day."

"I know you would not tell me a falsehood, acushla," exclaimed Dermot. "Never since the hour you were born did a lie stain your lips. "Now tell me, aroon! where were you going to? you did not put on your cloak to sit in the house with."

The young girl burst into tears, and throwing her arms about her brother's neck, wept convulsively. "Oh, I cannot bear it!" she exclaimed: "I cannot bear to look in your face and see what the black want has done! You're not what you were, mavourneen, and the trouble has reached your heart."

"We are all changed," he remarked mildly, "and poverty has indeed almost crushed us to the earth, But God's will be done: it's all for the best. Tell me, alanna! where were you going to?"

She still hesitated to answer him; but perceiving that her silence perplexed and distressed him, she whispered with a faint voice, whilst her cheek burned with shame, "Forgive me, brother: I was going to beg some charity—something to keep the life in my bosom—for I am starving to death."

"Oh God, have mercy upon us!" cried Dermot: to think that the sister of "my heart should stand at the door of plenty craving for alms! Oh Mary! you are changed *indeed.*" Spreading his skeleton hands over his face, he wept tears of silent agony—tears that had their source in the deepest fount of misery. If the offering of the broken heart be acceptable in heaven, surely the prayer that rose from that crushed and broken heart was heard at the throne of God.

For some time the silence was unbroken. Mary clung still closer to her brother, as if he could rescue her from the awful fate that seemed to await her. Never did a scene of greater misery meet the eye than that lonely cabin presented. There were the bare walls, covered with damp and soot, the cold deserted hearth, and the heap of wet straw spread in one corner, the only bed the wretched place contained; and the brother and sister, so young and so beautiful, struck down by poverty's cruel blow, robbed of the light and strength of youth, the warm feeling of their hearts destroyed by suffering, all save the love they bore each other, and that affection lived undimmed through every trial. At this time the surrounding country was covered with snow; and, as Dermot chanced to look through the half-open door, a momentary gleam of pleasure seemed to light up his pale face. He arose, and stood for some moments gazing out on the desolate landscape, and taking down an old fowling-piece which hung above the hearth, prepared to leave the cabin. Mary, pale, trembling, rushed to the door to prevent his quitting the house.

"Dermot! for God's sake, where are you going?" she exclaimed. "Not to commit a crime, I hope."

"Not to commit a crime in the eyes of GOD," he replied; "nor shall I break one of his laws. Fear not, ahagur! no guilt shall ever redden my hand. Oh, you go and gather some branches and light a fire, for I shall bring you home a brave dinner. So keep up your heart; though they refused to give me employment to-day, yet when the snow's gone I'll try again." So saying, he left the cabin. When he was out of sight, Mary gave way to the grief that she had striven so long to conceal; and wringing her hands wildly, she flung herself on the heap of straw, overwhelmed with sorrow. The thoughts of their dreadful situation almost distracted her; but when memory brought her back the past, it was more than she could bear. The most trifling events of her early life recurred to her remembrance. The home where she had passed her first years rose before her; she saw around the household hearth the brothers and sisters who had dropped away one by one, until none remained but her beloved Dermot, the companion of her misery, and the parents who now were angels in heaven, looked on her with the quiet loving smile she missed so often. She remained for some time conjuring up these buried joys, until her face wore something of the happiness and contentment of other days; but remembering her brorher's parting words, her thoughts returned to him, and the bitterness of their situation effaced every recollection of the past. Gradually the faintness caused by hunger came over her, and she remained for some time in a state almost of insensibility: but soon recovering herself, she arose from her uneasy rest and proceeded to rekindle the fire which was by this time nearly extinguished.

In the meanwhile Dermot hastened on his bleak way, stupified with cold and hunger. The snow had commenced falling heavily, and he was about to seek some shelter from the storm, when a hare suddenly started past him. Knowing that it would be easily tracked in the snow, he rapidly pursued it. After following over hedges and ditches until his strength was well nigh exhausted, he lost the track, when suddenly it again started a short distance from him, and ran into a clump of evergreens. Stealthily advancing, he peered into every tree and shrub, and at length perceived it squatting close to the root of a large laurel. Looking round cautiously lest any observer were in sight, and being satisfied that he was unseen, he presented the gun and fired into the tree. Hastily springing forward, he found to his great joy that he had taken correct aim, for among the withered and scorched leaves lay the mangled form of the hare. In a moment he had possession of it, and was about to leave the place, when a heavy hand was placed on his shoulder.

"Drop that and come along with me," said an angry voice addressing him: "we'll have you fined for poaching; so come along."

"Stop one moment, for heaven's sake!" exclaimed poor Dermot. "If there is one spark of pity in your breast, hear and spare me for mercy's sake—for the sake of common justice!"

"Oh, never fear but we'll get you justice," sneered the man: "justice, indeed, for the like of you, as if the laws were made to be broken!"

"If there was more justice shown to such as I am," replied Dermot, "there would be fewer laws broken. Of what value can that animal be to you?" he continued, pointing to the hare which he still retained; and yet, as God is my witness, I declare to you it might be the means of saving two lives.

"Leave it with you, indeed!" exclaimed the gamekeeper; "it would be rather too dainty a dish for starving beggars!"

"I am no beggar," said the young man proudly; "and if my arm had the strength it once possessed, you should rue those words."

"No doubt," was the reply, "it seems you are thirsty for blood to-day. But if you are no beggar, why do you stand craving for the hare you shot? You want to borrow it, perhaps," he added, laughing fiercely; "but you may as well give it up at once."

"Listen to me yet one moment," said Dermot falling on his knees. "I whom no poverty could tame nor sorrow subdue, I crouch on my knees before you, and beseech of you, for the sake of the God who created us, to spare me this small means of relief. It is not for myself I plead, but for one dearer to me than life. Oh! think what your feelings would be, if those you love best were pining from want, and dying of hunger before your very eyes: think of of this, and do not refuse my prayer."

The gamekeeper, regardless of his entreaties, strove to snatch the prey from him; and Dermot, still imploring mercy, persisted in retaining it; till at length, in the altercation, the loaded gun which the gamekeeper held in his grasp went off, and Dermot O'Conor fell to the earth without uttering a groan.

A cheerful fire burned on the poor hearth, and Mary sat enjoying the grateful warmth, for her limbs were nearly frozen. A patient smile rested on her pale face, and, as she leaned her chin on her hand, she pictured to herself the delight their expected meal would afford them. Her emaciated appearance seemed more the result of constitutional delicacy than the effects of want. That she might appear as happy as possible to her brother on his return, she strove with a faint voice to sing one of the ballads he loved so much to hear; and as she breathed forth that beautiful "most Irish ballad in existence" —*Soggarth aroon*—her spirits rose rapidly; not but the song is mournful enough, for it seems to us almost heartbreaking; but with her it had been the favourite of happier days, and these things are either melancholy or the contrary, according to the associations connected with them. Mary, with her dark hair flung back from her clear brow, continued singing. The melody came from her very soul. Suddenly she heard the sound of approaching footsteps, and above the raging of the storm arose the glorious strain—

Who in the winter's night,
    Soggarth aroon!
When the cold blast did bite,
    Soggarth aroon!
Came to my cabin door,
And, on the earthen floor,
Knelt by me, sick and poor,
    Soggarth aroon!

The door was flung rudely open; and Mary, rising to find out the cause of the intrusion, saw borne between two men the lifeless body of her brother. She did not know that he was dead; and believing that he had fainted from exhaustion, hastened to render every assistance in her power, and to use whatever means she could to restore life and animation. She poured water on his temples and chafed his cold hands, the men not daring to break the truth to her: they had thrown a coat over his rags which prevented her seeing the clotted blood with which they were saturated. In spite of all her efforts, no breath came from the parted lips; and with a dreadful foreboding she placed her hand over the heart that had ceased to beat: hastily withdrawing it, she saw the crimson blood streaming down her fingers. A frightful shriek burst from her lips, and she fell to the earth beside her murdered brother.

The winter day had nearly past, but still the beams of the setting sun fell on the lonely scene, and the red and purple clouds cast their burning hues over the dreary waste. The snow had disappeared, and the fields again wore their emerald hue—all except one; and on it not a blade of grass, not a trace of vegetation remained. This was the burying-ground; and the ploughshare that turned up the red heaps was the sexton's spade. It looked like a plague-spot lying among the unbroken pasturage; and let the eye roam ever so, it still returned and rested on that bleak spot. Oh, what cruel policy had changed that once beautiful inclosure into a scene of terror! It was not like the peaceful burying-grounds that we love to loiter among in the calm summer evenings, pondering on the memories of those who sleep below, and, perhaps, envying their repose. Those who rested here had been cut down in the very bloom of youth—untimely blossoms blighted by poverty and suffering The old who slumbered here had not died of a venerable old age, as in other times; they were swept from the earth by famine's deadly scourge. Countless were the processions that entered this melancholy place; and the loud wail or lament of the sorrowing survivors sounded almost incessantly.

On this evning the remains of Dermot O'Conor were to be committed to the earth. A few loiterers still lingered by the newly-dug grave, waiting to join in the last sad rites. As the funeral entered the burying-ground, the cry arose still louder, and the lamentations continued until the corpse was deposited beside the grave. And now the voice of Mary alone was heard: for with that respect for sorrow so natural to the Irish, every one remained silent that she might speak her grief. Taking the cold hand in hers, she looked up to heaven, and a whispered prayer arose from her lips. In a moment every knee was bent and every head uncovered. There was no curse invoked on the destroyers of her happiness—no muttered threat, or hope of vengeance—no word of repining against the will of heaven.

"You're lying low, acushla!" she exclaimed, "and the burning tears that are falling on you cannot restore the life for which I lived. Pulse of my heart! your trials are over, and your bed is prepared in heaven. Oh! don't forget me there, your own Mary, but look down on my woes, and implore of God to end them. I am alone in the world, Dermot! in the wide, wide world a wanderer now; for even the cold home that once was ours can be mine no longer. Don't tell the loved and lost ones of my heart how bitter is my lot; for no tears may dim the eyes of angels. Tell them I'll soon go home to them. And now Dermot, avillish machree! my last farewell must be spoken, for the red sun's waiting to deck your grave with his beams. Oh, mavrone! but it's hard to part with those we love, to resign God's precious gifts; and yet it must, it must be done. Here, take him," she said, addressing the bystanders, "and lay him in his grave." She imprinted a kiss on the deathless lips, and tracing the symbol of the cross on his breast and brow, resigned her brother to their hands.

Crouching down by the open grave, she shrouded her face with the folds of her cloak, and waited in patient silence until the body should be lowered. As they prepared to throw the clay over him, she advanced to take another look. O, God! the agony of that moment; years of suffering could not have wrung her soul with such torments The expression of her face was that of the most intense despair. She seemed to endure excruciating torture, and the look of pious resignation had given place to a glance of madness. She gazed down into the dark grave, and there lay her brother in his white shroud, stretched on the bare earth with his face uncovered. His hands were folded on his breast, and so tranquil was his face, that he seemed to be under the influence of some bright dream. His dark brown hair clustered around his open brow, and even the mouth betrayed no sign of death; and though the eyes were hollow there was nothing ghastly in his countenance. A strange contrast the two faces presented. The face of the dead so free from every trace of pain and sorrow; so beautiful in its solemn and awful repose, so undisturbed in its calm expression, and the face of the living, with its bright bewildered eyes glaring into the cold grave—the look of mute terror depicted on the parted lips and quivering forehead. The men, anxious to complete their task, prepared to shovel the earth over the prostrate body, Mary still standing immovable as a statue, seemingly without thought or power of speech. They strove to remove her from the spot, but as the earth fell on the upturned face, staining and disfiguring the features of one so loved, her grief burst out afresh: "O, Dermot! seven times as dear as the soul within me! must the red worm feed on that cheek, and on the true and faithful heart that never changed, the strong brave heart that never quailed nor shrunk before the world's cruel blow. Oh, avourneen! this is the cold bed for your weary limbs, and the hard rest after the toils of life; and see, the wet clay matted among your bright hair. Why don't you look up and see the face of her; you loved so well, the face of her whose hopes and joys are buried in your early grave?" She sunk on the ground insensible, and the work was soon finished.

The beams of the next sunset fell upon another grave, and again the wail rung out its dread tones, awakening the wild echoes; no kindred eyes shed tears above *that* grave, for Mary O'Conor was the last of her family, and strangers sung her dirge. The fate she feared and dreaded came too true; she perished from want and starvation, but perhaps the broken heart aided the work

A MODEL JURY.

"Valour in a low estate
Is most admired and wondered at."

A Judge, who lately travelled the North-west circuit, came to the trial of a cause in which much of the local consequences of certain demagogues in the neighbourhood were concerned; it was in the case of a landlord's prosecution against a poor man, his tenant, for assault and battery, committed on the person of the prosecutor by the defendant, in the defence of his only child, an innocent and beautiful girl. Not only the bench, but the whole bar dined with the prosecutor's father the day before the trial, and some of them praise the venison and claret even to this day. When the poor man was brought into court and put to the bar, the prosecutor appeared and swore most manfully to every tittle in the indictment. He was cross-examined by the jurors, who were composed of honest tradesmen and respectable farmers. The poor man had no lawyers to tell his story, he pleaded his own cause, and he pleaded not to the fancy, but to the judgement and to the heart. The jury found him NOT GUILY. The court was enraged, but the surrounding spectators, gladdened to exultation, uttered a shout of applause. The judge told the jury they must go back to their jury room and re-consider the matter, adding—"He was astonished they could presume to return so infamous a verdict." The jury bowed, went back, and in a quarter of an hour returned, when the foreman, a venerable old man, thus addressed the bench: "My Lord, in compliance with your desire, we went back to our jury-room, but as we found then no reason to alter our opinions or our verdict, we return it to you in the same words as before—NOT GUILTY. We heard your lordship's extraordinary language of reproach, but we do not accept it as properly or warrantably applying to us. It is true, my lord, that we ourselves, individually considered in our private capacities, may be poor insignificant men, therefore, in that light, we claim nothing out of this box above the comman regards of our humble but honest stations; but, my lord, assembled here as a *jury*, we cannot be insensible to the great and constitutional importance of the department we now fill. We feel, my lord, that we are appointed as *you* are, by the law and the constitution, not only as an impartial tribunal to judge between the king and his subjects, the offended and the offender, but that by the favour of that constitution we act in the situation of a still greater confidence, for we form as a jury the barrier of the people against the possible influence, prejudice, passion, or corruption of the bench. To you, my lord, meeting you within these walls, I, for my own part, may possibly measure my respect by your private virtues. In this place your private character is invisible, for it is, in my eyes, veiled in your official one, and to open conduct in that only case we look. This jury, my lord, does not, in this business, presume to offer that bench the smallest degree of disrespect, much less of insult; we pay it the respect our tribunal should pay to another for the common honour of both. This jury, my lord, did not arraign that bench with partiality, prejudice, infamous decision; nor yet with influence, passion, corruption, oppression, or tyranny. No; we look to it as the mercy seat of royalty—as the sanctuary of truth and justice. Still, my lord, we cannot blot from our minds the records of our school-books, nor erase the early inscriptions written on the first pages of our intellects and memories. Hence, we must be mindful that monarchs and judges are but fallible mortals; that tyrants have sat on thrones; and that the mercy-seat of royalty, and the sanctuary of justice, have been polluted by a Tresilian, a Scroggs, and a Jeffries." (Here a frown from the bench.) "Nay, my lord, I am a poor man, but I am a free born subject—a member of the constitution—nay, I am now higher, for I am the representative thereof; I therfore claim for myself and fellow-jurors the liberty of speech, and if I am refused it here, I shall assume it before the people at the door of the court-house, and tell them why I deliver my mind there, instead of this place." (Here the bench reassumed complacency.) "I say, my lord, we have nothing to do with your private character; we know you here only in that of a judge, and as such we would respect you; you know nothing of us but as a jury, and in that situation we should look to you for reciprocal respect, because we know of no man, however high his titles or his rank, in whom the law or the constitution would warrant the presumption of an unprovoked insult towards that tribunal, in whom they have vested the dearest and most valuable privilege they possess. I before said, my lord, that we are here met, not individually, nor do we assume pre-eminence, but in the sacred character of jury: we should be wanting in reverence to the constitution itself, if we did not look for the respect of every man who regards it. We sit here, my lord, sworn to give a verdict according to our conscience, and the best of our opinion on the evidence before us. We have, in our minds, acquitted our duty as honest men. If we have erred, we are answerable, not to your lordship, nor that bench, nor to the king who placed you there, but to a high power—the King of kings." The bench was dumb—the bar was silent—but astonishment murmured throughout the crowd, and the poor man was discharged.

THE PASSING CLOUD.

See yonder sun on mountain crest
  So gently fades away;
And of its grandeur but remains
  A dim receding ray;
Its liquid hues that bathed the world
  In Orient beauty past,
Of all its splendour yon pale light
  It only leaves at last.

And yet who bids the parting sun
  A sad and last adieu,
Or doubts that with the morning dawn,
  'Twill fall to shine anew?

The sombre curtains of the night
Awhile about it close;
In the bright East 'twill rise again,
Where all its beauty rose.

Have we not known earth's joys to be
Shadow'd ere scarce begun?
Yet are not sorrows as the cloud
That passes o'er the sun?
And brighter hopes and sunnier hours
But fleetingly o'ercast,
To shed more welcome radiance forth
After the cloud has past!

And if upon your plighted faith
Some doubts should ever rise,
Look upward for the morning sun
Fresh mantling in the skies;
The shadows that enwreath the light
A richer glory shroud—
Holier the love uprising from
The darkest passing cloud!

FACTS.

One grain of gold will cover 7½ inches each way, or 52 square inches, or be 1500 times thinner than writing paper, *i. e.* a sheet of writing paper would be 1500 leaves.

Silver leaf breaks at the 160,000th part of an inch, or three times the thickness of a gold leaf. It tarnishes from sulphur, and dissolves in sulphuric and nitric acid.

Silver can be beat into plates, of which 110,000 make an inch, and drawn into wire, of which the thirteenth of an inch will sustain 137 lbs.

The weight of an ingot of silver is from 50 to 60 lbs. and the weight of an ingot of gold is 15 lbs. troy.

Iron, as well as glass, was accidentally discovered by a fire made of iron stone in one instance; and of lumps of natron and silicious matter in the case of glass. The Greeks ascribe the discovery of iron to the Cretans, and referred glass to the Phœnicians; but Moses relates that iron was wrought by Tubal-Cain, Noah's brother.

The Mississippi, during the 4000 miles of its course, and augmented as it is by the Missouri, the Ohio, the Red River, the Arkansas, &c. presents surprising phenomena. It winds in regular semi-circles, and forces its line of way easterly. Trees so accumulate in it, that a raft 10 miles long, a furlong wide, and 8 feet deep, has been seen on it covered with growing bushes, flowers, &c.

The famous Dead Sea, in Palestine, is 72 miles long and 18 or 20 broad. Its waters are salt and acrid, so that no fish or vegetables live in it, and it petrifies substances immersed in it. The specific gravity is 1.21, being the heaviest water known; and it contains muriate of lime 4, of magnesia 10.24, of soda 10.36, and sulphate of lime .054 in 100 grains. Sulphur, coal, bitumen, and various volcanic products are found near it.

VARIETIES.

Sleep-walking.—A case is related of an English clergyman who used to get up in the night, light his candle, write sermons, correct them with interlineations, and retire to bed again; being all the time asleep. The Archbishop of Bordeaux mentions a similar case of a student, who got up to compose a sermon while asleep, wrote it correctly, read it over from one end to the other, or at least appeared to read it, made corrections on it, scratched out lines, and substituted others, put in its place a word which had been omitted, composed music, wrote it accurately down, and performed other things equally surprising. Dr. Gall notices a miller who was in the habit of getting up every night and attending to his usual avocations at the mill, then returning to bed: on awaking in the morning, he recollected nothing of what passed during night. Martinet speaks of a saddler who was accustomed to rise in his sleep and work at his trade; and Dr. Pritchard of a farmer who got out of bed, dressed himself, saddled his horse, and rode to the market, being all the while asleep. Dr. Blacklock, on one occasion, rose from bed, to which he had retired at an early hour, came into the room where his family were assembled, conversed with them, and afterwards entertained them with a pleasant song, without any of them suspecting he was asleep, and without his retaining, after he was awoke, the least recollection of what he had done. It is a singular, yet well authenticated fact, that in the disastrous retreat of Sir John Moore, many of the soldiers fell asleep, yet continued to march along with their comrades.

A Contribution to History.—The celebrated Sir Eyre Coote, who was rather bow-legged, and also addicted to the use of musk, was familiarly known among his soldiers as Bandy Coote.

What soil is the best in which to plant potatoes?
An *aloo* vial soil.
Why is it bad to put up *chicks* to one's house in the hot weather?
Because it is probable that the air admitted through them may prove *fowl* air.
In what part of India does it rain green peas?
Peshawur, (Pea shower.)
Why did Moses never shave?
Because he preferred going about with Aron. (Query Hair on?)
What part of India would be best suited for a Foundling Hospital?
Nursing-poor.
What description of Indian devotees do two men shooting at midday, remind you of?
A pair of sunny asses.

Delhi Sketch Book.

The Force of Imagination.—Buckland, the distinguished geologist, one day gave a dinner, after dissecting a Mississippi alligator, having asked a good many of the most distinguished of his classes to dine with him. His house and all his establishment were in good style and taste. His guests congregated. The dinner table looked splendid, with glass, china, and plate, and the meal commenced with excellent soup. "How do you like the soup?" asked the doctor, after having finished his own plate, addressing a famous gourmand of the day. "Very good indeed," answered the other. "Turtle, is it not? I only ask because I do not find any green fat." The doctor shook his head.

"I think it has somewhat of a musky taste," said another; "not unpleasant, but peculiar."—"All alligators have," replied Buckland, "the cayman peculiarly so. The fellow whom I dissected this morning, and whom you have just been eating——" There was a general rout of the whole guests. Every one turned pale. Half-a-dozen started up from the table. Two or three ran out of the room, and only those who had stout stomachs remained to the close of an excellent entertainment. "See what imagination is," said Buckland; "If I had told them it was turtle, or terrapin, or bird's nest soup, salt water amphibia or fresh, or the gluten of a fish from the maw of a sea bird, they would have pronounced it excellent, and their degestion been none the worse. Such is prejudice."—"But was it really an alligator?" asked a lady. "As good a calf's head as ever wore a coronet," answered Buckland.

A young Irishman who had married when he was about nineteen years of age, complaining of the difficulties to which his early marriage subjected him, said "he would never marry so young again, if he lived to be as old as Methusalem."

A lawyer built himself an office in the form of an hexagon, or six square. The novelty of the structure attracted the attention of some Irishmen who were passing by; they made a full stop and viewed the building very critically. The lawyer, somewhat disgusted at their curiosity, lifted up the window, put his head out and addressed them—What do you stand there for like a pack of blockheads, gazing at my office; do you take it for a church?"—"Faix," answered one of them, I was thinkin' so, till I saw the divil poke his head out of the windy."

The Incorrigible.—A good story is told in an eastern paper of the treatment of a drunken husband by his amiable spouse. After trying various expedients. all to cure drunkenness she at last bethought herself of another plan of making a reformed drunkard of her lord.—She engaged a watchman for a stipulated reward to carry Philander to the watch-house, while yet in a state of insensibility, and to frighten him a little when he recovered. In consequence of this arrangement Philander awoke about eleven o'clock at night, and found himself lying on a pine bench, in a strange and dim apartment. Raising himself upon his elbow, he looked around until his eye rested on a man seated by a stove, smoking a cigar. "Where am I?" said Philander.—"In a medical college," said the cigar smoker.—"What a doing there?"—"Going to be cut up."—"How came that?"—"Why, you died yesterday, while you were druuk, and we brought your body to make anatomy."—"It's a lie: I'm not dead."—"No matter. We bought your carcass from your wife, who had a right to sell it, for it's all the good she could ever make of you. If you're not dead that's no fault of the doctors, and they'll cut you up, dead or alive."—"You will do it, eh?"—asked the old sot.—"Ay, to be sure we will; now, directly," was the resolute answer.—"Well, can't you let me have something to to drink before you begin?" This last speech satisfied the watchman that Philander was a hopeless case, and, his reward was contingent on his successful treatment of the patient, he was not a little chagrined at the result; so with no gentle handling, he tumbled the irreformable inebriate out of the watch-house.

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THE ROHILLA AFGHANS IN INDIA.

(CONCLUDED.)

In the year 1769 the Mahrattas re-invaded the Doab. There was again a difference in the Rohilla councils. Doondee Khan was for not attempting opposition, and spoke of an amicable compromise with the invaders; but Hafiz Rahmut was too good a soldier to subscribe to such a doctrine. He attempted a confederation with the Bungish tribes, but these, though willing to unite with him, found it difficult under present circumstances to form a junction; and Rahmut, thus deserted by his coadjutors, was obliged to retreat before the southern warriors, after an ineffectual effort to oppose their depredations. Every inch of ground out of the proper limits of Rohilkund which the Rohillas had acquired during the last Dooranee invasion, was now forcibly resumed. About this time also Nugeebal Dowlah died. He had been appointed Ameer al Omrah, or Lord of the Nobles, to the court of Delhi by the Abdalee conqueror, and exercised all the functions of the vizier, and engrossed all the power of the emperor in his own person. He was universally esteemed as a man of extraordinary talents and virtues, and worthy of the distinguished honor conferred on him. Some accounts make him a Rohilla by birth, others give him the broad appellation of an Afghan, while Captain Hamilton traces him to the Kummer Khail tribe. However this may be, he was deeply devoted to the Rohilla cause, and effected much in augmenting the Rohilla power. Soon after him Doondee Khan also paid his debt to nature, and the Rohilla confederacy suffered greatly by these losses.

In the mean while the Mahrattas were triumphing over the wretched fragments of the fallen empire at Delhi. Their success had exceeded their most sanguine expectations, and Shah Alum, enticed by false professions of being supported in his dignity, had subscribed himself a willing tool to their designs, and committed the safety of his person into their hands. They contemned his authority, and were often overbearing and insolent in the extreme, and, unequal to the task of chastising their arrogance, the poor and forlorn emperor was compelled to acquiesce in the ill use they made of their power. They regarded his name and his mandates only as instruments for their aggrandizement, and grants of rich and extensive territories were extorted from him by force, or coaxed out by fraud and flattery, to afford them some pretext, the mere shadow of an excuse, for extending their dominions and indulging their appetites. Nor did they stop here. They forced him to join them in their excursions, and hurried him into the field, while they positively refused to share with him the spoils of their rapine. In the midst of a rich and plentiful camp he was the only person destitute of the common necessaries of his rank —more a state prisoner than a king.

Thus supported by the imperial authority the Mahrattas cast a longing look on the fair districts of Rohilkund, and, as usual with them, they abruptly and unexpectedly burst upon the Afghan chiefs, in the full pride of their numbers, and flushed with the prospect of a rich booty. Zabita Khan, the son and successor of Nugeebal Dowla, made a spirited defence, but was unable to withstand their fury. Totally unprepared for resistance the Rohillas were compelled to retreat, and, abandoning the scene of pillage and destruction, they sought shelter in the neighbouring forests of Gungapoor, till they could muster sufficient strengh to meet the emergency. In the mean time the rapid progress of the Mahrattas alarmed Sooja al Dowlah, and awakened him to a sense of danger. Oude he knew was too rich a lure to be despised by such lawless and sanguinary plunderers, and their proximity boded him no good. He therefore called upon his allies the British to aid him in expelling them. In making this appeal he had likewise another object in view. He had ever looked upon Rohilkund with a wishful eye, and even at the present hour of common peril, would not relinquish the hope of one day calling it his own. A full possession of it perhaps at this moment he did not dream of. But he was never without his hopes of deriving some advantages or other by it. That nothing but the presence of a British army would ever induce or intimidate the Rohillas to trust him, or treat with him on any terms, he was well aware, and he therefore hired the services of a British army to effect his purpose. This induced Rahmut Khan, not without unwillingness, to enter into a treaty of mutual co-operation and defence with the vizier, and he subscribed an agreement on behalf, and it is said with the authority, of all the Rohilla sirdars, promising the payment of forty lacs of rupees as consideration for Sooja al Dowlah's assistance in expelling the Mahrattas from the Rohilla country. That he did receive the authority of the sirdars has not however been satisfactorily proved. If he did not, what right he had to bind them, that is, how they could be bound by his subscription to the performance of such a treaty, is not clear. It is certain that Sooja al Dowlah made no efforts to repulse the Mahrattas, but retired quietly to his own capital, satisfied that they could not now injure him with impunity, as he had English bayonets to defend him, and not caring how they dealt with the Rohillas. The Mahrattas soon after retreated of themselves at the commencement of the rains, and the Rohillas returned to their possessions in peace. Hafiz Rahmut now importuned the vizier, if he expected the fulfilment of his agreement, to intercede with the emperor and the Mahrattas, and make such arrangements as would deter the latter from further encroachments upon Rohilkund. But Sooja had gained his point, and turned a deaf ear to the solicitation.

Hafiz was next involved in hostilities with one of his own sons, named Enarjit Khan. Captn. Hamilton attributed this domestic calamity to the turbulent disposition of that young man, but Nabob Moostujab Khan, another son of Hafiz Rahmut, and who has written his life, exonerates his brother from this calumny, and casts all the blame on the evil advisers of his father. Enarjit died of a broken heart, the consequence of his father's displeasure; a powerful confirmation of his brother's testimony.

This domestic disturbance was followed by another irruption of Mahratta free-booters. This time their career was attempted to be checked by the Rohillas, in the first instance by properly guarding the fords of the Ganges, but some how or other, Tukojee Holkar managed to elude their vigilance and cross over with all his forces. There was now no power in Rohilkund able to oppose his career of plunder and spoliation with any effectual resistance. Zabita Khan who had sustained the brunt of their last incursion had since been compelled to submit to their influence. They had taken his wives, children and relatives prisoners—pledges too dear to be risked with impunity, and to recover them out of their lawless hands, he had deserted the cause of Rohilkund, and gone over to the enemy Rahmut, and in fact all the other Sirdars, now thought of following the same conduct, for Zabita had been received with every demonstration of favour and regard. The prospect around them was gloomy, and they perceived that they could not remain any longer both independent and neutral. Their inability to contend unaided with the Mahrattas left them only two alternatives, and, bad as an alliance with that people evidently was, it appeared to them better, far better, than a confederacy with Sooja al Dowlah. Sooja was alarmed at this aspect of their deliberations, and held out every inducement to prevent their union with the enemy. According to Hafiz Rahmut he promised to remit his demand for the forty lacs of Rupees they had promised him, and restore the bond. After much hesitation and uncertainty the Rohillas at last agreed to join him, actuated, it seems, more powerfully by religious feelings, than any other consideration. Many of the sirdars had conscientious scruples to join with infidels against the followers of the crescent, and, rather than deviate from what appeared to them to be the path of duty, they consented to brave the consequences of an union with the Nabob. The junction was accordingly effected. The combined forces for a long time watched the proceedings of the Mahrattas with great alertness, and in a general action succeeded in defeating them; but no operations of importance took place, and soon after troubles at Poonah called off the invaders to their own country.

The retreat of the Mahrattas seemed to restore peace to Rohilkund. Except that enemy, so formidable in numbers, the Rohillas, when united by common peril, could afford to despise all other native powers in India, and never thought of danger either from the imbecile monarch who ruled on the throne of Delhi, or from the equally impotent prince who owned the soubah of Oude. But this very consciousness of their superiority went a great way in effecting their decline. The authority of the guardian was now set at nought, and petty jealousies and private feuds began to disturb the harmony of the states. 'But, notwithstanding all such troubles and confusion, it has yet been authoritatively advanced, that, "Rohilkund when our army entered it in 1774 was a garden; in a few years afterwards it was rendered a desert." This perhaps is too metaphorical to be true. It has however been admitted on all hands, that, from the very commencement of its independence, to the day on which its liberties were violated and trampled upon, Rohilknnd was the best governed territory in India. The useful and the necessary arts of life had been nurtured amongst its inhabitants with a careful hand, and the accomplishments of civilized life were not unknown. "Many persons" says Mr. Macaulay, "now living, have heard aged men talk with regret of the golden days when the Afghan princes ruled in the vale of Rohilkund."

So many versions of our Rohilla campaign have already appeared, that we are very averse to add another to the number. But a brief outline is necessary to complete the historical sketch we have undertaken, and our readers must allow us for a time to continue trespassing on their patience. Sooja al Dowlah, we have already said, had set his heart on the conquest of Rohilkund; and the nonfulfilment of Hafiz Rahmut's agreement afforded him a plausible pretext, to indulge his ambition. But he had not the courage to come into collision with a power that had invariably sustained its reputation for valor. He therefore applied to the British Government for assistance, promising forty lacks of rupees, as a reward for its services, and, also, the sum of two lacks and ten thousand rupees per month, to defray the expences of the army. The offer was a tempting one, and the conscience of Governor Hastings was not over scrupulous. It was accepted. Posterity will scarcely credit the truth of such a nefarious transaction. "The sun that saw the beginning and completion of this infamous bargain had risen in avarice, its meridian was in cruelty, and its setting in blood." Mr. Hastings had his plea of imperious necessity indeed to urge, but it was such a plea as a common highwayman alone would think of putting in invindication of the robberies and murders he had perpetrated. The Company's treasury was exhausted, and the Governor General wanted money, for the Directors were pressing him for remittances. The dividend of the Hon'ble Proprietors must be paid, and paid unreduced, that the Governor General might continue in the estimation he enjoyed as a man of ability.

We should here mention that Sooja al Dowlah had also attempted to negociate with the emperor of Delhi for assistance, and had spared neither threats nor bribes to gain him over to his cause. He had promised to pay down two lacs of rupees for the expense of the outfit, and ten thousand rupees every marching day, and five thousand every halting day; and had also agreed to resign half of the conquered territory to the royal disposal. But the emperor, though he at first assented, upon reconsideration declined the offer. That the Mogul army nevertheless continued seemingly disposed to afford assistance, and even subsequently penetrated Rohilkund from the side of Delhi, under the command of Nujeeb Khan, appears only to have been an oriental clap-trap for justifying a specious demand.

The promised assistance of the British was to Sooja al Dowlah a source of great gratification. He was now sure of Rohilkund. In vain the Rohillas urged the generosity of their conduct in refusing to join the Mahrattas against him, in vain they pleaded for the restoration of their bond which had been promised to them. The Nabob denied having made any promise, and insisted on their extermination. What service or co-operation he had received from them had made no impressions on his mind, or the remembrance of injuries received had effaced all friendlier feelings, and he determined to take every advantage of the present state of affairs.

In January 1774, the Britsh army entered Rohilkund. Appalled at the approach of such a powerful enemy the Rohillas attempted an amicable adjustment of differences on any terms and offered a large bribe; but Sooja was inexorable, and raised his demand from forty lacs to two crores of rupees. The Afghan chiefs could not pay such a large amount, and, as nothing short of it would satisfy the vizier, they with a resolution worthy of their cause prepared to die in defence of their lives, liberties and dominions. The battle of Cutterah, or Bagga Nullah, was fought on the 23d of April 1774. Forty thousand men were mustered on the field under the command of Hafiz Rahmut, and fought with obstinate bravery. So desperate was the assault of the Rohillas, so strong their military ardour, that, it is said, the British troops at first hesitated to face them and were cut down in numbers; and "it was not till the most distinguished chiefs had fallen fighting bravely at the head of their troops, that the Rohilla ranks gave way." Throughout the action Hafiz Rahmut was present wherever the danger was greatest, cheering up his men to the charge with the courage of a soldier, and the dignity of a king; and, when he saw that the day was against him, and that his men could no longer withstand the tremendous cannonade of the enemy, rather than yield himself up into the hands of that enemy, or turn his back upon the field, the greyheaded veteran gave a shout, and rushed upon the English bayonets. He was killed, and his head was presented before the Nabob, whose feelings on the occasion were expressed in paroxysms of joy. One of his generals attempting to wipe off some dirt that smeared the countenance of the deceased, was checked and reprimanded. "Let it remain as it is," interrupted the Nabob, "the dirt and mire on that face are so much ornament to mine!" When this trophy was brought into the tent of Col. Champion, the English commander, some doubts were expressed as to its identity; but these were instantly removed by the wailings of a wounded Rohilla, who was lying near, whom the sight of it had pierced with greater anguish, than all the fearful gashes on his person. Had Sooja al Dowlah been capable of moralizing, this should have suggested to him the reflection how few of his retainers had thus mourned for him, if the fortune of war had bereaved him of life. And yet Hafiz Rahmut was but an usurper. He had trampled on the rights of the legitimate heirs of his Master, and often waged war with his brother chiefs. But he had done his duty to the state. In all his wars, and all his feuds, he seems never to have forgotten the rights of his subjects, and the internal policy of his administration was ever mild and judicious. Captn. Hamilton says that he was universally dreaded and disliked, but if we are to place any confidence on the testimony of Moostugab Khan, his biographer, we cannot come to the same conclusion. Bishop Heber also learnt that he was generally regarded as an excellent sovereign.

At the termination of the battle the whole country was abandoned to be pillaged. Sooja al Dowlah, which being interpreted, means the Valorous of the Empire, is stated to have manifested the most dastardly pusillanimity, and to have remained with his army at a respectful distance several miles in the rear, during the brisk charges of the enemy. But, when the dangerous affair was over, he hastened with alacrity to complete their destruction, and began to butcher them with all the ferocity of a barbarian, and a coward. "Their villages were burned, their children butchered and their women violated;" and all this perpetrated with the tacit sanction of a British Government, and in the presence of a British army. Col. Champion says that the scene was beyond description, and that he could not help compassionating such unparalleled misery. He frequently requested the vizier to show lenity towards a fallen people, but he pleaded in vain. We are not bound to take the testimony of Col. Champion without making great allowances. Both Champion, and the officers serving with him, were prejudiced against the Nabob for having been deprived by him of their portion of the Rohilla plunder. But it is very clear that their representations, though considerably over coloured, were founded on unquestionable facts.

The wrongs of Rohilkund however were subsequently avenged. The author of all her miseries, it is said, terminated his life under the stroke of an Afghan knife. His death forms no part of our narrative, but as it, in some measure, serves to elucidate the Rohilla character, we advert to it without a policy. During the sack and destruction of Rohilkund, Sooja al Dowlah seems to have been particularly employed in ransacking the zenanas of the murdered chieftains, and selecting therefrom concubines for his own. Among the many who had the unhappiness to please him was a daughter of Hafiz Rahmut khan, a very handsome and a very honorable maiden. She parted with her mother in deep distress, and the lessons she received from her on the occasion were such as we seldom meet with in poring over the pages of Indian history. She was instructed to remember that she was the daughter of a king, the betrothed bride of a prince, and no man's concubine; and that Sooja al Dowlah was a villain, who had murdered her father, entailed slavery and prostitution on her family, and reduced her nation to misery. With these lessons she received a gift from her parent—it was the last token of her affection—a poisoned clasp knife! Never Spartan mother gave a more suitable present, nor Spartan offspring receive it with greater devotion. Sooja al Dowlah's lust was most severely visited. The girl shuddered at the idea of defilement, and, when he endeavoured to force her innocence, she drew out the weapon from her hair, within which she had kept it concealed, and stabbed him. The wound degenerated into a cancer and finally proved mortal. Thus were the Rohillas avenged. This story is only apocryphal; but all the native historians appear to have accepted it as a true one. But to return.

Of the sirdars, who escaped the dreadful carnage to which Rohilkund was exposed, the greatest was Fyzoola Khan, the second and only remaining son of Ali Mohumud, hitherto a chief of minor consequence, but now the undoubted head of the Rohilla name. With the remnants of his army he fled towards the northern hills, and strongly entrenched himself in the jungles, where he was daily joined by numbers of his fellow fugitives. In the mean while the fit of vengeance being over, perhaps satiated by the extraordinary and extravagant indulgence it had received, Sooja al Dowlah affected to be generous and humane, and is said to have shown some kindness, or rather a degree of forbearance, to those who threw themselves on his protection. But these cases after all could not have been many, for the Rohillas still joined Fyzoola Khan in numbers; so much so, that the vizier began to be alarmed, and manifested considerable anxeity to push matters to an end. At his repeated solicitations and entreaties the English army again took the field, and marched toward the hills, where the Rohilla chief had taken up his quarters. The march was effected without opposition, and the Rohillas were cooped up in their entrenchments. But they still threatened an obstinate resistance, and evinced no disposition to yield. The Nabob now began to be anxious for an accommodation. The Mahrattas had settled their domestic disturbances, and were ready to burst again on the theatre of their depredations. Sooja al Dowlah was therefore uneasy lest the Rohillas should retire into the country between the mountains, and gain time, till the invasion of those freebooters should divert his attention, and call him off to the defence of his own country. Under such circumstances, he apprehended formidable enemies in front and rear, if not a complete explosion of all his ambitious schemes. The allied army also had become discontented "on account of hardship, arrears of pay, and ill usage;" and were not over anxious to attack a bold enemy enjoying a formidable position, and well defended. Amicable arrangements were therefore concluded by treaty. Fyzoola Khan obtained in jaghire the pergunnahs of Shawbad and Rampore, yielding him in aggregate the sum of fifteen lacs of rupees per annum, and, in consideration thereof, surrendered one half of all his effects to the vizier, and bound himself down to live in submission and obedience to his will. Thus terminated our Rohilla campaign—thus was the independence of Rohilkund forever put to an end.

Rohilkund now changed masters, and became subject to the iron rule of the Subadar of Oude. The deleterious politics of the Oude government soon effected a grievous change, and, from being the Chourasee Mal of India, it rapidly degenerated into a waste. "The face of the country," says the Rev. Mr. Tennant, in his work entitled 'Indian Recreations,' "offers but too strong evidence of this fact of depopulation. Extensive wastes everywhere meet your eye which were lately in cultivation, but which are now covered with long grass. The clods left by the plough are not yet melted down so as to assimilate with the surface, nor is the grass of that extraordinary coarse and ready species which arises upon fields in their primeval wildness, or that have long been out of tilth."

The Rohilla princes also suffered as much as their dominions. Some were left entirely unnoticed, without any provision being made for their subsistence, others suspected of possessing concealed treasure, were thrown into prison, while a few were suffered to linger on a small pension totally inadequate to their rank. Fyzoola Khan was the only gainer in this tragedy. Under the government of Hafiz Rahmut he possessed but a small district of eight lacs per annum, but the change now effected nearly doubled his income. It should not however be forgotten that the whole of the Rohilla dominions belonged to him by birth right.

Nor did the bulk of the people thrive better than the chiefs. A stroke of the pen confiscated all their possessions and effects; and immense multitudes, among whom were many women and children, being thus deprived of their means of subsistence, turned beggars or robbers according to their sex or age to lengthen out a wretched existence; or perished in want and misery.

It is now time to take a retrospective view of the Rohilla government and character. The history of the Rohillas, we have seen, is but the history of a long and bloody struggle for independence. But their name is not unconnected with good government and prosperity. We must not indeed go so far as to maintain that the unlimited adulation which they have received has been entirely merited. Their sufferings excited so much of the sympathy of mankind, and the origin and progress of their power were marked by incidents so peculiarly striking, that every thing good and every thing noble have been unhesitatingly assigned to them. To us however it does not appear that they were either so immaculate, or so liberal as they have been represented by parliamentary orators. They were undoubtedly brave and warlike, certainly far braver and more formidable than any of the indigenous races in India. But they were also turbulent and quarrelsome, always at war, and when they had nothing to engage them abroad, they found enough to employ them at home. Each individual mind was actuated by an ambition and a spirit of outrageous independence totally at variance with the well being and unity of an empire; and hence the ingredients that composed the independent principality very soon cleaved into numerous subdivisions, every leader exercising over his own paltry possessions a paramount authority. The insincerity of the race has also been proverbial, and it was a common saying amongst their enemies, that, while they prayed with one hand they robbed with the other. Even unbiased judges have declared it as their opinion, that, they were at best a nation most notorious for its faithlessness. In spite of these defects, however, historians have agreed on the point, that, the government of Rohilkund was based on liberal principles of justice and equity. For a long series of years that little tract of land presented a rare picture of prosperity and happiness. Rudely buffeted and exposed to the most violent aggressions, it was ever pertinaciously flourishing and provokingly well-regulated. Captain Hamilton seems to protest against this representation, but the evidence against him considerably preponderates.

That the Afghan emigrants were not very indulgent towards the Hindoo inhabitants of Kuttaheir, we believe with our author. The followers of the Prophet have never evinced a fellow feeling with the worshippers of stocks and stones and creeping things; and it would have been too flagrantly in opposition to the spirit of Islamism, if the Rohillas had behaved otherwise, than with severity, towards such unbelievers. Toleration in religion is not a Mahometan virtue, and we are not inclined to believe that chiefs and princes, zealously attached to a religion, which enjoins death to those of a different creed, stood in any other relation but as persecutors with those of their subjects whom they regarded as infidels. The Hindoo religion and ritual were not tolerated by the Rohilla government, and this hypothesis is fully borne out by the fact of there being very few Hindoo temples of any size or magnificence in Rohilkund, while the best and most splendid buildings throughout the country are the mosques for the faithful to pray in. All this however, cannot justify the extermination of the Rohillas, and, even if it did, it does not appear that any consideration for the welfare of the Hindoo population actuated the conduct of the Nabob Vizier, or his allies. The Hindoo population had no cause to congratulate themselves on their emancipation from Rohilla tyranny, as they suffered infinitely more oppression under the government of their liberator.

We have now traced the independence of Rohilkund to its termination. Fyzoola Khan for a short term enjoyed peaceful possession of his jaghire, but the jealousy of Asoph the successor of Sooja al Dowlab soon perceived grounds of apprehension, and would not allow him to remain at ease. The Nabob was quite as rapacious and unprincipled as his father, and he could never see a flourishing state without wishing to plunder it. The Jaghire of Fyzoola Khan, being better governed, was in a much better condition than the best part of his own dominions; and this he could not endure. He was also impatient to complete the arrangements of his father, and to expel the last of the Rohillas from his neighbourhood. But nothing could be done without British interference, and in Governor Hastings he found a man anxious to oblige him. By the treaty, which subsisted between the Rohilla and his feudal lord, the former was permitted to retain five thousand troops in his service, and was bound to assist the latter in time of war, with two or three thousand men, according to his ability. At the breaking out of the French war the British government demanded from the chief the service of five thousand horse, as the quota stipulated to the furnished to the vizier. Fyzoola Khan expressed the greatest willingness to assist the British on all occasions, but he also submitted his inability to comply with the present demand. He offered obedience to the full extent of his bond, but he was not prepared to make greater sacrifices, having been rigidly restricted from retaining more than five thousand men in his service. But his inability was disbelieved, and the excuse attributed to an unfriendly disposition. Nor did the British government condescend to give his motives a more liberal interpretation, before it extorted from his limited income a pecuniary cumulation of fifteen lacs of rupees. The apparent affluence of the Rohilla, the prosperous condition of his subjects, and the superior fertility of his dominions, as contrasted with the condition of the circumjacent country, had raised up an extravagant idea of his riches, and many means were adopted to obtain from him another equivalent sum. But his utter inability to pay more saved him from further importunity and danger.

By the same treaty that had secured to Fyzoola Khan the possession of the district of Rampore and its dependencies, the great bulk of the Rohilla nation had been expatriated from their country, and these were compelled to spread themselves all over India in their original character of desperate adventurers. In this capacity they obtained employment under different commanders, and were found serviceable in every deed of desparation. Even to this day the descendents of that iron race are reckoned throughout the land, as the best and most devoted of soldiers. Great numbers of them served under the Mahratta leaders, and when that empire ceased to exsist, they turned freebooters. Even in this state of lawlessness, they are said to have sustained, for a time, the dignity of the sterner and ruder virtues, plundering only the rich and the great, and extending over the humbler classes of society the shadow of their protection. But this trait of character, under their present circumstances, of course, could not be preserved long. Necessity has no law; and reduced to the greatest distress, they were soon compelled to embrace every chance that promised, or appeared to promise them subsistence, and crimes of every species began gradually to be allied with the Rohilla name.

We need not here advert to the causes which have since transferred Rohilkund into our hands. It is sufficient simply to mention, that the circumstance has certainly been conducive of the greatest benefits. The horrible manner in which the Nabob of Oude had oppressed and misgoverned it, had rendered the fostering influence of a more liberal government necessary to restore it to its former prosperity; and, as fifty years have now passed over since the time that it was ceded to us, we may observe without hesitation that it has now completely recovered. The hatred of the Rohillas, nevertheless, is deep-rooted against the British name. Of that generation which received injury at our hands, perhaps, not one now survives; but, all the amends that were made to them, not all the kindness that has ever since been shown towards their descendents, have yet effaced from the remembrance of the latter the injuries which their forefathers had suffered.

EVENING—ON THE BANKS OF THE JUMNA.

(FOR THE ORIENTAL MISCELLANY.)

Sweetly the glory of the setting sun
Falls on Yamuna's stream, and tips with light
The tiny ripplets that in wanton play
Kiss the green margin of the sloping banks.
The hand of Beauty framed this wondrous scene.
How the blue arch of heaven reflected lies,
With fleecy clouds like Islands mid the Sea!
How with a whisper and a gentle sigh,
The drooping willow dips its slender arm
Upon the stream and little circles break,
The holy calm that o'er its surface lies!
Nature expects repose; the evening star,
Bright, beauteous empress of the nights of May,
In majesty serene, with lustrous eye,
Looks on the quiet settling all around.
And now a breeze springs up, a light fair breeze,
That rustling thro' the creeper-clasped boughs
Of the tall mango, and the slender palm,
Ruffles the river's breast, and slightly lifts
The drooping pennant on the tapering mast.
But hark! what sounds of music catch the ear;
Like fairy strains from some enchanted land;
And, issuing from the green o'er-arched glade,
A band of bright-eyed beauties trip along,
And sit upon the flower enamelled bank,
Like pearl-crowned naiads of that ample wave.
But who shall paint that softly-pleasing scene:
What mortal hand can vie with nature's power?
—The glassy river, and the solemn trees,
The dim-seen mountains fading on the sight,
The boats scarce rocking, and the drowsy moan,
On the lone Zephyr, as it bears from far
The voice of music and the song of mirth.
There is a charm in them—a potent spell,
That works on all who see such scenes as these.

Calcutta, 1853. ARIEL.

THE SLEEP OF INNOCENCE.

"Why dost thou sleep so calm my child,
Why is that smile upon thy cheek?
When all without is raging wild,
And Heaven seems its wrath to wreak:—
See how the lightning's vivid flash!
Appears amidst the gloomy wild;
And thunder with its deaf'ning crash,
Yet calms thy sleep my darling child.

Sleep on my babe, nor heed the din,
That reigns without in fearful strife;
Nor all the pangs that burn within,
Thy mother's breast in anguish rife
Oh where! amidst this howling storm,
Amid this scene of wild despair;
Is all I love?—thy father's form,
May we no more his bosom share?

Oh mercy Father! hear my pray'r,
Oh spare the lov'd one of my heart;
Oh strike not yet—awhile forbear,
I cannot bear that we should part;—
And yet, O Lord, thy will be done,
If it should please thy will to be,
That I shall see my little one,
An Orphan left—yet praise to thee."

The morn appears, the sun is bright,
The sky is beautiful and clear;
The mother's heart throbs with delight;
And gladsome is the coursing tear;
As with an anxious joyous bound,
She holds the father to her breast;
With eyes uprais'd and thoughts profound,
Forgetting not His name to bless.

SONNETS.

1.

Deliverance from danger and from ill,
Engenders Gratitude within the breast,
And when the danger's imminent, confest,
Or ill insufferable,—deepest still
Strikes Gratitude its root. The root at will
Sends forth the flower consummate,—ever blest,
Called Love,—whose fragrance heaven and earth attest,
Whose equal blows not on the vale or hill!
Upon this Law of human nature, God
Hath acted chiefly in the days of yore,—
Witness the Ark of Noah riding high
The ruffian billows,—Witness Egypt's shore,
With Pharoah's army scattered at His nod,—
And witness Thou dread Cross of Calvary.

2.

Deliverance from ill breeds Gratitude,
And in proportion as the ill is great
The Gratitude is deep and passionate,
Pure, permanent, unswerving, holy, good.
What makes the Gratitude tenderer, and should?
The knowledge that the Deliverer bore the weight
That threatened the delivered,—met his fate
Hopeless, and helpless, as in woe, he stood.
The sage in story, and the bard in song,
Admit these principles, and own their power,
And on these sure foundations God hath built
His wondrous scheme to save us. Ye that throng
To taunt or scorn Him in an idle hour,
Think of the blood that from His side was spilt.

3.

Think of the blood,—and down in worship fall!
For what is man that God should ever deign
To visit or console him in his pain,
And in his sin, which blots and darkens all.
Stand still ye spheres to hear the gentle call!
"Ye heavy-laden,—ye with many a stain,
Ye crushed and humbled, struggling long in vain,
Love me,—I love ye even in your fall!"
Stand still ye spheres to view the awful scene!
The mystic cloud that hovers on the air,
Is but a shadow of his anguish keen:
They pierce with wounds,—with thorns they crown His brow,
Yet, yet, arises the pathetic prayer,
"They know not what they do, forgive them Thou!"

INDIAN SKETCHES.

No. 11.—THE BANIAN.

A Banian, it may be known, is a distinguished link in the chain of Hindu existence. He is no ordinary man: he is possessed of no inconsiderable influence, and is deemed a very important personage in a compting house. He is the right hand man of the merchant, who would rather wind up his affairs, and ship for Europe than do without him. Whatever may be the disposition and personal appearance of a banian of the present day, we cannot divest ourselves of the idea that he is a man of bulk, the enormous protuberence of whose stomach, and whose fat cheeks form a striking contrast to the slim skeleton figure of the running sircar. Then again we must speak of his matchless cunning, which is ever at work to turn every thing to his own advantage in a peculiar manner in all his actions. Look at him seated in his office amidst his underlings, who regard him as a being of superior order. Samples of Silk, Indigo, Sugar and other staple commodities of India are set before him, as if they were offerings made to propitiate some Heathen deity. Bills and cheques are strewn about him, and he looks as proud and imperious as the Sultan of Turkey when surrounded by his nobles in the audience hall; and he has reason to be so. Who would not be proud in his circumstances? He is consulted in matters of business, and the merchant his employer very frequently adopts his advice in many a speculation in which he may be engaged. The banian knows how to shape his conduct: he is not to be told that he should not concern himself about the affairs of one who is going down hill; nor is he to be taught that he should withhold his advances from him whose idea of commerce is confined to mere disbursements. The banian is a man of no ordinary foresight; he knows too well the antecedents and sequences of all the movements in the mercantile world, and he is thus enabled to keep clear of difficulties. He may per chance fall into an error, entailing on him a pecuniary loss, but he soon recovers from it, and by redoubled energy and persevering efforts he is sure to make up for the losses he has incurred. A banian, it must be observed, has a genius for making money; he is born, as it were, with an aptitude for that object; and were a phrenologist to examine his cranium, he would no doubt find that his bump of acquisitiveness is very prominently developed. Hence we never hear of a *poor* banian. We may have heard of a poor Governor, a poor Nabob, and a poor Rajah, but who is there that has heard of a poor banian? The fact is a banian is never poor. Nature never intended him to be so; and it would be a deorganization of the order of things to bring him under that category. There is, however, a gradation amongst this genus in point of riches. There are great and small banians: there are banians worth thousands and others hundreds of thousands; and if you were to look about you, you would doubtless find some who come under the proud designation of millionaires. The age for acquiring money, it may be remarked, by rail-road speed has long passed by. The times of the Palmers, the

Mackintoshes, and the Forgussons are gone, when banians grew rich as if by magic influence, and were elevated to a respectable position in Hindu Society in spite of every thing. Those were happy times, when within the space of a few years, wealth was accumulated* to an extent, which could not fail to satisfy a prince. Things, however, are differently constituted in the present day, and to become rich all at once is not a thing of common occurrence. Yet we see occasionally men suddenly spring up, and raise their heads above the rest of the Hindu community, commanding no little influence in consequeance of their possessions. To this class belonged Ram Chunder Day, a brief narrative of whom will not be out of place in our present sketch.

Ram Chunder was a man of poor origin, and although not an adept in the occult sciences, was not certainly deficient in the science of money-making. He was a Hindu of the old school, and paid no little attention to those religious observances which are the evident marks of genuine orthodoxy. It has been said that he commenced his career in public life as a common sircar, and by dint of great perseverance and prudence not unmixed with a large share of cunning, he was soon enabled to command some money which he brought to very good account. Yes, Ram Chunder soon became a man of substance, both as regards his exchequer and personal appearance. From a lean half-starved woe-begone sircar, he became a fat, paunch-bellied baboo; for it is a fact his fat improved in the same ratio as his resources. So great was the change in his person within a few years, that people who had not seen him for some time could scarcely recognize in him, the once slender, hard working bill collector. In course of time Ram Chunder was elevated to the dignity of a banian, and in this capacity his memory will be handed to succeeding generations. It is needless to enter into any minute details of the ways and means he adopted to promote his own welfare. Suffice it to say that he allowed no opportunity to pass by, which he did not render subservient to his own interest. He had been a banian to several respectable firms in Calcutta, and his employers reposed in him unbounded confidence, so much so that Ram Chunder had the entire management of all their transactions. If there was a consignment of goods to be disposed of, Ram Chunder was consulted before any preliminary step was taken. If goods were to be shipped Ram Chunder was the agent through whom they were procured; and if money was to be borrowed, Ram Chunder was the party to make advances; and the banian, it is needless to add, never failed on such occasions to impose such conditions as were of the utmost benefit to him. It was in this way that Ram Chunder augmented his means, which though they had attained an enormous bulk, were not sufficient to gratify his avarice and cupidity. The more he got the more he felt desirous of obtaining. He was not a contented man; and he felt life had no charm unless employed in amassing riches; and he deemed the man the most miserable in existence, who had neither the opportunity nor desire of improving his circumstances. With these ideas and notions working in his mind, it cannot be a matter of surprise that he had been so successful in his pursuits.

It was the usual custom of Ram Chunder after his morning ablution to sit in his hall, surrounded by his friends and relatives with whom he conversed very freely, on subjects best suited to their tastes. On one of these occasions his eldest son was present, who when others had retired was told to remain in the hall, "Prem," said Ram Chunder to his son, "Prem, I had long wished to speak to you upon a subject which is next to my heart, but had not the opportunity of doing so."

"What is it Mohashoi?" asked the son with the most profound respect. "What is it Mohashoi?"

"Why, Prem, I have been thinking that when I am dead you would carry on my business."

"May that event be far distant," said the son of the worthy banian.

"Whenever it may be, it must happen—it may be next month or tomorrow if it please the *debtas*; and it is on that account I am anxious to initiate you into my business."

"I am ready Mohashoi," said the obedient son, "whatever you say shall be attended to."

"Now you know, Prem, mine is a profitable business. A man with a little wit about him can do a great deal in the way of adding to his fortune. Now the first lesson that I would teach you is, never to lend money unless you have ample security, and adequate return."

"What do you mean by adequate return?" inquired the youth with becoming modesty.

"Why that is the thing, my boy, which you should be made to understand. No man, you know, does any thing without an expectation of gain. We get money after much trouble and it must not be lent unless we obtain something handsome in return. We must charge interest, and that must be regulated according to circumstances."

"I know that Mohashoi," replied the youth.

"Yes, yes," said the father, "but you may not be aware what is to be charged—Some, I must tell you, charge sixty or seventy per cent, but that is rather too much, I am content with thirty or forty. Then again you must charge a commission of five or six per cent, which will make up something worth having."

"But do people pay so much?" asked Prem of his progenitor.

"Why most certainly—they cannot help it. They require money and when you tell them that they cannot get it unless they submit to your terms, they must give in. This is the way business is managed amongst us. Then again you must know that a note of hand is given for three months. When this period expires, the payment of the money must be demanded; and if it is not then paid the note must be renewed, and a commission is again to be charged—do you understand this?"

"Perfectly," answered Prem. "Well then," continued the father, "you have learnt a very essential part of my business. The next thing I wish you to attend to is this,—you should endeavour to bring the merchant who engages you, entirely under your power, so that you may lead him as you like, and ruin him if he does not act agreeably to your wishes."

"How is that done?" asked Prem, somewhat puzzled.

"Why the fact is, a banian knows too well the real state of the merchant's affairs. If he does well the banian must necessarily thrive; and it will be his interest to make him such advances as he needs, taking care that he gives no more than what could be conveniently returned by his employer. These advances render his employer a perfect tool in his hands ; and he can do with him as he likes. Then again, you know, if the merchant is found to sink deeper and deeper daily, he is to loose no time to seize his property, and pay himself. This is the way to do business and if you attend to my instructions you will be sufficiently repaid for your trouble."

Just as Ram Chunder had finished his last sentence, a gentleman was announced ; and before the youth had time to leave the room the visitor was ushered in. "How do you do, Baboo ?" said the gentleman in a very familiar tone. "How do you do ?"

"Quite well, Spankie," returned the banian.

"You are looking awfully fat Baboo—I think you have improved considerably since I had the pleasure of seeing you last."

"Ha ! ha ! ha ! I grow fat, but you grow skeleton," returned the man of corporation.

"But leaving jokes apart, Baboo, I am come to you upon some particular business—I want twenty thousand rupees—I have some pressing demands to meet, and I must have money."

"I beg your pardon" said the cautious Banian, "you already owe me thirty thousand, and how can I give more."

"Now Baboo, this is too bad, you know I come from a distance of nearly fifty miles merely to get this money; and if I cannot obtain it I am undone."

"But, Mr. Spankie" observed Ram Chunder "I am truly surprised that you cannot get money from your other friends. You a Judge and Magistrate and cannot command money ! O Mr. Spankie, I cannot believe that."

"I know no body" said Mr. Spankie, "and I am ashamed to ask strangers, Baboo, you must comply with my request."

"Well, if I lend the money what will you do for me in return."

"What do you wish me to do. Tell me only what you want, and it shall be attended to."

"Well, you know there is a Zamindar in Michapoor, who has a case against me at the zillah Court. You must dismiss it."

"Certainly," returned Judge Spankie "certainly, but then you must let me have what I want ?"

"And then you know," continued the Banian, "there is a fellow who wishes to sue me because I ordered my people to beat his men, one of whom was severely wounded, dismiss this case likewise."

"By all means," said the Judge, "do not forget what I have asked."

"Well, I was going to say that a person not far from Cuina, owns a fine piece of land which I wish to buy, but he will not sell it. Now I want you to force him to make over the property to me,"

"Most readily," replied Mr. Spankie, "but you must give me the money Baboo."

"Then you know," continued the banian, "there is a certain Indigo planter with whom I have some dispute regarding a factory. I wish you would decide in my favor should he make an appeal to you."

"By all means," said Mr Spankie, "let the case be brought to me in a judicial form, and I know how to decide upon it. But you must let me have the twenty thousand rupees."

"And then you know———"

"That will do, that will do," exclaimed the Judge, whose patience had been by this time fairly exhausted, "that will do, Baboo. You may rest assured I will not fail to meet your wishes. Just write to me when you have occasion for my services, and I will attend to your requests. Let me have the money, Baboo, under any circumstances."

"Ha, ha, ha," laughed out Ram Chunder, "you are determined to make another indent upon me I see. Very good, you shall have the money, but you know my conditions." Whereupon the banian entered into preliminaries for the accommodation which he was to make. The civilian in due course received the money, and returned to his station; and often did the banian apply to him for his interference in cases in which his interests were involved; but, we need not add, without any success; for the functionary alluded to, whose necessities had compelled him to resort to a sort of ruse by pretending to accede to the Banian's extravagant terms, never paid the least attention to the improper requests of the latter, and was subsequently enabled, by an economical management of his expenses, to deliver himself from the toils of this wily worshipper of gold.

The above is no carricature, but a true picture. The reader in his intercourse with the people of this country will often come in contact with men of the character, which has been attempted to be delineated.

HYDER ALLY.

Hyder Ally, of whom a brief sketch is attempted in this place, was an extraordinary man, in every sense of the word. Whether we regard him as a warrior or a politician, he holds the most prominent place amongst the native princes, whose names have been handed down to us through the medium of History. Hyder Ally was of very poor origin, and although uneducated, was possessed of a sound understanding, which enabled him to see clearly into things, and adopt that course of conduct which ensured him, in many instances, success in his undertakings.

He was the son of Futteh Mahommed, a native of Punjaub, whose family was so poor that they frequently had nothing to subsist upon. In order to satisfy the cravings of hunger, they were often placed under the necessity of begging for alms, and they lived in some measure, upon the precarious bounty of the public. Futteh Mahommed, finding his efforts in bettering his circumstances unavailing, left his native country with the view of trying his fortune elsewhere. He directed his course to Mysore where he was enabled to enlist as a soldier under a distinguished chief, and by his meritorious conduct was soon raised to the rank of a *Naik*. Futteh Mahommed was now in circumstances to change his state of life.

He married twice, and by his second wife he had two sons, Shabaz and Hyder, who were left orphans while yet very young; the father having been killed together with his employer in a battle in which they had been engaged.

Hyder Ally in his youth gave no promise of future eminence. He was a wayward boy, and averse to employment of any kind. He associated himself with men of questionable characters, and was a burden upon his friends and relations. His brother, on the other hand, was a man of virtuous principles and had distinguished himself in the service of Nanjeraj, the guardian of the young Raja of Mysore. Shabaz had always entertained very kind feelings for his brother, and took the first opportunity of giving him a place in the service to which he belonged, and Hyder at the age of twenty seven years became a soldier. It is said that he soon had occasion to display his valor and intrepidity in an eminent degree; and it was not long before he had charge of a small body of troops, which he was at liberty to augment whenever he deemed it necessary. Having thus entered upon a career for which he had a great predilection, he lost no opportunity of pushing himself forward, and affording undeniable proofs of his courage, and presence of mind in the field of battle. By this means he rendered himself famous, and drew around him men of desperate characters, who followed him in all his excursions. In a word, Hyder became the head of a predatory gang, who agreed to pay him half of whatever booty came into their possession. He soon came to be at the head of a considerable band of troops, consisting of 1,500 horse and 5,000 foot soldiers. With these he levied contributions upon all that came in his way, and was enabled to acquire immense property, which proved of eminent service to him in the prosecution of his designs. Success attended him in all his undertakings, and his views of ambition were extended as he rose in power, so much so that nothing now could satisfy him, but the possession of the throne of Mysore. This was the object of his desire, and he did all in his power to obtain it. It was not long however, before he had an opportunity of taking effectual measures in pursuance of his design. The young Rajah of Mysore finding that Nunjeraj the minister had placed him under reststraint, bestired himself to shake off the yoke. He endeavoured to fortify himself by securing the support of a large body of men, but his plans were not properly matured before they were discovered, and it was not difficult for Nunjeraj to defeat them. Hyder found in these dissensions ample materials to work upon, and he failed not to take advantage of them. It will be impossible within our limited space to enter into a full detail of the means he adopted, and the toils and hardships he urderwent, to compass his end; it will be sufficient for our purpose to state that Hyder eventually gained the ascendency in Mysore, and had the satisfaction of seeing himself seated upon the throne of that extensive country.

On assuming the reins of Government, Hyder began to extend his territories in all directions. He brought under subjection the Rajahs and polygars, who had in the preceding reigns withdrawn their allegiance to their legitimate sovereigns, and made themselves independent. He subdued Serie, Chittledroog and Bednore, in the last of which he found immense treasures, which proved of great service to him, and which it is said contributed much to establish his power. An enemy however soon rose, who did much to disturb his peace, and check his successful career. Mado Rao, a Maharatta chief of great renown, invaded his territories, and carried every thing before him. Hyder was completely defeated, and was obliged to sue for peace, by the cession of extensive lands, and the payment of a very large sum of money. This must have been very humiliating to Hyder; for he who was considered invincible by his adherents, was obliged to submit to terms, which were any thing but honorable to their chief. Hyder, however, soon recovered himself; and his next expedition was directed to the subjugation of Calicut which he captured without any great effort on his part. The deeds of violence which he committed in this expedition were very disgraceful to him, and tended much to injure his character.

When the news of the capture of Calicut reached the other states, they naturally became alarmed, and wanted to adopt some measure to check the bold career of this upstart. In order to do this, Nizam Ally, the Subhadar of the Deccan, and Modo Rao, the Maharatta chief, entered into a league for the sole purpose of humbling the power of Hyder. The English likewise joined the alliance. But Hyder was not a fool; his mind was at work, and what he could not gain by force of arms, he accomplished by the exercise of his cunning and duplicity. He gained over the Maharatta chief and the Subhadar one by one;- and when he had effected this he seemed not to care much for the English, whose power at that time had scarcely begun to develope itself. Hyder had so contrived as to form an alliance with the Nizam to crush the English. Col. Smith in the mean time entered Mysore with a small body of men, and found that his situation was such as was likely to expose him to much danger. He had now to contend with an immense force with a handful of men; but he took courage, and shrunk not from the contest. Hyder brought to the field 43,000 horse and 28,000 foot, while the English could not muster more than one tenth of that number. With these Col. Smith made his stand, and repulsed the confederates, in three successive battles. When the Nizam witnessed the success which attended the British arms, he thought it prudent to withdraw from the alliance, into which he had entered with Hyder, and concluded a treaty with the English, upon tolerably favorable terms. The Council of Madras were very much gratified at the news of Colonel Smith's success, and wished now to make further advances into the territories of Hyder. To enable him to execute their design, they sent him a small body of men under the command of Colonel Wood, to this was added a detachment from Bombay. These forces made their attacks seperately in different parts of the country, and reduced Hyder to such straits that he was compelled to sue for peace, offering to make over the district of Buramahal, and to pay ten lacs of rupees towards defraying the expenses of the war. The Council Board of the Madras Presidency, however, rejected the offer, having expected more advantageous terms. They recalled Smith upon some pretext, a measure which we need not say was highly injudicious. On Smith's return to the presidency, the command of the forces devolved upon Colonel Wood, who appears to have been unequal to the task. Hyder attacked him at Bangalore, and completely defeated him ; and had it not been for the timely assistance of a reinforcement under Major Fitzgerald, his loss would have been much more severe.

Hyder was naturally much elated at his recent success. He grew more bold, and came down upon the English that were scattered over a great part of the Country, and within six weeks recovered all his lost possessions. In the course of his attacks, his forces surrounded a small body of men under the command of Captain Nixon, and almost destroyed the whole of the detachment. The treachery which Hyder next employed in taking the fortress of Eroad is a well known fact, and exhibits Hyder in a very unfavorable light. The men in the fortress were seized, and treated with the greatest inhumanity : an act which brands the name of this warrior with infamy.

The chief of Mysore, after this became more insolent, and was meditating attacks upon all the depôts and posts of the British. These were somewhat alarmed at this state of things, and therefore sent Captain Burkes to negociate with him ; but the conference had not a satisfactory result. Colonel Smith was immediately restored to his command ; and he endeavoured to keep Hyder at bay for a while. The latter, however, was determined to carry his point. In order to do this, he took a body of 6,000 chosen cavalry, and a small number of infantry, and with these he marched 130 miles in four days, and came within five miles of Madras. The English were thrown into some confusion, and they readily agreed to the terms proposed by Hyder, which were to recall Smith from his territories, and to enter into an alliance with him for mutual defence. Soon after the Maharattas made their usual inroads into Mysore under the command of distinguished leaders. They overran the country, and made great devastations wherever they went, and committed great personal outrages ; they mutilated the ears and noses of a whole garrison, who had made an obstinate resistance against their attacks. The Maharattas then pushed their victory until they obliged Hyder to return to Seringapatam in which he closed himself for eighteen months. Hyder being placed in this desperate situation sued for peace, which was granted upon these terms, namely, that he should pay down the sum of fifteen lacs of Rupees, and fifteen more *hereafter*, and make the cession of a great part of his dominions towards the north of his territories. Hyder did not remain long inactive. He soon mustered an army, took possession of Coorg, and recovered the ceded districts from the Maharattas.

Hyder was highly incensed at the conduct of the English, who when he was brought to the brink of ruin, did not render him any assistance which they had pledged to afford in conformity to the provision of the treaty of 1769. He burned with revenge, and with the view of gratifying this feeling entered into a league with the Maharattas to humble the English. An event soon occurred, which served as a pretext for the commencement of hostilities. When the war between the French and the English was declared in Europe, the latter came into a determination of bringing all the French possessions in India under their subjection. In conformity to this resolution the Madras Government gave orders for the reduction of Mahé. Hyder instantly interfered, urging that the territory around it was his by conquest; and that he would oppose any attempt made by the English to approach the place. The English, however, paid no regard to his threats. Time passed on, and Hyder prepared to take signal revenge on his enemies. Early in June 1780, he quitted Seringapatam, at the head of an army of 83,000 men. He directed his course towards the Carnatic, with the full intention of attacking the English. The Madras Government being apprised of the danger to which it was exposed, immediately adopted measures to avert it. They raised an army of about 8,000 men under the command of Colonel Baillie, and Sir Hector Munro. The two armies met near the village of Poliloor, but in consequence of the English being in two separate bodies, they could not withstand the attack of so immense an army, Baillie's men gave way, and the slaughter of the English in consequence of this was astonishing: there were only 200 men that survived, who were taken prisoners, and treated as usual with the greatest barbarity.

When Mr. Hastings, the Governor of Bengal, was informed of the disasters which befell the English in Southern Hindostan, he immediately sent Sir Eyre Coote, a distinguished officer, with about 600 Europeans and a small number of sepoys to repair the injury which the British character had sustained by the late defeat. When this general arrived in Madras he found at his disposal not more than 7,000 men. With this inconsiderable force, Sir Eyre Coote ventured to encounter Hyder. They met in the very place in which the English had lately suffered a defeat; and although the general was attacked by overwhelming numbers, he maintained his ground with firmness and resolution. During the war the English suffered several repulses, but they were eventually victorious, notwithstanding the assistance which the enemy received from the French, who at one time brought 3,000 men in the field. The battles of Arnee and Paniani, in the latter of which, Tippoo, the son of Hyder had taken the command, terminated very favorably for the English; the enemy having been driven from the field with severe losses.

Soon after the last battle, Hyder began to show symptoms of approaching dissolution. He was attacked with the rajhora or royal boil, which no medicine could cure, and he expired on the 7th December 1782, when he had attained his eightieth year. He was one of the most extraordinary men that we read of in the annals of Indian history. Though ignorant of the rudiments of learning, he was able to enter into enlarged views of internal policy, and adopt such measures as were best calculated to promote the interests of his country. Fearless of danger, and burning with an ardent desire for making conquest, he scrupled not to encroach upon the rights and properties of others. Destitute of every right principle, he cared not for the sufferings of his fellow men. He was revengeful in the extreme, and treated his opponents, when they came under his power, with the barbarity of a Caligula or a Nero.

CHILD RESCUED FROM AN EAGLE.

Tow'ring high amid the realms celestial,
In his circle wheeling—a distant speck ;—
Seeming to reject this earth terrestial,
As sweeping uncontroll'd, without a check,—
Thus indistinct beneath the brazen sky,
An Eagle soars, aspiring heavens high,
In beauteous, and in fearless Majesty.

And as he wings his bold undaunted flight,
Beneath the sun in all its shooting rays ;
He nears himself within the human sight,
Which gazes on in wonder and amaze :
Till lighting on a summit—tow'ring high—
Of rocky mountain, with surveying eye ;
He looks around in stately Majesty.

And darting round his earnest glance for prey,
He spies the shepherds with their browsing train ;
As oft some lambkin from its dam would stray,
And lose itself amid the copse-wood plain :
Then would he pounce unmindful of the bleats,
And cries that echoed thro' his rocky keeps,
And rang along his ragged mountain steeps.

But now another scene his keen eyes gauge,
And unsurrounded by his human foes ;
His heart beats wild as tho' himself were cag'd,
His vivid glance with ardent vigor glows—
Beneath the range, and near a murm'ring stream,
A mother plac'd her child without a dream
Or thought,—of what appear'd the most unseem.

The monarch bird in native mountain grace,
Expanded wheels beneath the lurid sky ;
Amid whose realms of wide unbounded space,
He keeps the babe within his august eye :
Watching the mother as she soon withdrew,
A little space—to mix with neighb'ring crew,
The rustic, and the merry hearted few.

And as the song in one harmonious flow,
Rising along the wind,—a rural theme;
The mother's guardian eye beholds the foe,
Betray'd by one wild agonizing scream;—
His talons bear the treasure of her breast,
And wings his flight to yonder rocky crest;
Lodging the infant in his mountain nest.

The dread reality each trembler saw,
Struggling in vain the sad truth to dispel;
And gazing thus in long terrific awe,—
The mother with a wild and frantic yell,
Bounds o'er the plain and in disorder flies
Towards that summit, rising in the skies,
While echo all around her dreadful cries.

They call aloud, yet call aloud in vain,
She heeds them not, and now she seems to fly;
And climbing upwards—nothing can restrain
The breast determin'd, with its child to die:
With scarely reason left, her rolling eyes,
Detects the secret which she dares surprise,
As high above a hundred peaks it lies.

And as each jutting crag, the summit gains;
Where mortal foot hath never trode before;
Alone, where barren desolation reigns,
With gushing torrents, and their deaf'ning roar;—
Awhile she pauses,—hov'ring in the air,
The winged monarch screams, as if to scare,
The dread intruder from his presence there.

But nought can quell the ardor of her breast,
The fearful sight, her soul with courage fires;
And as she nears that proud terrific crest,
The voice belov'd, in cries, again inspires.—
Unscath'd her darling lies within the nest,—
To unfledg'd eaglets there, a welcome guest,—
She fondly, madly clasps it to her breast.—

Z.

SELECTIONS.

BLIGHTED HOMES.

"For heaven's sake do not grumble!" were words uttered in a tone which expressed a sorely oppressed heart. The speaker was a young man, dressed in a fustian suit of working clothes, which though coarse were clean, and could not disguise a fine form. His countenance was mild, grave, and open; his voice deep and touching, possessing those inflexions which belong to strong feeling and a certain degree of cultivation. The woman beside him was a little compact creature, with a pretty face, and piercing black eyes; particularly neat in her attire, and quick in her movements, by which she was every now and then in advance of her companion, whose steady equal pace knew no deviation.

These people were husband and wife, and were returning home together in discourse more earnest than agreeable—one of those events which, in the fluctuations of trade, from time to time occur—a reduction of wages—had tried the temper of the one, and touched the feelings of the other. George and Martha Robinson had been six years married. Their union had been a rare combination of love and prudence; her early thriftiness had enabled her to bring many substantial comforts to their home, and George, if less provident, had obtained a character for integrity and skill which secured him a preference among employers. They had one child, nearly three years old and to superficial observation presented a domestic compact of peculiar comfort and enjoyment. But we must lift the veil. The sources of happiness lie not with externals; it needs no moralist to tell us how inadequate is wealth to its production—how little the glitter of the diamond enlivens the breast on which it glows. In the home of George Robinson, those moral gems, order and cleanliness, had a setting; they were so predominant as to be apparent at a glance, and a stricter observation would have disclosed an admirable system of economy and habits of industry. These were Martha's great requisites, and it is scarcely possible to overrate them; but she deteriorated their value, often nullified their power, by moral deficiencies,—deficiencies of those qualities which, though taking rank among the minor essentials of character, are daily items in the account of life that sway the balance to enjoyment or misery. She wanted gentleness of spirit, kindliness of temper, and amenity of manner. In the days of her petted childhood, in the brief courtship which had preceded her early marriage, her pertness had been regarded as wit, her youth and prettiness giving a passport to much that was reprehensible and repulsive. It was thought that her exuberance of spirit and acidity of humour would become subdued and softened by the sobering cares and soothing duties of domestic life. Such did not prove to be the case. The disposition to perceive deformity rather than beauty; to censure sooner than praise; to find out the faulty instead of the fair side of everything, and to extract bitters rather than sweets, which had once been exercised in a wide circle of family, friends, and neighbours, gained strength in the concentration it experienced after her marriage. Every little molehill annoyance grew, from her manner of viewing it, into a mountain grievance, nor when passed away was it forgotten. No moment was so calm in which her caprice might not raise a storm or revive one; no entreaties to let "bygones be bygones" would avail, and often had George Robinson occasion to exclaim with Solomon—"Better is a dry morsel and quietness therewith, than a house full of sacrifices and strife."

On learning the abridgement which their means had experienced, she had instantly launched into a flow of words which tortured her husband's mind, and urged him to utter the adjuration just quoted, but she continued her painful and fruitless expatiation till they reached home. With a slow and sad step, George entered: had the inner man possessed resignation to the present and hope for the future, which a complacent companion might have easily infused, how might he have shut the door of his dwelling upon the angry word and realised a little Goshen of his own, for the scene was all neatness, brightness, and sweetness; but without the moral charms of cheerful, tender lovingness, it was but the naked trellice wanting the flowers it was fitted to sustain.

The fire had been carefully made up; a gentle stir, and it threw about the room a blaze which glanced upon the well kept furniture, the quiet carpet, and the curtained windows, while the open door of the adjoining apartment gave a glimpse of the bed with its nice hangings, the child's cot with its white coverlet; turn his eye where he might, the order essential to comfort was apparent, but did not dissipate the desolate feelings planted in his heart. He sat down by the fire, leaned his elbow on his knee and his head on his hand. His attitude expressed thoughtful melancholy; Martha looked at him, felt a conviction that he was unhappy, and was not insensible to a sympathetic regret; had she gone to his side, put her arm about him, and said—"Dear George, look up, this will pass away and soon," he was the very man to have responded to such cheer, to have seen sunshine behind the cloud; but it was her unhappy habit to rouse him with a sting. Gentleness of manner she was apt to characterise as affectation; expressions of tenderness and attachment as hypocrisy, and thus habituated herself to the reverse.

"I don't see," she exclaimed with a harsh, cutting tone, "the use of your sitting moping there—putting your dirty feet on the fender—you'd take better care had you the keeping of it bright."

With that she untied her bonnet strings with a twitch and turned into the next room. The sharp sound of shaking the dust from her shawl ere it was folded; the abrupt push given to the box in which her bonnet was replaced, were all unnecessary discords, spoiling the moral harmony of her best habits. She returned to the pretty parlour tying on a clean white apron; her cheek was rosy, her hair smoothly braided, her cap, an effort of unexpensive ingenuity, all freshness, and thus, the very type of niceness, she threw a snowy cloth upon the table, on which she made arrangements for supper worthy of a home of higher pretensions; but her movements were ungentle, her aspect ungracious, and thus all these pleasant proprieties were robbed of the atmosphere that could alone give them brightness and warmth.

George, under the effect of the homeward scolding, had not spoken since he came in; he merely looked up on her briefly telling him if he wanted beer to go and fetch it, and rising he took his hat and went out. He had not proceeded many steps before he overtook and fell into talk with a fellow-workman. The latter was in a state of great excitement; he had just left his home under the influence of strong disgust and excessive annoyance from his wife, a slatternly woman, and he sought relief by indulging in violent invective against her, declaring, with an impetuous oath, his determination to spend half the night at the public-house.

"I 'll just show her," he continued, "that if she won't make comfort for me at home, I'll make it for myself abroad."

"No, no," expostulated Robinson, "you will only make bad worse—you'll take too much and spend too much, Walker!" He added, putting his hand on the shoulder of his companion—"Bessie is a soft, gentle creature—a woman full of kindness; and oh, God! what a blessing must that be! Take my advice, Walker, and go home."

"Home!" he repeated. "What have I to go home to? There's no fire; the children are all up and squalling; everything at sixes and sevens—in fact, the whole place is in an uproar. No, if *she* likes to live in a den I don't and what's more I won't. She'll drive me to something desperate—an untidy, slipshod hussey!"

From this brief interview Robinson returned home with new feelings; the excitement and interest that Walker had created had roused him from the condition of morbid feeling to which he had yielded. He placed the bright pot, with its head of foam, upon the table, and with a fresh eye, as if he then scanned them for the first time, looked upon the appliances to comfort that surrounded him. The room was at the moment vacant, his survey was therefore uninterrupted. His face brightened as he gazed upon the little panorama. During his absence, his slippers had been put before the fire; his house jacket hung on the back of his chair; on another, his clean linen for the next day airing—all spoke the kindness of a woman who yet could rarely utter a kind word. His heart, at the moment full of her merits, from the contrast that had been forced upon his consideration, would, had he obeyed the impulse of his natural character, have led him to seek her and given warm expression to his feelings, but they had been so often checked by her coldness or reversed by her contradiction, that a second nature had supervened, producing habits of reserve and self-restraint. Yet under the existing stimulous he could not quite restrain himself, but going towards the next room, he leaned against the side of the doorway, and said cheerfully—"Come, Patty, I am ready for supper."

"Are you?" she replied. "Then you'll have it when its ready for *you*—so just wait till you get it."

Thus repelled, for her voice was more harsh than her words, he stepped back, but try, as he would, he again felt his spirits ebb. He stirred the fire, drew the table closer to it, and strove to feel indifference. In the midst of this she appeared, seated herself at the table, helped her husband, but forebore to partake of anything herself. She had a sullen satisfaction in nursing her wayward humour, and knew from experience that it was apt to fly off under the social influence of a repast.

Robinson looked at her clouded face and felt exasperated. He put down his knife and fork, pushed back his chair, and exclaimed—"Now what is the matter with you?"

It must be recollected that Robinson was not only angry but hungry, and the state of physical sensation has no small influence upon the moral feelings; perhaps his wife was not without sharing this uneasy state of stomach; be that as it may, his tones struck jarringly on the quivering chords of her excitable temper: she replied with her usual petulance and flippancy. Words are a generative family—one begot another—and to bring the quarrel to a close, Robinson seized his hat, resolved to leave the house. Determined to prevent his egress, Martha threw herself between him and the door; a struggle ensued; he pushed her from him; she stumbled back, and falling over a footstool came violently to the ground, striking her head as she fell against the fender.

In an instant, terror and tenderness supplanted rage in his breast. He raised her; the colour had forsaken her face, and some drops of blood were trikling from her forehead. After hurried efforts to revive her, he laid her again gently on the floor, and flew to alarm his neighbours. These, with medical aid and the police, were soon in the place, and the night closed with the wounded woman in a fevered bed, and her husband in the cell of a station house.

It was an agonising night to both. Robinson, though aggrieved, felt now as if he had been the aggressor, and with the generosity that often belongs to strength, he blamed himself for the rash violence he had exerted towards so delicate a creature, and made a thousand resolves to let her have all her own way for the future. Martha, on the contrary (really less hurt than was apprehended), bewailed her injuries, vituperated her husband and his sex till she learned that he had been taken charge of by the police. Any *real* danger to him ever turned the whole current of her feelings in his favour, and absolute force was necessary to prevent her seeking in person to obtain, by self-accusation, his immediate release.

This event terminated, like many of a more aggravated character that disgrace the history of some classes of our people; George was liberated on bail, and afterwards, on the candid acknowledgments of his wife, acquitted. But indignant at the public degradation to which, for the first time in his life, he had been exposed, the circumstance made a deep impression on him. The slightness of the injury to Martha removed all his deeper feelings of regret, and her unchanged habits effectually stemmed the flow of his returning tenderness. Affliction has its freemasonry: Robinson and Walker became confederates under the sympathetic influence of a common grievance—unhappiness at home. The neglected wives grew into gossips upon those fertile topics—the faults of each other and of their respective husbands; for each acutely felt her peculiar griefs and distinctly discerned her neighbour's error. Bessie Walker, while bewailing her own domestic misery, would exclaim —"No one can wonder at the change in George Robinson—such a vixen as Martha would drive any man mad!" While Mrs. Robinson, amid a resentful sense of injury from neglect, was florid in reflection on the bad management and disgusting carelssness of poor Bessie. It was the old story of the mote and the beam, the miserable effect of want of self-examination and reflecetion.

But every moment bears the seed of change—the present is passing away, the future unfolding. Where there is not moral deterioration, there is no safety but in an unceasing endeavour at improvement. The woman who does not help to build a husband's fortune, assists to pull it down; the union that is not marked by moral progress proceeds and closes in moral misery. The arrears of the domestic duties make a dread account, and Heaven help the moral bankrupt before whom they are laid!

On a summer evening, somewhat more than twelve-months after the little incident of the station house, Martha was seated at her window busy at her needle, when the sound of the drum and fife, and the tramp of feet, induced her to drop her work into her lap and look out. She saw the recruiting serjeant, who had been for some time located in the neighbourhood, passing with a band of recruits. Among the usual crowd on such occasions, one group arrested her attention; it was a staggering, haggard-looking man, with a shrieking woman clinging to him—three or four little children were hanging about her, and adding by their cries to the calamour. A glance sufficed to show Martha that this was the unhappy family of the Walkers, and a shiver of instinctive sympathy attested her strong feeling at the spectacle they presented. The passionate tenderness and touching tones that gushed from the lips of the distracted Bessie every now and then fell distinctly on her ear, till the efforts of the gathering neighbours prevailed, and the exhausted wife and her weeping little ones were removed. The band again fell into order, the music grew louder and merrier, and Martha looked at the men to see if among the serjeant's prey she might discover any other of her neighbours, when bringing up the rear, she beheld Robinson. With a slow, sad step, a pale cheek, but a melancholy resolution in his bearing, George came on; as he passed his own dwelling, he raised his dejected eyes and met those of his wife—a momentary and expressive gesture with his hand seemed to say—"It is all over; better cut the knot I cannot disentangle; I have done it—and farewell!"

When she recovered from the stunning effects of the sight, she rushed to the bed of her sleeping child, and wrapping it up, went forth with it in her arms, conscious that it could plead for her in a manner that she could not plead for herself. Thoughts like lightning passed through her brain as she hurried along to the place where the military party had halted. The hour of parting, like the power of death, yields a back ground, upon which the object about to be lost stands forth in peculiar brightness. All the hitherto unestimated qualities of George Robinson blazed upon the perception of his wife, and her own faults and deficiencies took a dark array beside them. Charities uncultivated die out, or fall into abeyance, often lying so dormant that the stir of strong events is necessary to revive them. Why, why will any leave the heart thus fallow, for the harrow of death or sorrow to quicken it into only unavailing fruitfulness!

George and Martha met and parted, with deep and tender feeling, with renewed consciousness of the early love that had first brought them together, and of the individual merits by which each were distinguished. At that moment, Martha (for with her our moral mostly rests) saw the errors that had marked her course, the faults that had deformed her character and spoiled her happiness. And if the considerations condensed into that brief space had been spread through her previous life, allotting to each day some little portion of appreciation of the present and reflection for the future, how different had been its course and its now probable close!

George had folded her and his child to his heart; he had blessed them, and left the larger portion of the bounty money that had helped to bribe him to the trade of blood—for it was at a period when the wild work of war was rife; and with such solace as these could yield, she returned home.

Home! what was it to her now? A desert, from which the stir of life, the spring of action, had departed. She sat down amid that scene—so changed, yet still the same—and wept over the bitter review which it suggested. Oh, now to hear that approach which she had so often met with indifference or unkindness! Her child woke—woke with her sobs and the falling of her tears upon its face. It looked up with the bland, open expression which it derived from its father, and, kneeling in her lap, clasped its little arms about her neck. What a lesson! Nature, that gentle teacher, uttered no reproach. It said, "Come back, thou erring one; consider thy ways and be wiser."

New scenes and trials opened upon the unhappy men who had rashly abandoned their homes and social duties. They joined their regiment, and soon trod the shores where the genius of war was shaping the different destinies of Wellington and Napoleon: for the one, laurels and longevity—for the other, exile and the double canker that devoured mind and body. Sorrows at home had made Robinson and Walker companions; hardships abroad made them friends. Mutual sympathies, common recollections; and struggles, drew them together: when the weary day, which had seen them plunging into passes or tangled coverts—toiling through deep ravines or over rugged mountains, harassed, worn, and wasted, came to a close, they cowered over the bivouack fire together, and were more often in communion on the past than engaged upon the present; for, with the clingings of a failing man, Walker would continually revert to home. Long before he had left it, he had yielded to habits of intemperance, which now told against his constitution, and Robinson was called upon for much exertion in his behalf, which, with his characteristic generosity, he kindly made. They were among the gallant band that covered the retreat of Sir John Moore, and in the march from Lugo to Bezantos suffered severely. In twelve days they had traversed eighty miles of road in two marches; passed several nights under arms in the snow of the mountains; and were seven times engaged with the enemy. Walker had day by day lost strength: the want of shoes and the bad weather had aggravated the difficulties of the way, and on the evening of their reaching Bezantos he declared he could do no more—could go no further. The rain that day had fallen for six successive hours, and in a splashy spot, with his head resting on a stone, he lay down. All the troops passed on—but one. Robinson remained beside his broken-down comrade, heared his last prayers, his last wishes as in that final hour his thoughts flew to the home he should behold no more! The struggle was brief: he called on God and died! The weather had calmed—the sky cleared—the moon broke forth, and, covered with her light, Robinson left the cold remains, with a sad satisfaction that the poor fellow had laid his burden down and was at rest.

After the battle of Coruna, in which Robinson was wounded, he was among those who contrived to escape to Portugal, and there joined the remnants of regiments which were afterwards embodied and fought at Oporto and Talavera.

Martha's life, from the day of her husband's departure, had been one continued praiseworthy struggle against the infirmities of her nature and the assaults of fortune. By means of industry, frugality, and some aid from early family connections, she managed to preserve her home undeteriorated, and to rear her child worthily. Poor Bessie, with less energy of character and elevation of purpose, sunk into successive stages of degradation; the scarlet fever robbed, or, perhaps it might better be said, relieved her of her wretched children, and she was received into the workhouse. But even there the redeeming power of good at last asserted itself: her patience and kindliness of nature made her a good nurse, and the blessing of the very old, the young, and the sick were with her.

Little Matty Robinson was eleven years old when the sad news came that her father had fallen at Talavera. It came upon her mother like a blight. The morning and the midnight prayer had been breathed for *his* return; the chief object of her daily toils—her self-denial—her self-discipline—to build up happiness for *his* latter days.

"Oh," she exclaimed, "can it be! Is it possible that we are to meet no more—that he will never see what I have made his child—what I purposed to make his home? Have I sorrowed for him—have I loved him in vain?"

Among the motives for resignation presented to her, was the probability that he might have returned a wreck, which she could not have borne to behold.

"No, no!" she said; "lame, blind, a beggar, he would be welcome to *me*—dearer to me than in his brightest days!"

Beautifully is it said, "Weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning!" and truly that, "the darkest hour is just before dawn." Even while Martha's passionate words were being uttered, a broken-down and disbanded soldier was making towards the town; and before the morning had ripened to mid-day, George Robinson was once more in his bridal home—had clasped to his heart the wife of his first affection—had wept with proud joy over his child.

The moral of our sketch is sufficiently evident: we are all unapt to place a sufficient value on the good in possession, or sufficiently to use or economise the means of happiness. Did we look into ourselves and our position, each would find much lying dormant that might be available for enjoying and dispensing good: to none does this remark apply more than to wives and mothers. The woman who holds in her own right, moral worth, gentleness, and kindness, is an heiress endowed by God; hers is the holy power to sustain the good man, restrain the aberrating, and reclaim the bad. As a MOTHER, who may place limits to her power, or to the range which the spirit of good which *she* implants may take? "The life of every being is the well-spring of a stream, whose small beginnings are indeed plain to all, but whose ulterior course or destination, as it winds through the expanse of infinite years, only the Omniscient can discern."

VARIETIES.

OXFORD PUNS.—Dr. Barton, warden of Merton College, was the oddity of his time. Of the Puns belonging to Dr. Barton, we believe that the following is little known. As he was a man of remarkable insensiblity, people told him everything that happened. A gentleman, coming one day into his room, told him that Dr. Vowel was dead, "What!" said he, "Vowel dead? thank Heaven it is neither *u* nor *i*." Dr. Eveleigh, who with his family was some years ago at Weymouth, gave occasion to old Lee, the last punster of the old school, and the master of Baliol College, Oxford, for more than half a century, to make his dying pun. Dr. Eveleigh had recovered from some consumptive disorders by the use of egg-diet, and had soon after married. Wetheral, the master of University College, went to Dr. Lee, then sick in bed, resolved to discharge a pun which he had made. "Well, sir," said he, "Dr. Eveleigh has been egged on to matrimony."—"Has he," said Lee; "why, then, I hope the yoke will sit easy." In a few hours afterwards Dr. Lee died. The yoke did sit easy on Dr. Eveleigh, for he had a most amiable wife.

PADDY AND THE OYSTERS.—One evening a red-headed Connaught swell, of no small aristocratic pretentions in his own eyes, sent his servant, whom he had just imported, to purchase a hundred oysters at the city-quay, Dublin. Paddy staid so long away that Squire Trigger got quite impatient and unhappy lest his "body man" might have slipped into the Liffey; however, to his infinite relief, Paddy at length made his appearance, puffing and blowing like a disabled bellows, but carrying his load seemingly in great triumph. "Well, Pat," said the master, "what the deuce kept you so long?"—"Long! ah, thin, may be its you'd have me come home with half my *arrant?*" says Pat.—"Half the oysters?" say the master.—"No, but too much of the *fish*," says Pat.—"What fish," says he.—"The oysters, to be sure" says Pat.—"What do you mean, blockhead?" says he.—"I mean," says Pat, "that there was no use loading mysell more nor was useful."—"Will you explain yourself?" says he.—"I will," says Pat, laying down his load. "Well, then, you see, plaise your honour, as I was coming home along the quay, mighty peaceable, who should I meet but Shamus Maginus; 'Good-morrow, Shameen,' sis I; 'Good-morrow, kindly, Padeen,' sis he; 'What is it you have in the sack?' sis he; 'A hundred of oysters,' says I; 'Let us look at them,' sis he; 'I will, and welcome,' sis I; 'Orrah, thunder and pratees,' sis he, opening the sack, and examinin' them, 'who *sowld* you these?' 'One Tom Kinahan, that keeps a small ship there below,' sis I; 'Musha, then, bad luck to that same Tom that *sowld* the likes to you,' sis he; 'Arrah, why avick?' sis I; 'To make a *bolsour* ov you, and give them to you without gutting thim,' sis he; 'An arn't they gutted, Jim, aroon?' sis I; 'Oh, bad luck to the one o' thim,' sis he; 'Musha, then,' sis I, 'what the dhoul will I do at all at all? fur the master will be mad.' 'Do!' sis he, 'why I'd rather do the thing for ye mysel, nor you should lose yer place,; sis he,' so wid that he begins to gut them with his knife, *nate* and *clain;* an' afeered ov dirtying the flags, begor, he swallowed the guts himself, from beginnin' to ind, till he had thim as dacent as you see thim here"—dashing down at his master's feet the bag of oyster-shells, to the no small amazement of the Connaught worthy.

Common Sense.—In the course of a lecture delivered by the Rev. G. Gleig, it was observed that the late Duke of Wellington had a great respect for what he called common sense. In illustration thereof he used to tell the following anecdote:—"When I was following a rajah, in India, we came to a great sandy plain, to cross which was impossible, with the enemy's cavalry hovering about us. The spies said there was a river in front which I could not cross as it had no bridges, and that I must therefore take a *Dêtour* to the right or left. I, however, took the cavalry, and pushed on to the river, till I was near enough to take a view of it with a spy glass, when I saw that there were two villages opposite each other, on different sides of the river. I immediately said to myself, 'People would never be fools enough to build two towns immediately opposite on a great river if they could not get from one to the other.' So I moved on, and sure enough there was a bridge between the towns. We crossed it, and licked the rajah."

Sleeping Round.—The celebrated Quin had this faculty. "What sort of a morning is it, John?" "Very wet sir." "Any mullet in the market?" "No Sir." "Then, John, you may call me this time to-morrow." So saying, he composed himself to sleep, and got rid of the *ennui* of a dull day.

Telling One's Age.—A lady, complaining how rapidly time stole away, said, "Alas! I am near thirty." Scarron, who was present, and knew her age, said, "Do not fret at it madam; for you will get further from that frightful epoch every day."

Force of Habit.—It has been told of the late Mr. Peter Moore, and was actually true of Secretary Scraggs, who began life as a footman, that in the days of his opulence he once handed some ladies into their carriage, and then, from the mere force of habit, got up behind.

Johnson and Foote.—The most striking testimony that has been borne to Foote's colloquial powers is that furnished by Dr. Johnson, who says, "The first time I was in company with Foote was at Fitzherbert's. Having no good opinion of the fellow, I was resolved not to be pleased; and it is very difficult to please a man against his will. I went on eating my dinner pretty sullenly, affecting not to mind him; but the chap was so very comical that I was obliged to lay down my knife and fork, and fairly laugh it out. He was irresistible."

Brief Abstinence.—A *bon-vivant* being observed by a friend, who had not seen him for a long time, to be downcast in his countenance, and very unlike himself, was asked whether anything serious had befallen him. "Nothing of the sort," was his reply; "but I am quite an altered character. I have left off drinking." "Indeed!" replied his friend, rather astounded at the assertion; "and since when?" "Since two o'clock this morning," was the facete reply; the speaker's countenance recovering its usual cast of good-humour and mirth.

March of Intellect.—A begger, some time ago, applied for alms at the door of a partisan of the Antibegging Society. After in vain detailing his manifold sorrows, the inexorable gentleman peremptorily dismissed him. "Go away," said he; "go—we canna gie ye naething." "You might, at least," replied the mendicant, with an air of great dignity and archness, "have refused me grammatically."

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